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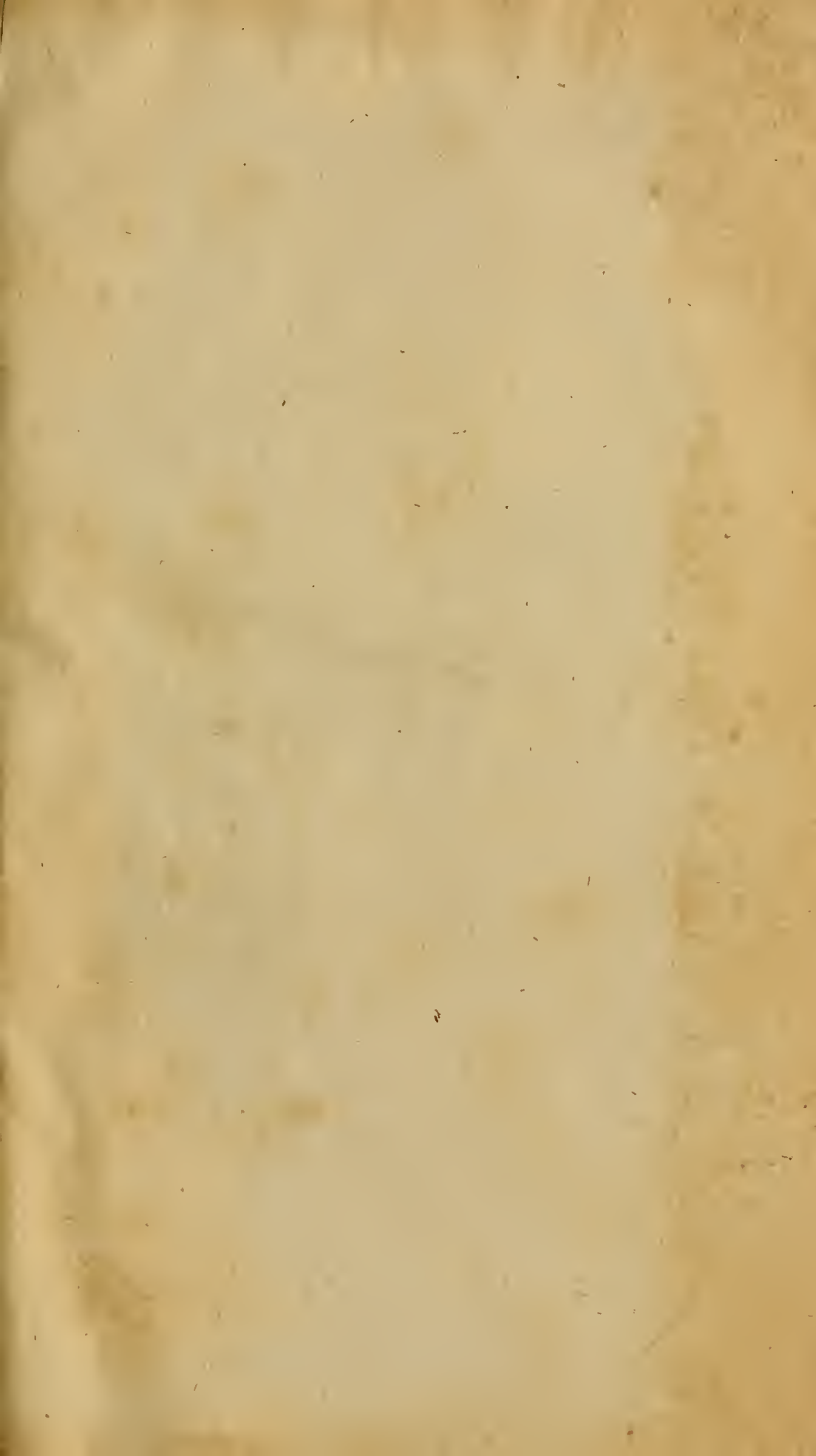


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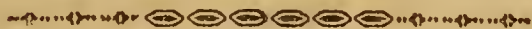
T H E
A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,
O. R.,
U N I V E R S A L M A G A Z I N E;

C O N T A I N I N G
E S S A Y S O N A G R I C U L T U R E—C O M M E R C E—
M A N U F A C T U R E S—P O L I T I C S—
M O R A L S—A N D M A N N E R S.

S K E T C H E S O F N A T I O N A L C H A R A C T E R S—
N A T U R A L A N D C I V I L H I S T O R Y—
A N D B I O G R A P H Y.

L A W I N F O R M A T I O N—P U B L I C P A P E R S—
P R O C E E D I N G S O F C O N G R E S S—
I N T E L L I G E N C E;

M O R A L T A L E S—A N C I E N T A N D M O D E R N
P O E T R Y, &c. &c.



V O L. V I I. *from January to June, 1790.*



P H I L A D E L P H I A:
C A R E Y, S T E W A R T, A N D C O.

M. D C C. X C.

ADAMS 171-22
p. 7

T O

THE RIGHT REV. JOHN CARROLL, D.D.

BISHOP ELECT OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH,

IN THE UNITED STATES,

AS A MARK OF SINCERE ESTEEM

FOR HIS NUMEROUS AMIABLE QUALITIES,

AND DISTINGUISHED VIRTUES,

AND OF GRATITUDE FOR HIS FRIENDSHIP,

THIS VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS OBLIGED HUMBLE SERVANTS,

THE PRINTERS.

Philadelphia, January 22, 1790.

THE uncommon encouragement which the AMERICAN MUSEUM has been honoured with, since its first establishment, has often called forth the grateful acknowledgments of its original proprietor, who once more begs leave to repeat them, and, in conjunction with his partners, Stewart and co. solicits the future favours of the public.

IN conformity with the sentiments of a number of the friends of this work, who conceived that there was not a sufficient portion of it devoted to entertainment, the plan is considerably changed, so as to unite with the original design, that of magazines in general. With respect to this alteration, no attempt shall be made, by specious promises, or pompous professions, to influence the reader's opinion; to his candour and good sense the decision is submitted: and should the present plan appear equally useful with, and more entertaining than, the original one, the printers entertain the fond hope that it will extend the circulation and correspondence of the AMERICAN MUSEUM, or UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.



THE
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 Or, UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE,
 For, J N N U A R Y, 1790.

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*On the dietetic and medicinal virtues of
the red elm-tree.*

*Extracted from a letter of dr. Mitchill
to dr. North, dated, Albany, March
9, 1789.*

IN many parts of the state of New-York, grows a tree called by the inhabitants 'red-elm.' It is undoubtedly a species of *ulmus*, and probably a non-descript; for I see that dr. Schœpf, who, with the laudable industry of a naturalist, a few years ago, explored the united states, has made no mention of it in his work, entitled, "*Materia Medica Americana*," published lately in Germany; nor does that discerning author appear to be at all acquainted with it.

This tree possesses some qualities which deserve to be made known. For, 1. The inner bark, by infusion or gentle boiling in water, affords a great quantity of insipid mucous substance, that may be employed with safety as food: I have eaten it repeatedly, and found it to agree with me perfectly well; and, when mixed with sugar or lemon juice, it became very palatable. The knowledge of this fact may be very serviceable to such travellers, in the unsettled and uncultivated parts of our country, as lose their way, or fall short of provisions; for since in such circumstances, it might be impossible to procure bread and meat to blunt the keenness of hunger, it would be a great alleviation of the uncomfartableness and distress of the sufferers, if they could be supplied with nourishment from the bark of the surrounding trees. During the time that I attended the treaty with the Oneida and Onondago Indians at Fort-Schuyler, in 1788, two men found their way to that place, after a bewildered and famishing ramble of more than four weeks in the wilderness; they were emaciated and weakened to an extreme degree, and had fed chiefly upon the wild onions, that they had accidentally discovered, which, together with a few blackberries and mandrakes, had been their chief subsistence. How lucky had it been, if this discovery had been known to them! How many elm-trees must

they have seen and passed in their perilous wanderings from Lake Champlain to Ontario, and from thence to Oneida.

It appears, moreover, from certain information, that whole families of the poor people of some parts of New-York, have, in times of pinching scarcity, been fed, nourished, and supported upon this substance alone.

From the beauty of the mucilage, I was led to conjecture, that by inspissation or evaporation, it might be prepared and fitted for culinary purposes, and become a substitute for calves' feet, in furnishing tables with jellies; but in this I was disappointed: I am now convinced that there is no possibility of making vegetable mucilages coagulate like the gluten of animals.

The nutritious matter, afforded by this bark, exhibits a striking affinity to other gummy substances. It is worthy of note, how nearly they all resemble each other. Lind remarks on the authority of Hasselquist, "that a caravan from Ethiopia to Egypt, having expended all their provisions, lived for two months on gum arabic, dissolved in water; this gum being luckily a part of their merchandise;" and he adds, also, "that it feeds whole negro towns, in times of scarcity; and that the Arabs have frequently no other provisions for several months*." We are informed by Dodonæus, that during a scarcity of provisions at Middleburg, in Zealand, the inhabitants made bread and cakes of lintseed, and lived upon them†. And it is plain from the writings of Hesiod, that mallows, a mucilaginous plant, (*μαλαχη*) was an article of diet among the ancient Greeks‡. And 2. It has been said, and indeed upon respectable testimony, that great medical virtues reside in this mucilage: but when proper allowance is granted for the partiali-

NOTES.

* On the diseases of hot climates—Appendix, p. 369.

† Cruydt-boeck, page 854. Hol. t'Antwerpen, 1644.

‡ *Opera et Dierum*, lib. 1. v. 41.

ty which some practitioners of physic have for a favourite remedy, and the requisite deduction is made from the rumours of popular credulity, it will probably appear that there is nothing wonderful or astonishing in this boasted remedy; but that it possesses qualities very little unlike those of mucilaginous substances in general. It has therefore been beneficially administered in catarrhs, pleurifies, and quinies: it has been applied as a poultice to tumours, and as a liniment to chaps and fetters: it has been recommended as an alterative, an emollient, a diuretic, and an expectorant. And doubtless its known and tried efficacy in each of those cases, entitles it to frequent use: while, from its salubrity as food, it might be prescribed with advantage, in most instances, where salep and sago are employed.

I should not have been so prolix on this subject, had it not been clear to me, that whatever contributes, either as food or physic, to preserve the lives of my fellow-citizens, is eminently deserving of attentive consideration.



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

An oration intended to have been spoken at a late commencement, on the unlawfulness and impolicy of capital punishments, and the proper means of reforming criminals. By a citizen of Maryland.

THE votary of liberal science, as well as the votary of true religion, may expect opposition. Truth, indeed, is powerful: and the human mind is formed to love and admire it. It is of the essence of the supreme Being; and must, like him, be one and unchangeable. It is as essentially different from error, as light from darkness, as joy from sorrow; and did our faculties now retain their original perspicacity, we should find no greater difficulty in investigating it, than a sound eye does in perceiving the light at noon-day.

Truth is a luminous body, which, though still the same, the degenerated eye of the human mind sees with different degrees of distinctness in different

situations. In the shades of abstract science we perceive her but obscurely. In the range of the secondary or reflex senses, her lustre is somewhat more distinct. In the walks of external sense—mathematical axiom, and moral right—the perception is clear and intuitive. And yet, even in this last case, an unnatural contortion of the visual nerve, from prejudice and habit—or an unhappy mist, from the stagnating pools of popular error—may affect the sense of perception; and make the object apparently lose its brightness, alter its position, and invert the order of its parts.

These remarks, I thought it necessary to premise, as introductory to the subject of this address. When we reflect on the fallibility of the human intellect—when we consider by what slow steps man has advanced towards the knowledge of abstract, political, and even some points of moral truth—let it not appear surprising that I reckon the infliction of capital punishments, by civil laws, to be one of the standing monuments of human error, and equally repugnant to humanity, religion, and good government.

An error, in the abstract sciences, affects not the rights nor happiness of men. It may excite the rage of pedantic book-worms; and rouse the splenetic combatants to wield the embittered goose-quill; while the bulk of mankind smile at the doughty battle, or proceed in the usual train of life, unconcerned. A speculative error in religion, though more inexcusable, and more to be deplored, may yet be consistent with a good heart, and may be entertained without any great impediment to virtue or happiness. A slight error, in civil policy, may, perhaps, encroach on the liberties of men, or bear hard upon their property and other adventitious rights. Such mistakes are comparatively but trifles; and they ought to be endured, as the necessary attendants on human weakness. But an error, which has for its object, the lives of human beings—which has crimsoned the earth with streams of blood, and filled the air with thousands of dying groans—such

an error is of too weighty import, to be carelessly overlooked; it points to something amiss in our hearts, as well as understanding; and calls aloud for inspection and amendment.

To call in question the received opinions of mankind, has generally been ascribed to arrogance, and the love of singularity. From you I apprehend no such imputation in the present attempt; as the arguments seem to me so cogent and numerous, that, if they should fail of altering your opinion, they will, at least, screen from reproach those who are fully convinced by them. Indeed the bounds, prescribed to exercises of this nature, will preclude a full enumeration. I shall, therefore, with all possible brevity, offer some remarks, to shew that the infliction of capital punishments, by human laws, is inconsonant to the sentiments of unadulterated nature, contrary to christianity, and inconsistent with the dictates of sound policy; and shall then subjoin a few hints to evince the practicableness, and to point out the proper means, of reforming criminals.

The advocates for sanguinary statutes have asserted, that "they are founded upon natural reason;" for that "by the law of nature, a murderer is put to death." Here I would ask those gentlemen to explain themselves. If they mean, that among those wild barbarians, who live without government, whoever beheld one of their number violently deprived of life, would advance and kill the murderer—I shall not dispute the point. But if their meaning be, that the same would be done upon principle, by an enlightened and benevolent man, in the same circumstances,—it will not be admitted.

The ground of this mistake is our forgetting, that those, who lived in a state of nature (if any such state ever existed) were savages, whose moral powers were as much debased as their intellectual; among whom fury was the only law, and bodily strength the only arbiter of justice. And must we take human nature, in this degraded state, for our model? This, I know, is the

favourite theme of some philosophers, of great note, in the present age: but, like many others of their singular and bold assertions, it is brought in, merely to prop the fabric of infidelity. The standard of human action is not what any man, much less a savage, does; but what he ought to do. It is an abstract idea, collected from reflexion on the original powers of man, and the universal laws of virtue; and is certainly more likely to be reached by him, whose mind is improved by philosophical and sacred science, than by the untutored son of corrupted nature. But if the manners of savages be, in reality, a pattern of human jurisprudence—why do we not extend our imitation of them to every point! The ancient Britons put their fathers to death, at a certain age; and used a community of wives. In these two customs they gloried, as pious and laudable; which is more than they ever did in the other. The truth is, that their example is no more a justification of capital punishments among us, than their religion is of idolatry, or their human sacrifices were of Herod's massacre of the innocents.

(To be continued.)



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

*Law Case—Common Pleas, Philadelphia,
Dec. T. 1788.*

Camp, vs. Lockwood.

THE plaintiff and defendant had both been inhabitants of Connecticut, previous to the revolution, when the debt, for which this action is brought, was alleged to be contracted; and continued so, for some time after the commencement of the war. Subsequent, however, to the declaration of independence, the plaintiff joined the British army; and, on the return of peace, he removed, with other loyalists, to Halifax, where he continues to reside. On the second Thursday of May, in the year 1778, the legislature of Connecticut enacted a law, declaring, that all the estate, real and personal, of any person or persons who had joined the

enemies of the united states, or had assisted them, or should hereafter do so, should be confiscated; and that, with respect to those persons, who had been inhabitants of the state (the last section of the act providing for the case of persons who had never been inhabitants) the county court, upon application, was empowered and directed to give judgment, that all their estate should be forfeited to the commonwealth; and thereupon to appoint administrators, (as in the case of intestates) who were to sell such confiscated estate, institute suits, recover and pay debts, and to deliver the surplus, if any, into the treasury of the state, &c. In September, 1779, the plaintiff was proceeded against, under this law, as one who had been lately a resident of the town of Newhaven; and it being duly adjudged, that he was guilty of joining the enemies of the united states, his estate was declared to be forfeited for the use of the state of Connecticut; and certain parts of it were seized and sold: but no steps were taken to recover from the defendant the debt said to be due from him to the plaintiff, although the defendant, at the time of the confiscation, and for some time afterwards, remained an inhabitant of Connecticut, and has always had property there, liable to legal process.

Under these circumstances, Camp instituted this suit; in bar of which Lockwood pleaded, that the confiscation, by virtue of the act of Connecticut, had divested the plaintiff's property in the debt, if any was due, and vested the same in that state: and to the efficacy of this plea, the present argument was confined, upon a demurrer and joinder in demurrer.

The point was first opened on the 16th of August, 1788, and finally argued by Ingersol, for the defendant, and Rawle, for the plaintiff, on the 21st of November following.

Ingersol. The forfeiture of an enemy's estate, moveable or immoveable, and of his rights, corporeal or incorporeal, is a matter of strict sovereignty, although, by the courtesy of nations, debts are allowed to revive, at the con-

clusion of a war*. The plaintiff, however, comes not within the rule respecting an enemy: but having been proceeded against, as a delinquent subject, he must be considered as an attainted traitor; and, by such attainder, all his estate, real and personal, was absolutely and irrecoverably forfeited†. And a forfeiture of real and personal estate extends to things in action, as well as in possession;‡ in which general point of view, the law of Pennsylvania has also expressly regarded the subject||. The act of Connecticut is as clear and comprehensive as words can make it, considering the party as actually dead, and appointing administrators of his estate. Nor can the provisions, contained in the treaty of peace, affect the question; for, the treaty does not operate like the reversal of an outlawry, but like a pardon§.

Rawle contended, that, whether the question was considered, 1st. upon the pleadings here; or, 2dly, upon a supposition that the suit had been instituted in Connecticut, the plaintiff was not barred of his recovery.

1. Arguing the case on the pleadings here, he premised, that it was a general principle, that nations, with respect to each other, must be considered as individuals, in a state of nature**. Moral entities, or persons, are given to them, in order to render them subjects of action; but, as to what relates to a nation itself, or the property which it has acquired, there is no power that can direct or restrain its conduct. In a state of society, private property yields to the general good; but this is not the case in a state of nature; and, therefore, it may be taken as an axiom, that where the act of a particular nation vests in itself the property of an individual, whe-

NOTES.

* Lee on capt. 111.

† 3 Bac. Abr. 755.

‡ 2 Bac. Abr. 577.

|| 2 State Laws, 99.

22 Vin. lib. Outlawry.

** Puff. lib. 2. c. 3. sec. 23. 1. Vat. 4. 5. Burlam. 195.

ther a subject or not, the right, thus acquired, extends no further than the jurisdiction of that nation; and the act, on which it is founded, can have no extra-territorial force*. This principle has, indeed, been recognized by the practice of the united states: for there is no instance of the agents, for forfeited estates, passing from one state into another; but, on the contrary, acts of attainder have always been passed against the same person in the several states, where his property was found; which would not, surely, have been necessary, if, either on general law, or under the articles of confederation, the act of one state, appropriating private property to its own use, had any effect beyond the limits of its own jurisdiction. If, then, the state, which has passed the law of confiscation, has forborne to reduce the defendant's debt into possession—and the state, where the debtor resides, has no power to do so—it necessarily follows, that the debt, remaining on its original footing, is liable to the plaintiff's demand. When, indeed, the act of Connecticut was passed, the defendant resided in that state: but when this suit was instituted, he had removed hither; and the law is clear, that the debt follows the person in every instance, except that of a distribution in the case of intestacy†.

2. Considering the point, in the second place, upon a supposition that the action had been brought in Connecticut, the question arises, whether a right, not reduced into possession, within due time, can afterwards be recovered? If the administrators had recovered from the defendant, it would certainly have been sufficient to bar the plaintiff's claim; but, when the state allowed the debtor to remove from its jurisdiction, an implied power was given to the creditor, to pursue him elsewhere. Should a husband neglect, during his life-time, to recover *choses in action*, belonging to his wife, she is entitled to them af-

terwards, and not his executors or administrators: for the law will never favour negligence. The reasoning in this case, will apply as well with respect to nations, as individuals‡. Besides, a right, vested for a particular purpose, ceases with that purpose: the war being at an end, the object of confiscating the plaintiff's debts, &c. is also extinguished: and if the administrators could not recover the debt in Connecticut, nor, *a fortiori*, in Pennsylvania, by the rules of natural justice, Camp may recover it; for there can be no plausible reason, why Lockwood should be exonerated. Under the treaty of peace, indeed, and the law of Connecticut||, repealing all acts, repugnant to the treaty, the administrators could not now interfere to prevent the plaintiff's recovery: for the act, by virtue of which they were appointed, is certainly of that description; so that, by the 4th article, Lockwood is estopped from saying that he will only pay the debt to the administrators; and, by the 6th article, they were precluded from compelling him to do so. This exposition has also prevailed in England; for the agents on the claims of the loyalists make no allowance for outstanding debts; because, as it has been already observed, they may be recovered under the treaty.

Rawle then proceeded to consider, particularly, the objections offered by the defendant's counsel, in support of his plea; which were, he stated, 1st. that the plaintiff was not an enemy, but a rebellious subject; 2dly, that by the act of Connecticut, and the proceedings under it, he was attainted and considered as actually dead; and 3dly, that he was not entitled to any benefit under the treaty of peace.

I. To the first objection, he answered that the proceedings were expressly against Camp as an enemy; that it was by reason of his adherence to the enemies of the united states, and of ac-

NOTES.

‡ Lee on Capt. 119.

|| Passed the second Thursday of May, 1787.

NOTES.

* 1 Vat. 145.

† Carth. 373.

tions not merely criminal, as they relate to his duty to the state, but to a foreign nation at war with the state, that the forfeiture had been effected; and that the law of Connecticut neither knew, nor indicated, a distinction between the inimical character of a subject and a foreigner. But, he urged, that, as against a delinquent citizen, merely in relation to the state of which he was a member, not an enemy, in the strict sense of the word, the act of the state *non valet extra territorium*; that, therefore, it could never be any bar to Camp's recovery in Pennsylvania; and that, even in Connecticut, he would now be entitled by the treaty of peace, and the law passed there in support of it, to recover all the property not actually vested and in possession of the state. If, on the other hand, he was proceeded against as an offending subject, in relation to his adherence to a foreign power, the general principles entitle him to recover after the war has ceased. But, in either point of view, the allowance of the present plea would contravene the established principles in the cases enumerated by Vattel*.

Besides, his offences as a subject, though committed against a nation confederated and allied with ours, do not allow us to join in the infliction of punishment†. We cannot, therefore, make ourselves parties to the public severities of Connecticut, nor interfere in the relation and conflict between that state and its subjects: and, as no public proceedings have taken place against the plaintiff here, there is not any authority for denominating him an offender against Pennsylvania. The only instance in which these general principles have sustained an alteration by the articles of confederation, is confined to the persons of offenders: and *expressio unius est exclusio alterius*.

But the admission of this plea would be attended with consequences so inconvenient, that the mere argument, *ab in-*

NOTES.

* See Vattel, 1 vol. p. 4. sect. 13. 14. p. 121. sect. 2, 3. p. 129. sect. 25.

† 1. Vat. 98. sect. 232.

convenienti, ought to prevent it. In whatever shape it is claimed, it would interfere with the axiom, that one nation cannot intermeddle with the government of another‡. If the plaintiff was attainted, or in debt here, his property could not be forfeited or attached, since, by the adverse argument, it belongs to Connecticut: nay, if he came hither with a view to settle, he could not act, trade, or become a useful citizen on the funds he found here. Thus a *collisio legum* would arise; the universal rule of which is, that the laws and the interest of the state, having jurisdiction of the cause, shall be preferred||.

(To be continued.)



Exports from the port of Philadelphia,
from the 7th of August to the 31st of
December, 1789.

B	BARRELS of flour,	192,762
	Half do.	11,243
	Hhds. of bread and ship stuff,	511
	Barrels do.	16,876
	Half do.	268
	Kegs do.	7,807
	Bags do.	1,524
	Cwt.	1,508
	Barrels of middlings,	9,421
	Hogsheads of Indian corn,	378
	Barrels do.	321
	Bushels do.	76,613
	Hogsheads of Indian meal,	680
	Barrels do.	7,843
	Half do.	533
	Hogsheads of rye meal,	27
	Barrels do.	3,554
	Tierces of rice,	4,038
	Half do.	489
	Hogsheads of flaxseed,	7,421
	Half do.	419
	Bushels do.	6,883
	Bushels of rye,	913
	Bushels of wheat,	110,181
	Bags do.	394
	Hogsheads of tobacco,	812
	Bales do.	515
	Staves,	2,219,642
	Heading,	48,990
	Lumber,	1,350,556

NOTES.

† Vatt. p. 138. sect. 54.

|| 2 Hub. 26. 3. axiom. 4.

Shingles,	1,607,205	Trunks of merchandife	240
Bales of cotton,	452	Boxes and cafes do.	1,404
Pockets do.	48	Barrels do.	590
Tons of logwood,	142	Bundles do.	384
Pieces do.	929	Kegs do.	402
Casks of potash,	401	Bags do.	50
Barrels do.	168	Casks and brls. of porter and beer,	1,035
Pieces of mahogany,	737	Windfor chairs,	2,599
Barrels of beef,	1,599	Chests of teas,	758
Half do.	237	Half do.	88
Tubs do.	50	Quarter do.	505
Barrels of pork,	2,344	Bexes do.	244
Half do.	1	Pipes of wines,	378
Tons of lignum vitæ,	10	Hogsheads do.	117
Hogsheads of bees-wax,	126	Quarter do.	447
Barrels do.	10	Hogsheads of oats,	144
Half do.	3,950	Bushels do.	1000
Casks of bark,	86	Hogsheads of pease and beans	34
Tons of iron,	617	Kegs do.	145
Bars do.	8,143	Hogsheads of shorts,	114
Barrels of naval stores,	1,840	Bushels do.	1,752
Hogsheads of skins and furs,	83	Boxes of hair-powder,	48
Cases do.	12	Kegs do.	122
Casks of indigo,	41	Chairs and phætons,	27
Barrels do.	9	Coaches,	16
Boxes and kegs do.	8	Sulkeys,	17
Casks of ginseng,	53	Cabrioles,	11
Barrels do.	29	Carriages,	8
Bundles of whalebone,	313	Waggons and carts,	20
Casks of oil,	558	Puncheons of run,	1,090
Bags of saltpetre,	480	Hogsheads of sugar,	366
Barrels of potatoes,	777	Barrels do.	237
Bushels do.	2,997	Boxes of paper	27
Firkins of butter,	268	Bundles do.	499
Kegs do.	509	Rheams do.	2,455
Firkins of lard,	202	Hogsheads of coffee,	11
Kegs do.	701	Barrels do.	229
Barrels of onions,	26	Bags do.	234
Bunches do.	7,804	Pipes of brandy,	50
Bricks,	142,750	Hogsheads do.	22
Hoops,	31,090	Quarter do.	32
Barrels of apples,	1,482	Kegs do.	5
Boxes of candles,	328	Pipes of gin,	24
Boxes of soap,	526	Hogsheads do.	6
Boxes of chocolate,	7	Quarter do.	28
Hogsheads of fish,	4	Cases do.	747
Barrels do.	703	Hogsheads of melasses,	76
Half do.	7	Hogsheads of loaf sugar,	56
Casks of hams,	331	Barrels do.	61
Casks of honey,	88	Hogsheads of snuff,	14
Barrels do,	4	Tierces do.	53
Kegs do.	24	Barrels do.	103
Jars do.	25	Half do.	26
Bales of merchandife,	674	Keg do.	26
Casks do.	496	Bladders do.	50

THE POLITICIAN.

NUMBER V.

FEW evils are so great, but wisdom and application may derive from them eventual advantages, which will more than balance the loss at first apprehended. Of all the evils consequent upon our late glorious war, the immense debt incurred by the public, hath been esteemed the greatest, and one, for which a remedy was the most difficult, without doing such injustice to individuals, as must excite the abhorrence of honest men. That this hath as yet been a perplexed business, all will allow—That this debt, with its past management, hath distressed both the people and the creditors, is undeniable: but we ought not to impute to the debt itself, those distresses which have arisen almost wholly from impolitic management. The people of this country were as new in the arts of finance, as those of war—in the last we have excelled and conquered; and in the first may soon become eminent, if some popular prejudices do not prevent. It is not strange that our finances were deranged, and the people and creditors both in a state of suffering, under an administration, without system or energy, and which was unable to bring any exertions to a point.

A public debt is a band of union; and interests a powerful and opulent class of citizens to support the government, under which it is contracted. An increase of transferable property is another advantage which may be derived from the national debt. Commerce, manufactures, and the conveniences of life, require that a certain proportion of property, be of such a nature as may be easily negotiated, or transferred from man to man. Of this kind, are articles of barter, gold and silver coin, and bills of credit. To determine exactly how great a proportion of this kind of property would be a public advantage, is impossible. Many of the best judges imagine that the whole national debt, upon a proper establishment, would not be too great

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for this extensive and growing country. There has been a species of transfer, commonly called speculating in public securities, which is but a kind of gaming, and is attended with no advantage to the state:—but this has arisen not so much from an undue quantity, as from a distrust of public faith, and a want of system in the finances of the union, and of particular states.—Let this debt be funded in honour and justice, and it will soon have a regular value; the transfer will no longer be the work of speculators, but take place between citizens of another character, the commercial and the industrious, as their own interest may require; and thus become an immense stock, for the benefit of trade and manufactures. The true interests of agriculture and commerce naturally embrace each other, and, in the state of this country, cannot be separated. All classes of citizens have a right to protection for themselves and their property; but if there be any one, which hath the best claim to be regarded in public measures, it is the American farmers, as they constitute the most numerous part of the people. The national debt may be so funded as to produce great consequential advantages to the farmers—and prove the means of their procuring a much better price for their produce and raw materials, than can otherwise be expected. So far as relates to the present question, a landed property may be considered as fixed, and not transferable. In a new country, and where land is cheap, as in the united states, the inhabitants, when they have power to do it, will rest their property in solid soil. The produce of the farmer's land is loose and transferable property, and that it may bear a just price, it is necessary there should be an equal quantity of property within the community, in such a situation that it may be commanded to make pay to the farmer, for the fruit of his toil.

The produce of the country, and our raw materials for manufacturers, will

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always command a just price in some part of the world; and it is the business of commerce to collect and transport them to the place in which they are wanted.

If foreigners are under the necessity of coming to us, and collecting the articles they need, the price received by the farmer will be limited as they please. Make the supposition that one half the property now in commerce within the united states, were to be annihilated; though our produce might bear the same price in the markets of Europe, it would probably diminish the home price one third. The purchasers would be few—the markets would be overstocked—the produce of our farms, being in its nature perishable, must be soon vended; and the remaining half of commercial property would command out of our hands, nearly the same quantity of produce, as the whole would have done, if preserved. In this case, the loss would be as sensibly felt by the farmer, as by the merchant.

It is always the case in a new and agricultural country, that the transferable property is in too small a quantity for the advantage of those who hold and till the ground. At present, the principal of the national debt cannot be paid: but with a little honesty and policy, it may be placed in a situation safe for the creditors, and beneficial to all classes of citizens.

For the benefit of the agricultural interest, I would not wish the debt to be annihilated, if it were consistent with justice. Let it be honestly funded, it must remain in its nature transferable, and will be an immense bank for all kinds of business. The situation of the united states is such, our agriculture so extensive and increasing, and the quantity of our produce so great, that unless by some policy of this kind we fix a certain quantity of property in its nature negotiable, the market will be overstocked, and the loss will in the end be borne by the farmer.

Suppose the surplus produce of a farmer beyond his own consumption, to equal one hundred bushels of wheat.

If there be a just proportion of negotiable property, each bushel will be worth five shillings; but if this proportion be a little lessened, each bushel will command only four shillings, and the whole loss to the farmer will be five pounds; which is a sum four times as great as he need to pay in taxes, to place the whole American debt on honourable funds. To execute this business, honesty and great abilities are requisite—the new treasury department promises us both; and I make no doubt but the debt we have lamented, will soon be a great national advantage.

Hartford, October, 1789.

NUMBER VI.

THE whale and cod fisheries have been long in a declining state. They are our natural, principal, and best nurseries for seamen, and the most certain source and support of our naval strength—an object of the last importance to all commercial countries, and in which the united states are all equally interested.

That we could afford to undersell the French and English, at every market, supposing a trade for our cod-fish equally safe and free, cannot be controverted. The English consume very little of their Newfoundland fish—almost all being carried from America directly to other markets in Europe: and if, as is generally supposed, there is no friendship in trade among individuals of the same nation—much less can it be expected among different nations, necessarily of opposite interests, and naturally jealous of each other's prosperity and growing greatness. It is, therefore, clearly the interest of France and England, for political, as well as commercial purposes, secretly to foment and nourish, if possible, an eternal enmity between the united states of America and the Barbary powers; and to shut us out from all direct intercourse and communication with the immense trade of the Mediterranean; that they may check our growth, and continue the carriers of our fish, tobacco, wheat, naval stores, and other American produce.

These probable difficulties, or intrigues, it will require all our art, address and management effectually to counteract.

The trade of the Mediterranean, and of the countries bordering thereon, is of vast importance to the united states—perhaps not inferior to any other object that now presents. Italy is a vast and fertile field for commercial speculations—supposed to contain at least twenty millions of inhabitants. The French and English know by long experience the sweets of that trade; and it is probable, they are not ignorant of our ability to rival them and every other nation, not only by carrying our productions cheaper to every market, but as carriers for other nations, if our vessels could navigate with equal safety; and it is well known, that one immediate effect would be, the total ruin of their Newfoundland fisheries and settlements.

Every man in the least acquainted with trade, and with its importance to America, cannot but be convinced of the innumerable advantages, arising from a permanent, uninterrupted peace with all the powers on the inhospitable shores of Barbary: and as some of the most powerful princes in Europe condescend, through policy, to pay an annual tribute to those nations, it can be thought no disgrace or degradation in the united states of America, in their present infant state, to stoop to buy their friendship, which, though it should cost us dear, yet, commercially considered, can hardly be purchased too dear; nor can this important business be negotiated too soon, or too secretly. And while this momentous object occupies the mind, it is impossible not to feel for the distressed situation of some of our fellow-citizens now in slavery in Algiers; their sufferings, supplications, and past services are loud, and will, I hope, prove irresistible calls on the justice and humanity of their country.

With innumerable advantages, peculiar to our country, and which may be said in some respects to hold all other nations dependent, it is hoped that our trade will soon be relieved; and that we may, ere long, make a more important and re-

spectable figure in the commercial world. It is unnecessary, at this time, to note all the present productions of the united states, with those which might be transplanted, with ease and advantage, and made capital articles of export; suffice it, therefore, only to enumerate some of the principal articles, now in our possession, for use and exportation—Whale-fins and oil—spermaceti oil and candles—cod-fish and liver oil—lintseed and lintseed oil—pickled salmon, shad, mackrel, herrings, and other pickled fish—pot and pearl ashes—beef, pork, butter, cheese, flax, hemp, masts, timber, and all other kinds of wood or lumber, with the almost exclusive possession of that invaluable tree, called the live oak, (which seems to have been ordained by heaven for the sole use of the American navy, as almost every attempt, to transplant it to foreign countries, has proved unsuccessful)—tar, pitch, turpentine, rosin, bees and myrtle wax, tallow, silk, cotton, sheep's wool, hides, skins, furs, grain and pulse of all kinds, hops, iron, saltpetre, saffaras, sarsaparilla, ginseng, snake root, pink root, with a great variety of other roots, abounding in South Carolina and Georgia, that possess most astonishing medicinal virtues, and which would prove a most important and valuable acquisition to the materia medica; tobacco, rice, and indigo; yet with all these advantages, in almost all our commercial enterprises, our present portion is, in general, little more than fruitless toil, loss, insult, and contempt.

———Hic vivimus ambitiosa

Paupertate omnes.———Juv. Sat.

As revenue is the main-spring, without which no power on earth can put the most perfect political machine in motion; so commerce, situated and circumstanced as we are, must be the principal source of revenue; but it cannot be expected, that our dejected commerce can instantly revive, or that new projects, however wisely planned, will immediately be sufficiently productive, to answer all the demands of government. The fruits of commerce are necessarily progressive; and while we are waiting

on her various operations, it will be both wise and necessary, to bear heavy burdens for a short time, and to strain every nerve, in order to furnish government with sufficient means to carry into effect those prudent and salutary measures, on which the success of our future hopes and prospects must materially depend.

And as a stimulus to our immediate and strenuous exertions, and punctual obedience to the revenue laws, in order that full scope and power may be given to government, to set every engine at work; let every citizen of the united states consider, that, abstracted from the common benefits of a public revenue, which will ultimately be produced by a well-regulated and flourishing commerce, there are other blessings, flowing therefrom, which are necessarily diffusive, and which constantly communicate a large portion of their happy influence and effects to every individual in the community.

In great commercial states, individuals of every rank are continually rising from obscurity into light, and from small beginnings frequently become rich; and riches invariably carry with them a proportionate degree of influence, which cannot be gained by one, without taking away, or diminishing in some degree the influence of others; this continual rotation of property and influence, naturally produces frequent rotations of civil officers, or rulers; the idle and absurd dreams of the divine origin, or exclusive right of particular names, or families, to preference, or pre-eminence, which swayed the superstitious sons of Greece and Rome, no longer bias or infatuate mankind. Every man feels his own individual consequence; and, with a laudable emulation, asserts his equal natural rights and pretensions. Detached from the narrow views and servile ideas of hereditary claims to public favours or honours—his enlarged mind is more nobly directed to the aggrandizement of his country; and he acknowledges no just claim but merit. Thus commerce naturally tends to correct the evils common in

states not commercial, where particular opulent families often enjoy, for many successive generations, the exclusive possession of riches; and though they do not always inherit the virtues or abilities, by which their ancestors justly acquired pre-eminence, yet they continue to possess, exclusively, unjustly, and often by violence, every post of honour, profit, and power in the state; and thereby hold every subordinate class of their fellow-citizens, or fellow-men, in a state of absolute dependence and servility—but where commerce flourishes, such a state of vassalage cannot exist; no citizen is necessarily confined to a particular employer; he is always free to pursue his own inclination and interests; he can give ample scope to aspiring genius; and is sure to reap the just reward of his labour: though he may be a servant, he cannot be a slave; and while he obeys the laws of his country, he may defy the power or the weakness of any master.

Where commerce flourishes, arts, agriculture, and manufactures, will also flourish; the weak are protected; genius encouraged; revenue sufficient; peace preferable, because most profitable; the people quiet, because constantly employed, and well paid; war amply equipt, and vigorously pursued, when necessary; and government liberally supported.

An extensive and flourishing commerce will also, sooner or later, beget colonization; and therefore naturally induces some observations on that subject, in which, from its intimate and important connexion with commerce, the united states cannot but consider themselves deeply interested.

The colonies of several of the now flourishing European kingdoms, may be fairly allowed, at this day, to be the almost sole support of their commerce—and the most certain, and most fruitful, if not the only source, of their riches and strength. Some of those kingdoms are so largely indebted to their foreign dominions, for their present power, riches, and consequence, that no other satisfactory cause, or reason, can be assigned, or conceived, why they have

not, long ere now, become the most insignificant provinces of their more powerful neighbours.

The whole amount of the customs in England, even so late as in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, did not exceed the sum of 40,000*l.* per annum, sterling—Germany, France, Spain, and Portugal, supplied the English with every luxury, and with almost every necessary manufacture—and the Venetians and Genese, with East India goods, at an immense price; the legal interest of money was 10 per cent.—and, when compared with some other European states, whom they now hold in contempt, the English may be said, with respect to many improvements, to have been, at that era, in a state of infancy or barbarity. But as soon as they became sensible of the importance of colonies, and wisely turned their attention to establish and encourage them, they began, from that period, to emerge from obscurity, and rapidly to increase in riches and power, till they rivalled every nation on the globe, in maritime strength, extent of commerce, and variety and perfection of manufactures; and London is now justly considered, the world's great mart. And though some of the British colonies owe their origin to folly, or frenzy, and were peopled against the will of the mother country; yet they were no sooner established, than they became a constant source of her riches, and increase of power.

If it should be asked, why the English have so soon rivalled those nations, who were not only possessed of, but greatly enriched by their colonies, before those of the British were planted? I answer—that one probable, and perhaps principal cause, that may be assigned, appears to me to be the prevailing religion of that country, which circumstance alone indisputably gives them many temporal advantages over those countries professing the Roman Catholic religion, where religious duties engross a larger share of the people's time: it has even been observed, by the liberal professors of that religion, that frequent vacations, and holy-days, naturally lead to idle

habits, and an aversion to labour, very perceptible in all Roman Catholic countries. In some of the cantons of Switzerland, nature has been rather sparing of her favours to the soil; yet where the inhabitants are principally Calvinists, it has been observed, that trade, agriculture, and manufactures, flourish much more than in those that are chiefly inhabited by Roman Catholics, even where nature has been far more bountiful.

Various are the chronological accounts of ancient times and nations; and though it is here of no great importance to be very accurate with respect to dates, yet it may be fairly allowed, that nine hundred years at least have rolled away, since Scotland was united under one monarch; which long period had produced no material commercial improvements, or increase of wealth, or power, in that country, till a few years since, not far exceeding half a century, when the Scotch wisely began to profit of their union with England, by a participation in the commerce with the British colonies: from this memorable epoch, the increase of their trade and manufactures has been so astonishingly great and rapid, that they are now become of vast importance to the commercial world, and have excited such a national spirit of agricultural improvements, that vast tracts of barren country, which, for time immemorial, had remained totally useless, being deemed incapable of cultivation, have, by the help of art, industry, and increase of wealth—the fruits of commerce—been transformed into fruitful fields; and where,

“Far as the eye could reach, no tree
was seen—

“Earth, clad in russet, scorn'd the
lively green—

villas, and villages, and groves, are spread: and rosy health, and jocund plenty reign, where meagre famine, for ages, held her solitary court, and seemed to claim a natural and exclusive right.

The Dutch were so early prepossessed in favour of commerce and distant colonies, that, even at that critical period, when they were considered as depen-

dent provinces, and were involved in a long, expensive, bloody war, in order to shake off the Spanish yoke, they never lost sight of those important objects, by which, and a due attention to the importance of a navy, they were enabled, not only to support the expenses of that war, but even greatly to enrich themselves; and at the same time, to furnish Henry IV. with men and money, to co-operate with them, against the common enemy, the king of Spain, who was at that period so rich and powerful, from commerce and his colonies, that he only wanted less bigotry, with common prudence, to have enabled him to give laws to all Europe.

Although nature has been extremely parsimonious of her favours to Holland, not only with respect to her coast, which is very dangerous, and her harbours few, and barred, (but the country itself seems of right to belong more to the ocean than to terra firma, and is only preserved from inundation by dint of constant struggle, labour, and immense expense) yet it now abounds in productions and resources of every kind—the natural fruits of industry, extensive commerce, and flourishing colonies.

The Dutch merchants, individually considered, are universally acknowledged to be the richest in the world; and Amsterdam may, at this day, be considered the second grand mart in Europe, and the great store-house of the commercial world; and it is computed, the city of Amsterdam alone pays more than one third part of all the taxes of all the united provinces. Yet in all emergencies and exigencies of the states, the Dutch have ever kept in view the importance of commerce, and necessity of observing great moderation in laying duties or imposts on trade; having always considered it their primary and most certain dependence; and the event has fully proved the measure to be wise and politic.

Manufactures, of almost every kind, are now carried on to great advantage in Holland; and at the same time, Amsterdam can furnish the manufactures

of all Europe, nearly as cheap as the countries where they are made.

This idea is worthy the contemplation of the citizens of the united states of America. We have very rich neighbours, who begin to open their eyes to their own particular interest: we cannot have better customers; and nothing is more natural, or probable, than a very extensive and advantageous commercial intercourse, when it shall be known, that we are possessed of the means to support and encourage it.

Insurances are now publicly made in London, on vessels and cargoes from that port, bound to the coast of Brazil, to be sold to the Portuguese: the underwriters take all risks, at 10 per cent. The necessity of a drawback, on the exportation of all goods, which pay a duty on importation, is therefore too evident to be controverted: without this it would be fruitless to attempt a foreign commerce, on which the prosperity of America principally depends. Should heavy duties on importations into the united states be early attempted, it is greatly to be feared, that it will encourage attempts at smuggling, which would be greatly facilitated by our innumerable safe ports and inlets; because commerce, in its present infant state, cannot be sufficiently productive to support the number of officers, that would be necessary effectually to guard all those ports—and, at the same time, answer the more essential purpose of revenue. If, therefore, only moderate duties are imposed, they will of course be more cheerfully paid—will discourage all illicit attempts—and be certainly productive of much greater revenues.

Smuggling is known and practised more or less in all countries. There are many who affect to think it no crime to rob the revenue; and it is well known, that many captains of vessels have not scrupled to swear to the truth of false manifests and invoices; and have often not been ashamed to avow the perjury, pretending to believe a custom-house oath less sacred than any other, and thereby impiously denying the ubiquity of the Deity; but however infamous the

name of an informer may have sounded in the ears of the people of America before the revolution, and however venial the offence may have then appeared, to cheat a king; the case is now widely different. In robbing the revenue at this day, we cheat ourselves; an informer is therefore our best friend; a smuggler is incontrovertibly a public injury, and therefore deserves the most ignominious punishment; the fair trader is a public benefit, and therefore deserves the greatest encouragement and support; and as a contraband trade, with every other species of fraud, by which the revenue is robbed of its dues, directly tends to the ruin of the fair trader, as well as to the injury of the state, surely no honest man can hesitate which side to take, or doubt whether he shall support a friend, or an enemy. None but an enemy to the country will attempt to injure it; none but an enemy will encourage, or even conceal the attempt.

No nation upon the globe is possessed of so many natural advantages for the great purposes of commerce, and colonization, as the united states of America: her coast, and almost innumerable harbours, from her most northern boundaries to the river St. Mary, which divides Georgia from the Spanish territories, are, throughout their vast extent, the safest, most navigable, and most commodious in the world. There is no part of the globe where ships may with equal safety navigate—where the risk is so equal in all seasons of the year, notwithstanding the severity of the winters on the northern coast—or where navigation sustains so few injuries. Nothing more is wanting to insure our prosperity, but to find markets to take off our almost inexhaustible, and still increasing superfluities: these markets would probably be most effectually secured by planting distant colonies, where we could establish a certain exclusive interchange of commodities, to mutual advantage—or by establishing factories in some of the Asiatic provinces, or elsewhere, totally independent of any European power—to barter with the natives for such articles,

as may either serve for our own use, or to remit where our own produce will not sell, or is prohibited.

The establishment of colonies, or even factories in advantageous situations, particularly in Asia, (though I would by no means confine my views to that quarter of the globe) is evidently an object of vast importance to the united states, as naturally tending to promote the rapid increase of their naval strength, which would soon render them too formidable to dread any unprovoked injury, or insult. I am well aware that the present exhausted state of our public finances precludes the idea of any early public exertions in support of the prosecution of any new schemes, however advantageous they may appear; but there are private merchants in America, of abilities, enterprise, and fortunes, equal to any possible undertaking: and government is always able so far to promote every measure tending to the public good, as to secure to the first patriotic adventurers, certain privileges and immunities, that shall ultimately compensate to them, or their heirs, the risk, trouble, and expense.

The world is wide; and immense tracts in Asia, Africa, and America, perhaps some of the richest, remain yet unknown, or unexplored: these may hereafter fall to the lot of Americans to discover and possess; and thereby open new sources of riches—and be a new stimulus to our industry.

E. C.

[This essay is extracted from the valuable "Gazette of the united states," published by Mr. John Fenno, in New-York—a paper to which the printer of the Museum acknowledges himself highly indebted.]

NUMBER VII.

Extract of a letter from Dr. Franklin.

IT is wonderful, how preposterously the affairs of this world are managed. Naturally one would imagine, that the interest of a few particulars, should give way to general interest. But particulars manage their affairs with so much more application, in-

dustry, and address, than the public do theirs, that general interest most commonly gives way to particular. We assemble parliaments and councils, to have the benefit of their collected wisdom; but we necessarily have at the same time, the inconvenience of their collected passions, prejudices, and private interests. By the help of these, artful men overpower their wisdom, and dupe its possessors: and if we may judge by the acts, arrets, and edicts, all the world over, for regulating commerce, an assembly of wise men is the greatest fool upon earth.

* * * *

I have not indeed yet thought of a remedy for luxury. I am not sure, that in a great state it is capable of a remedy; nor that the evil is in itself always so great as it is represented. Suppose, we include in the definition of luxury, all unnecessary expense, and then let us consider whether laws, to prevent such expense, are possible to be executed in a great country; and whether, if they could be executed, the people would be happier, or even richer? Is not the hope of being, one day, able to purchase and enjoy luxuries, a great spur to labour and industry? May not luxury, therefore, produce more than it consumes, if, without such a spur, people would be, as they are naturally enough inclined to be, lazy and indolent? To this purpose I remember a circumstance. The skipper of a shallop, employed between Cape May and Philadelphia, had done us some small service, for which he refused payment. My wife, understanding that he had a daughter, sent her, as a present, a new-fashioned cap. Three years after, this skipper being at my house, with an old farmer of Cape May, his passenger, he mentioned the cap, and how much his daughter had been pleased with it; "but," says he, "it proved a dear cap to our congregation."—"How so?"—"When my daughter appeared in it at meeting, it was so much admired, that all the girls resolved to get such caps from Philadelphia; and my wife and I computed that the whole could not have

cost less than an hundred pounds."—"True," says the farmer, "but you do not tell all the story: I think the cap was nevertheless an advantage to us; for it was the first thing that put our girls upon knitting worsted mittens for sale at Philadelphia, that they might have wherewithal to buy caps and ribands there; and you know that that industry has continued, and is likely to continue and increase to a much greater value, and answers better purposes."—Upon the whole, I was more reconciled to this little piece of luxury, since, not only the girls were made happier by having fine caps, but the Philadelphians, by the supply of warm mittens.

In our commercial towns, upon the sea coast, fortunes will occasionally be made. Some of those who grow rich, will be prudent, live within bounds, and preserve what they have gained, for their posterity. Others, fond of shewing their wealth, will be extravagant, and ruin themselves. Laws cannot prevent this: and perhaps it is not always an evil to the public. A shilling spent idly by a fool, may be picked up by a wiser person, who knows better what to do with it. It is therefore not lost. A vain silly fellow builds a fine house, furnishes it richly, lives in it expensively, and in a few years ruins himself; but the masons, carpenters, smiths, and other honest tradesmen, have been by his employ assisted in maintaining and raising their families; the farmer has been paid for his labour, and encouraged; and the estate is now in better hands. In some cases, indeed, certain modes of luxury may be a public evil, in the same manner as it is a private one. If there be a nation, for instance, that exports its beef and linen, to pay for its importation of claret and porter, while a great part of its people live upon potatoes, and wear no shirts; wherein does it differ from the sot who lets his family starve, and sells his clothes to buy drink? Our American commerce is, I confess, a little in this way. We sell our victuals to your islands for rum and sugar—the substantial necessities of life, for superfluities. But we have

plenty, and live well, nevertheless; though, by being soberer, we might be richer.

The vast quantity of forest lands we have yet to clear and put in order for cultivation, will, for a long time, keep the body of our nation laborious and frugal. Forming an opinion of our people and their manners by what is seen among the inhabitants of the sea ports, is judging from an improper sample. The people of the trading towns may be rich and luxurious, while the country possesses all the virtues that tend to promote happiness and public prosperity. Those towns are not much regarded by the country; they are hardly considered as an essential part of the states; and the experience of the last war has shewn, that their being in possession of the enemy, did not necessarily draw on the subjection of the country, which bravely continued to maintain its freedom and independence, notwithstanding.

It has been computed, by some political arithmetician, that if every man and woman would work four hours each day on something useful, that labour would produce sufficient to procure all the necessaries and comforts of life; want and misery would be banished out of the world; and the rest of the twenty-four hours might be leisure and pleasure.

What occasions then so much want and misery? It is the employment of men and women in works that produce neither the necessaries nor conveniences of life, who, with those who do nothing, consume the necessaries raised by the laborious. To explain this:

The first elements of wealth are obtained by labour, from the earth and waters. I have land, and raise corn. With this, if I feed a family that does nothing, my corn will be consumed, and at the end of the year, I shall be no richer than I was at the beginning. But if, while I feed them, I employ them, some in spinning, others in hewing timber and sawing boards, others in making bricks, &c. for building, the value of my corn will be arrested, and remain with me, and at the end of the year, we may all be better clothed and

better lodged. And if, instead of employing a man I feed, in making bricks, I employ him in fiddling for me, the corn he eats, is gone; and no part of his manufacture remains to augment the wealth and convenience of the family; I shall therefore be the poorer for this fiddling man, unless the rest of my family work more, or eat less, to make up the deficiency he occasions.

Look round the world, and see the millions employed in doing nothing, or in something that amounts to nothing, when the necessaries and conveniences of life are in question. What is the bulk of commerce, for which we fight and destroy each other, but the toil of millions for superfluities, to the great hazard and loss of many lives by the constant dangers of the sea? how much labour spent in building and fitting great ships to go to China and Arabia, for tea and for coffee; to the West-Indies for sugar; to America for tobacco! These things cannot be called the necessaries of life, for our ancestors lived very comfortably without them.

A question may be asked, could all these people, now employed in raising, making, or carrying superfluities, be subsisted by raising necessaries? I think they might. The world is large, and a great part of it is still uncultivated. Many hundred millions of acres in Asia, Africa, and America, are still forest, and a great deal even in Europe. On a hundred acres of this forest a man might become a substantial farmer; and 100,000 men, employed in clearing each his hundred acres, would hardly brighten a spot big enough to be visible from the moon, unless with Herfchell's telescope; so vast are the regions still in wood.

It is, however, some comfort to reflect, that upon the whole, the quantity of industry and prudence among mankind, exceeds the quantity of idleness and folly. Hence the increase of good buildings, farms cultivated, and populous cities, filled with wealth, all over Europe; which, a few ages since, were only to be found on the coast of the Mediterranean; and this, notwithstand-

ing the mad wars continually raging, by which are often destroyed in one year the works of many years' peace. So that we may hope the luxury of a few merchants on the coast, will not be the ruin of America.

One reflexion more, and I will end this long rambling letter.—Almost all the parts of our bodies require some expence. The feet demand shoes; the legs, stockings; the rest of the body, clothing; and the belly, a good deal of victuals. OUR eyes, though exceedingly useful, ask, when reasonable, only the cheap assistance of spectacles, which could not much impair our finances. But THE EYES OF OTHER PEOPLE are the eyes that ruin us. If all but myself were blind, I should want neither fine clothes, fine houses, nor fine furniture.

NUMBER VIII.

By Brian Edwards, *esquire*.

London, Feb. 1784.

ON an average of three years, previous to 1774, the several West India islands received from America (I mean from those provinces which now constitute the united states; the small and casual importations from Canada and Nova Scotia, being unworthy particular discrimination*) an annual supply of one hundred and twenty-five thousand barrels of flour, five thousand tierces of biscuit, fourteen thousand tierces of rice, twelve thousand five hundred barrels of pork and beef, three hundred and sixty thousand bushels of Indian corn, besides beans, pease, oats, &c. but above all, as being of infinite importance towards the maintenance of the negroes, was the article of salted fish, amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand quintals, and thirty thousand barrels †. Such were the provisions—not

NOTES.

* From 5th July, 1782 to 5th July, 1783, only two small vessels from Halifax, and one from Quebec, entered at Kingston, Jamaica.

† Worth in America about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling.

matters of luxury—but plain and necessary food. Of lumber for building, such as joists, boards, planks, &c. (worth in the West Indies before the war, about five pounds sterling per thousand) the quantity imported was twenty million one hundred and fifty thousand feet, besides twenty-one million shingles for roofing: and of staves for hogsheds and puncheons, worth eight pounds sterling per thousand, or thereabouts, the islands received twenty-one million one hundred and sixty thousand, exclusive of seventeen thousand shook hogsheds, and about a million and a half of wood hoops. To all which are to be added, frames for houses, spermaceti candles, iron, tar, turpentine, and lamp-oil, horses, oxen, sheep, and poultry; the whole annual importation, I venture to set, on the most moderate estimate, at the sum of seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling money of Great Britain!

In payment of this immense supply, the Americans exported part of all the staples of the British islands, but principally rum. And it is a circumstance deserving particular attention, that the rum of all the British plantations (Jamaica and Grenada excepted) is fit only for the American market, and would seldom prove a saving remittance, if shipped to Great Britain. The quantity of this article, sold annually to America, on an average as above, was three million six hundred thousand gallons, amounting, at one shilling and six pence sterling per gallon, to two hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling.

The next article of export, in point of value, was sugar, of which the Americans purchased about three thousand hogsheds, one thousand five hundred tierces, and four thousand barrels yearly; worth, on the spot, about one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. It was chiefly the finest muscovado, intended for the scale.

With melasses the Americans were chiefly supplied by the French, who, being checked in their distilleries by the policy of their government, could afford to sell it much cheaper than the British

planters: yet, in assorting their homeward cargoes, this commodity was not entirely overlooked. The quantity purchased by them in the British islands annually, was stated to me at about one hundred and fifty thousand gallons, worth five thousand pounds sterling; but I suspect it is greatly under-rated.

Coffee constituted a very essential article of American consumption. The demand for it in Jamaica, for the American market, was so great, for some years previous to the commencement of the late war, as to occasion an increase of cultivation in the mountainous parts of that island, (especially in the vicinity of Kingston) so rapid as to excite astonishment.

The quantity shipped to North America so long ago as 1767, (since which time I have no exact account) from the port of Kingston, was nine hundred and four casks—worth, I presume, on an average, twenty pounds each (currency). I have no doubt, that this exportation was doubled, on an average of the six succeeding years; and allowing the islands to windward (particularly Dominica, Grenada, and its dependencies) to have furnished an equal quantity with Jamaica, the whole supply, in sterling money, would not be short of fifty thousand pounds. This article too would have proved a losing remittance, if shipped to Great Britain. The late ministers, however, very wisely and prudently reduced the duties on its importation.

The Americans purchased likewise (chiefly in Jamaica) considerable quantities of cocoa, or chocolate, and about ten thousand mahogany planks. These articles were obtained principally from the Spanish main, and the Island of Cuba, in exchange for British manufactures, sent from Jamaica. This was a trade formerly of infinite importance to Great Britain, till the British ministry, in 1763, through a mistaken policy, becoming custom-house officers for the king of Spain, gave it a wound, of which it has never thoroughly recovered. They purchased, likewise, but to no great amount, piemento, ginger, cotton-

wool, fustic, logwood, and lignum vitæ. For these various articles, I reckon, on a loose estimate, sixty thousand pounds.

From this state of their imports and exports, the sum of two hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling appears to have been the balance in favour of America, and it was paid in cash and bills of exchange. Part of which, as it is supposed, was afterwards laid out in the French islands, in the purchase of melasses and coffee; but much less, I believe, than is commonly imagined; for the French planters had as great occasion as the British, for American lumber and necessaries; and that those articles were freely admitted into their ports, I have been myself an eye-witness. That they gladly received them too, instead of money, in payment of sugar and other articles of produce, which were afterwards conveyed (whether legally or not) into the ports of North America, there is no reason to doubt. It is therefore more than probable, that the whole, or the greatest part of the balance due and received from the planters in the British islands, was remitted by the Americans to Great Britain, in reduction of their debts to the British merchants. And such were once the happy effects of colonial navigation and commerce! Though spreading through a variety of distant channels, their profits all returned to, and ultimately centred in Great Britain, like rivers to the ocean, which, as philosophers tell us, supplies by unobserved operations, and through a thousand secret recesses, the springs and fountains of the earth: but these, after giving fertility and life to the remotest corners of the globe, return back with collective and augmented force, and freighted with golden treasures, to the bosom of their general parent.

NUMBER IX.

Hartford, Sept. 1789.

THE carrying on of manufactures makes an important addition to the advantages which the community in general derive from commerce. Commerce, by affording a market, gives va-

lue to the produce of the country. The carrying on of manufactures increases the consumption, the demand, and the value of our produce in general; but especially of a great variety of our raw materials, which otherwise would be worth little or nothing. I have taken some pains to enquire what are the amount and value of some manufactures which are now carried on in this state. It is not many years, since the first paper-mill was erected in Connecticut. I find, by enquiry and an accurate estimate, that now the sum of 2,400 dollars a year is paid for the single article of rags, to supply our paper-mills; that annually there are manufactured in the state, above 5000 reams of paper, besides pasteboard, press-papers, &c. The value of which is upwards of 9000 dollars. The woolen manufactory has been lately set up in the city of Hartford. With all the difficulties, necessarily attending such a new undertaking, it has been prosecuted with such success, that it produced upwards of 5000 yards of cloth between September 1st, 1788 and September 1st, 1789: some of which was of such an excellent quality, as to sell for five dollars per yard. This manufacture is carried on with such spirit and success, that it will produce double the above quantity the present year. The linen manufacture has been set up and prosecuted with advantage in New-haven; it has proved profitable to the proprietors; the produce of it has been preferred in the southern states, to which it has been exported, far before the coarser linens of Europe. Families, by carrying on domestic manufactures of linen and woolen, not only supply themselves, but also sell considerable quantities for exportation. This branch would be rendered more profitable, if proper attention were paid in making the linens and woolens, which are sold to the merchant, of a length and breadth suitable for the markets abroad. The manufacture of nails has been lately introduced; we now make more than enough for our own use. In short, the manufactures of linen, woolen, leather, iron, brass, paper, and a variety of other ar-

ticles, together with the culture of silk, are increasing. They may be rendered profitable to the individuals concerned, and exceedingly beneficial to the public.

We have now arrived at the proper stage of society, for manufactures to make a rapid progress towards perfection. We have become the most populous state in the union; so populous, that, without taking away too many hands from agriculture, we may carry on manufactures, so as to make not only sufficient for our own use, but may export large quantities to the southern states. Our people are industrious and intelligent; they are possessed of uncommon genius for mechanical inventions, and of such versatility, that they can, with great ease and quickness, turn their hands to those arts which are introduced among us from abroad. The price of labour among us is reasonable. It is not so high as to discourage the manufacturing proprietor, nor is it so low as to discourage the workman. Raw materials are plenty and cheap. In this respect, we have a decided superiority over the Europeans. The Europeans, by introducing a variety of machines for abridging the quantity of labour employed in manufactures, have taught us a lesson, which we may improve greatly to our advantage and to their detriment. These machines are profitable to the proprietors of manufactories, but not advantageous to the European nations; because they have such numbers of indigent workmen that need employment. These machines are coming rapidly into use in this country, where the abridging of labour will be advantageous both to individuals and to the public; and where the cheapness and plenty of raw materials will enable us to out-rival the Europeans even in their own markets. This has already begun to take place. Our manufacturers have exported wool-cards to Great Britain, and undersold the English in their own country.

A great variety of important manufactures may soon be carried to such perfection, that we may supply our-

selves, and likewise export large quantities. This being effected, our exports will be made greater than our imports; the balance of trade will be in our favour; and money will flow in upon us in great plenty. What has heretofore turned the balance of trade against us, is the great quantity of manufactured articles which we have imported. But our situation is changing—our imports are diminishing—our exports may easily be increased—our merchants may be employed in sending our manufactures to other states and countries—and trade, so far from impoverishing us, may enrich us as fast as can reasonably be wished.

Another important advantage, arising from manufactures, is, that they give employment to great numbers of persons, who otherwise would have little or nothing to do. In order that a community may be flourishing, a vein of industry must run through the whole; all should be engaged in business useful to themselves and to the public. It is not enough that one-half of the community be employed. Not only men, but women and children ought to be industrious. While the men are engaged in the more arduous and laborious branches of business, the women should apply themselves to such as are suited to their strength and condition. It is highly to the credit of the fair part of the community, that their industry has never been wanting, when it has had an opportunity of exerting itself. The manufactures of linen, woolen, and cotton, both those which are domestic, and those which are upon a larger scale, afford employment for female hands. The produce of the industry thus employed, is of great benefit to the individuals, and a clear saving to the public. The same observation is applicable to those manufactures, which employ men at those seasons of the year, when otherwise they would be idle for want of employment.

In another point of view, manufactures are of the utmost importance to our prosperity as a state. Our lands

are cleared and settled; our farms in general will not bear a further division; unless there be some new resource, our most active, industrious, and enterprising young men, as they come upon the stage, will emigrate into those parts of the continent, where there is more vacant territory. We shall not only lose so many of our best inhabitants, but their emigration will be constantly draining us of wealth. The people who emigrate, will sell their property here, and be constantly carrying the avails of it out of the state. A constant stream of men and money, and flocks and herds, will be flowing from us, into the other parts of the continent. We ought to wish for the settlement and prosperity of the western countries; we ought to be willing, that as many of our inhabitants as can be conveniently spared, should emigrate thither; yet these emigrations ought not to be so great as to weaken and impoverish ourselves. The affection, which people have for the places of their birth and education—their reluctance at parting with their friends and connexions—the hardships of going into the wilderness, and subduing the rugged face of uncultivated nature—are so great, that emigrations will not be excessive, if proper encouragement can be found for people at home. Manufactures afford this encouragement. The cheapness and plenty of provisions and raw materials—our state of population and society being favourable to the introduction of manufactures—the genius and qualifications which our citizens have for the mechanic arts—the great demand which there is in the southern states for the manufactures of the northern—the profits which individuals and the public may derive from this source—all conspire to evince the propriety, the utility, and the importance of carrying on manufactures.

✍ The correspondence of the truly-patriotic writer of the foregoing essay will be regarded as a particular favour by the printer of the museum.

AMERICAN SPECTATOR.

NUMBER V.

Worcester, (Mass.) Aug. 1788.

HERE is no employment of the mind more agreeable, or from which arise more pleasing sensations, than the contemplation of the beneficence of the Deity, and the exercise of charity and benevolence among men. The heart expands with the most sublime satisfaction upon a view of the man of real benevolence, who is constant in the practice of the moral virtues, and disposed at all times to promote the happiness of the beings around him.

The man of this character is possessed of a catholic temper, and of that generous opinion in matters of religion, which induces him to esteem others as honest, sincere and upright as himself, though they differ from him in speculative opinions;—he forms his judgment of the characters of his fellow-men, not from their religious professions, but from their conduct in life. He is willing that each individual should, without molestation, enjoy the right of judging and acting for himself, according to the dictates of his own conscience.

The possessor of the heavenly virtue of catholicism is one of the most respectable and amiable of our race—kind and benevolent, obliging and candid, he is ever ready to extend the hand of assistance to relieve distress, notwithstanding it be towards those who are of different sentiments in religion;—his every thought wishes the good, and his every action has for its object, the happiness of those with whom he is connected.

In matters of speculation, mankind will not form the same sentiments; they will not draw the same conclusions; we may as well expect that the complexion and features of each individual of the human race should be similar, as that each individual should agree in sentiment. How base! how absurd! how presumptuous, then, for one individual, or for any body of men, to undertake by any coercive measures to regulate the conduct and opinions of others

in matters of religion!—But superstition and bigotry, at one period and another, have taken such strong hold, and been so prevalent among men, that they have influenced their morals and conduct; they have raised disturbances; caused wars, bloodshed, and confusion; and eventually the powers of the human mind have been involved in the dark labyrinths of ignorance, and enveloped in the thick mists of error and religious frenzy. Bigotry, when hurried on by a wild, mistaken zeal, admits no bounds to its diabolical process; and its malice is illimitable;—all the sagacious cruelty, obloquy, and reproach, which the most inveterate spleen can produce, are its genuine offspring, and liberally bestowed upon the unhappy victims of its rage.—The most trifling subjects, with the bigoted and superstitious, become matters of importance, and are frequently considered as good grounds for contention.—Mere logomachies, and prejudices arising from education, have been the sources of the most inveterate hatred.

The passions of men, though absolutely necessary, and, when directed to right objects, and properly regulated, exceedingly beneficial, are productive of the greatest calamities when influenced by bigotry and superstition. The page of history is too frequently stained by accounts of wars and persecutions which originated in most trivial disputes, and which in fact were of no more importance than whether one of the disciples were a fisherman or a sailmaker.

A city of Germany once had recourse to arms, and was thrown into the utmost confusion, upon the simple dispute, “whether the Lord’s prayer began with *pater noster* or *noster pater*”—a true specimen this of the importance of many ecclesiastical disputes, and controversies in polemic divinity, and of the acrimonious spirit with which they have been conducted.

Far different from this is the temper and disposition of the catholic mind—liberty of conscience, a right to think for ourselves, to form our own opinions, and to practise accordingly, in

matters of religion, is a right unalienable, and of which no individual, conducting as a peaceable member of society, ever ought to be deprived.—The benevolent and humane cannot but feel a sense of gratitude, when they view the pleasing prospects of a total abolition of religious tyranny; when they notice the influence of divine catholicism; when they reflect, that the arts and sciences, the knowledge of virtue and true religion, generally diffused and diffusing, are rapidly demolishing all the fetters which have been imposed upon, and which have cramped, the human intellect;—they are pleased with the idea of universal freedom, and rejoice in the sentiment, that all who, with honest integrity, have sought for truth, though they may have formed different conclusions, stand equally right in the eye of heaven.—There is a spirit so celestial and benign in catholicism, that it enlarges the faculties; it exalts its possessor far above the contracted prejudices of a narrow soul; it inspires the most grand, noble, and magnificent ideas of the power, wisdom, goodness, and superintendence of the deity; it guides the mind up through nature's works to nature's God; it induces us to embrace, with the heart of affection, the whole human race; and leads us, in harmony and peace, to the harbour of felicity. Let it be cultivated—it will augment the celestial flame of universal love and unbounded benevolence—it will dispel dark, misguiding clouds of prejudice and superstition, and exalt the soul to angelic nature.

NUMBER VI.

New York, June, 1789.

IT is worthy of remark, that men, who have nothing to do, seldom have any leisure; while those, who are in good earnest engaged in business, have spare time enough. The latter have leisure because they attend to their own business, and nothing else; the former want leisure, because they do not attend to their own business, but to every thing else. I have among my acquaintance a character of each of these descrip-

tions; one of them is named *Attentus*, the other *Ubiquitus*. It happened the other morning they both called on me, nearly at the same time.

Attentus informed me, that having a little leisure, he had waited on me to adjust an account that lay between us. He tarried but a few minutes, proceeded deliberately, and accomplished what he came for. *Ubiquitus* ran up to the door to acquaint me with the great hurry he was in; and to apologize for his not being able to make me a visit: he continued with me upwards of an hour, without having any business, and spent most of the time in lamenting his amazing haste. It may not be amiss to observe, that *Attentus* is largely concerned in mercantile affairs, and is an extensive dealer in West India goods. No person ever managed his concerns with more method and prudence; and by doing every thing as it ought to be done, and finishing one thing before he begins another, he is at no time in hurry and confusion, and often finds moments of leisure and relaxation.

Ubiquitus, on the other hand, though his whole life is spent in trifles, takes hold even of trifles at the wrong end; engages in many trivial things at once; and finishes no part of what he undertakes. He seems to have no determinate object of pursuit; and his friends are at a loss to conjecture how he employs himself; while he is incessantly complaining of the pressure and anxiety, which are occasioned by the multiplicity of his affairs. The reader will form a clearer idea of the difference of these characters, if I relate exactly the conversation that passed the other morning.

Attentus called just at nine o'clock, and found me at breakfast. After informing me what he wished, he requested me to take my breakfast leisurely, as he could, without inconvenience, wait a few minutes. I rose from the table, and handed him the account I had stated, and mentioned, that he could examine it, at his leisure. "It is my practice," said he, "to complete every

thing of this kind on the spot." He soon went through the examination, made his remarks, and was again at leisure. I enquired of him if he knew how the wind stood, and whether the British packet would sail that day? "I know very well," said he, "how the wind is; because I am looking for a vessel from the West Indies; but I know nothing of the packet, as I do not deal in Europe. It runs in my mind, however, that I heard somebody speaking of the matter; but who the person was, or what he said, I do not remember, as I never charge my memory with what does not relate to my own affairs." In examining some papers, I was rather slower than common; and desired Attentus to excuse me, as I was at the theatre the evening before, and had not taken my usual hours of sleep. "Theatre," cried he; "are the players in town; how long have they been here?" "Six weeks," replied I. "Have they, indeed," said Attentus, "I never heard a word of it before." "But," continued I, "do you not read the newspapers?" "I take the newspapers," answered he, "but I only peruse such parts of them as give information about my particular line of business." It happened, in the course of conversation, that I asked him if he had attended the debates of congress. He told me he had once been in the gallery, that his neighbours should not say he was an antifederalist; but that he thought the business would go on as well without his company as with it, and he should attend no more. "If you have leisure," said I, "you should be present at some of the debates, as they concern the mercantile interest, who in the first instance must pay the duties." "As to leisure," said he, "I have some; but my attending at the gallery will neither make the duties more or less. I shall find out what they are, fast enough. The old duties were laid without my knowledge, but I soon had people after me to put me in mind of the business. Besides, the members of congress will not stay in my store and watch for customers while I am in their gallery." Attentus was about leaving me,

when I mentioned that I would walk a little way with him. "Well," said he, "if you are going my way, I have no objection." Just as we were at the door, Ubiquitus came up and interrupted my walk.

He took me by the hand, and with a perplexed countenance, said, he never was in such an hurry in his life; that he could scarce stay to apologize for not staying longer. However, while he was making these complaints, he followed me fairly into the house. I urged him to take a chair, and tarry a few minutes. "No," replied he, "I could not wait ten minutes, if you would give me ten guineas. I have every thing to do this morning. It was my intention to have wrote half a dozen letters before this hour of the day; but I shall not write one before dinner; and after all, shall not find leisure to hear the debates of congress." I continued to urge him to take a seat, and recover a little from his fatigue; but he seemed offended at the request, and fell into a run of conversation that I thought he never would have finished. He held one of the buttons of my coat with his left hand, that my impatience should not force me from him; and extended his right arm, that he might the more emphatically express the necessity of leaving me immediately. As nearly as I can recollect, the following are a few of the remarks and queries he made: "Have you heard of the arrivals at Philadelphia from the East Indies? There was an excellent play last night, but I could not find time to attend. Do you not think the address from the methodist clergy to the president, was modestly done? The bank, I am told, are sparing of their discounts now-a-days. Whom do they talk of as chief justice of the united states? I fear I shall lose a beaver-hat respecting the issue of the election for governor. What a perplexity it is to be so hurried; you see my hair is not combed; and I suppose my barber will call several times before I can be ready for him. My letters are unanswered for a long while past." "But," enquired I, "do you not notice your letters as soon as you re-

ceive them? Attentus tells me he never leaves any thing undone, after the proper time of doing it. "Well he may," replied Ubiquitus, "for he has nothing to do but to take care of his business. The case is quite otherwise with me. I have a whole chest of papers lying in heaps and confusion, and I do not even recollect the contents of half of them." I began to be weary of standing, and as my friend could not tarry long enough to sit down, I proposed a walk by way of relief to myself. Ubiquitus joined in the proposal, and as he had much business abroad, and I had none, I left it with him to direct the course of our rambles. "We will go," said he, "stop! I have so many places to visit, I hardly know which to call at first. Upon the whole I will accompany you wherever you please." My walk did not give the relief I expected, for Ubiquitus stopped to speak with so many persons in the streets, that I was almost as still, as before I left the house; and I am not certain I should have escaped from my confinement for several hours, if a gentleman had not invited Ubiquitus to go with him to a billiard table. This suggestion so pleased him, that he took his leave of me, and I did not imagine I should see him again that day. However it happened Ubiquitus and myself were to dine at the same place. I called at the hour of invitation, and none of the company were missing but Ubiquitus. When dinner had waited for him nearly half an hour, he came in so extremely exhausted with the fatigues of the morning, that I feared he had lost his appetite. He expressed a little regret that the company had waited for him, but observed, that they knew so well how difficult it was for him to be exact to his appointments, that no apology was requisite. I perceived, however, that his hurry did not prevent his doing justice to the dinner and wine: and indeed before evening he seemed well satisfied with the position he had taken.

NUMBER VII.

In vain Avaro rolls to heaven his eyes,
In vain his prayers ascend in groans and
sighs;

VOL. VII. No. I.

For he, who never felt another's woes,
Can ne'er be grateful for what God be-
flows.

CHARITY is the first of all the graces—the child of virtue—the first-born of heaven!—the connecting link between divinity and humanity—the only medium of intercourse between earth and heaven: so that a mind, destitute of this divine principle, knows nothing of real religion—is a total stranger to the genuine spirit of christianity, and to every anticipation of the joys of paradise.

"Charity never faileth"—it is a perpetual current of good-will and compassion, that flows towards the whole family of mankind, and visits with particular delight, the children of sorrow and wretchedness.

Charity despises all distinctions—it feels its connexion with every son and daughter of affliction: for partiality and prejudice damp the fire, and extinguish the very embers of humanity and love.

Charity is active and diligent, in proportion to its means of benevolence—casual opportunities of communicating, and doing good, do not circumscribe its benignity—it seeks for objects of distress in their lone recesses.

While the habitual sons of want obtrude their necessities to the public view—modest, but unfortunate merit often perishes in its humble retreat from observation.

The benevolent mind contemplates its duty in every form—it recognizes it in every adventitious circumstance of misery—and with alacrity searches out the secret abodes of the widow and the fatherless, who have none to help.

It has been observed, that of all the failings charged upon good men in scripture, the crime of avarice is never mentioned—an hard and unfeeling temper is so contrary to the spirit of the gospel, that it may with truth be said, those who shut up all bowels of compassion towards the poor, are totally destitute of the love of God.

"The liberal mind deviseth liberal things"—and, next to relieving the immediate wants of the poor, our duty is

to devise plans which may abate human misery, and capacitate those of the community, who are most peculiarly liable to misfortunes, for laying such foundations in early life, as will most effectually guard the avenues of want and wretchedness in riper years: such, I conceive, is providing the means of education, upon so liberal, easy, and extensive a system, as that all, of every rank, may be equally benefited by the institution—for that is the best charity, which prevents the ills of life. Would

we wish that the preaching of the gospel should not be lost labour and expense—would we wish that the children of the poor should escape the consequences of ignorance and impiety; and become useful to themselves, and blessings to society—let a wide door be thrown open to them, for acquiring a plain, but useful education: human wisdom and benevolence cannot contrive any expedient so competent to these objects, as
PUBLIC FREE SCHOOLS.

New York, December 16, 1789.



MISCELLANIES.

Essay on the influence of religion, in civil society. By the rev. Thomas Reese, A. M. pastor of the Presbyterian church at Salem, S. C.

NUMBER I.

THAT our laws do not operate with sufficient force, is a truth too glaring to escape observation. It is seen—felt—and lamented by every sincere lover of his country. Different causes, no doubt, co-operate to produce this effect. To investigate all these, does not fall within my present design; though it might be of singular service to the state: for as in the human, so in the body politic, the cause of a disease being once discovered, the remedy is more easily prescribed, and the deleterious effect more successfully counteracted. It is more to my purpose, to observe, that the general neglect of religion, which prevails among us, is one great, if not the chief cause, why our laws are so feeble in their operation. Immorality is the natural consequence of impiety. An irreligious will always be an immoral, people: and among such, good and wholesome laws can never be executed with punctuality.

Some of our laws may be erroneous or defective—and not framed with a sufficient regard to the spirit of the people; and this hath been assigned by superficial thinkers as the only reason why they are not carried into execution. This, I think is a great mistake. Our laws, though they may partake of that imperfection, which is the common

mark of all human productions, are in general salutary, and calculated to promote our political happiness, if they were properly executed. Here lies the grand defect—a defect, which is not to be attributed solely, or even principally, to the badness of our laws—but to some other causes. Whatever these may be, the effect is sufficiently alarming; and threatens a speedy dissolution of our government. Let our laws be ever so good, if they are not properly executed, our government can be of no long duration.

A transient view of those states and kingdoms, which have made the most striking figure in the history of the world, and which have been most renowned for the felicity of their government, will convince us, that religion was by them always considered as a matter of great importance to civil society.

The greatest politicians, and most celebrated legislators of antiquity, depended much on this, to give sanction to their laws, and make them operate with vigour and facility.

If we carefully consider the nature of religion and of civil government, we will be led to conclude, that in this they did not act at random—but from the most profound knowledge of human nature, and the dictates of the soundest policy. The manners of the people, though so little attended to by our legislators, are confessed by all to be of the utmost consequence in a commonwealth. The most profligate poli-

tician can expatiate on the necessity of good morals; but we hear little of religion, from our most respectable statesmen. When the discussion is of politics, she is generally kicked out of doors as having nothing to do either with morality or civil policy. The inseparable connexion between this daughter of heaven, and her genuine offspring, morality—is forgotten—and her influence on civil society almost wholly overlooked. For the better arrangement of our thoughts on this extensive subject, we shall—

I. Consider religion under its more general notion, as comprehending the belief of a deity, a providence, and a future state of rewards and punishments.

II. We shall consider the christian religion in particular; and, as we pass along, endeavour to shew the influence of both on civil society.

That religion is of great importance to society, is universally acknowledged. Assuming this for granted, let us proceed to enquire how it operates, to produce those effects, which are confessed to be of such singular service. It is a common observation, that we are so formed, as to be greatly influenced by whatever works upon our hopes or our fears. Now, it is by taking hold on these, that religion produces those salutary effects, of which we now speak; thus restraining men from vice, by the dread of punishment—and alluring them to virtue, by the hope of reward. These are the two principles, or if you please, passions, in human nature, which first prompted men to enter into the social union—fear of violence from each other—and hope of security by association. And it is only by working on these passions, that the union of men, in the social state, can be rendered permanent, and laws operate with that energy, which is necessary to obtain their end.

Those who firmly believe, that there is a God, who governs the world, who sees all their actions, and who will certainly reward virtue and punish vice—must undoubtedly be influenced by this belief—and restrained, at least in some

measure, from evil, and excited to good.

It must be confessed, indeed, that there are too many, that profess to believe the doctrines of religion, who yet seem to be very little influenced by them. Hurried away by the violence of their passions, they frequently transgress the bounds, which religion prescribes; and prefer the gratification of present appetite, to the enjoyment of future good. But we must not hence conclude, that religion is in no degree a curb to the licentiousness of men. Those, who, in some instances, act thus contrary to their principles, would go much further, were they void of those principles, and the reins laid on the neck of appetite. It will not follow, that because religion does not restrain from immorality, totally and universally, therefore it is no restraint at all. By the same way of reasoning, we might prove, that civil laws lay no restraint upon men, because they do not entirely restrain all men, at all times, and in all instances.

NUMBER II.

IN order that we may be more fully convinced of the utility, and even necessity of religion, to the well-being, we might venture to say, to the very existence of civil society, it will be necessary to enquire a little into the essential defects of the best-constituted government possible.

If we consider the end of civil society, and the evils it was designed to remedy, we will be convinced, from its very nature, that it cannot reach that end, nor guard against those evils—without the aid of religion. Let it suffice, to observe, that security of life, liberty, and property, is the precise and specific end of the social compact. Other advantages it brings with it, and answers many other valuable purposes. But the evils, for which it was designed as a remedy, are injustice, violence, rapine, mutual slaughter, and bloodshed. The manner, in which men aim at the cure of these evils, is by laws enacted with common consent, enforced by a sanction, and committed to the magistrate, to be strictly and impartially carried into execution.

That civil government may fully and completely obtain its end, it is necessary that its laws should have such a sanction, and operate in such a manner, as to prevent or punish all crimes whatsoever, which may be injurious to the community or tend to its dissolution. It will, I suppose, be readily granted, on all hands, that there never were, nor ever will be, laws so sanctioned, as to operate in this manner. Hence appears the insufficiency of civil society to answer its end.

The two great sanctions of all laws have been generally reckoned, reward and punishment: and, indeed, without these two sanctions, every one must see, that government cannot, in any tolerable degree, answer its end, or laws operate in such a manner as is necessary, to secure its very existence. But civil society, without the support of religion, is altogether destitute of one of these sanctions; and can apply the other but in a very partial manner, and under great restrictions.

I. Civil society wholly wants the sanction of reward.

In an age and place so highly enlightened in the nature and principles of sound policy, I shall not enter into a formal proof, that reward is not, and cannot be the sanction of civil society, considered in itself. It will be sufficient just to observe, "that no state whatever can possess a fund large enough to reward all its subjects for obedience to the laws, unless it be first drawn from them by a tax, to be paid back as a reward." Government can, indeed, and it hath been the custom in all governments, to reward particular subjects, for eminent services; but every one must see, that this is something very different from the idea of reward, considered as the sanction of civil laws. A reward, barely for obedience to the good and wholesome laws of his country, is what no wise subject expects, and no society can * bestow. Without enter-

NOTE.

* It may, perhaps, be said, that protection is the reward conferred on every individual, for his observance of the

ing any further into this subject, we shall take it for granted, that civil society, in itself, totally wants one of those sanctions which are necessary to enforce its laws. That this is a very great and essential defect, will, we hope, be allowed by every competent judge. How, and in what degree religion supplies this defect, will be seen hereafter. At present, let us a little enquire,

II. Into the effects of punishment, considered as a sanction. This is the proper and only sanction of civil laws. But how imperfectly it can be enforced by society, will appear from the following considerations:

I. Civil government cannot punish secret crimes.

That these abound in every society, is matter of universal experience: that they are injurious to it, is too plain to admit of the least doubt; that they are even multiplied by it, a little attention to human nature, will evince. When men are restrained from open transgres-

NOTE.

laws. And here I imagine, if any where, it is, that so many have fallen into a mistake in this matter. To this it may be briefly replied, that protection is a debt due from all to every individual, for that portion of his natural liberty, which he hath given up, in the original compact. If protection, in strict propriety of speech, be reward—then withdrawing it must be punishment; which it is not invariably, but only accidentally. The consequence of withdrawing protection is, or at least always ought to be, banishment. But banishment is not always a punishment. It becomes so only by accident. It is so intentionally, but not always consequentially. Punishment is not of the essence of banishment; for it would be easy to put a case, where banishment must be considered, not as a punishment, but a very great blessing. This shews, that protection, considered as a reward, is not the sanction of human laws, in the same sense that punishment is, to which it ought to be properly opposed, if indeed it be the sanction of reward.

sion, by the terror of laws, and the dread of punishment, it is natural for them to fly to the covert of secrecy, that they may evade the laws, and escape with impunity. They know, that civil judicatures take cognizance only of those crimes, which are apparent: and if they can only conceal their guilt from the eyes of men, they are sure to escape that punishment, which is the sanction of human laws. This will deter them from open violence; but at the same time, spur them on to secret craft and stratagem. This will lead them to study and improve all the latent arts of mischief and malice: and the very security which society affords, by throwing men off their guard, gives designing villains an opportunity of practising these with greater success. I crave the reader's particular attention to this circumstance; as it is of the first importance to the point in hand; and in the clearest manner shews the necessity of religion in civil government.

II. Civil society not only cannot punish secret crimes, but, in some cases, cannot adequately punish even such as are apparent, and can be clearly proven. So inordinate are the appetites of men—and so violent the impulse of the sensual passions—that the severe punishment of one crime, would, sometimes, open a door to others of a more atrocious nature and pernicious tendency. We give only one instance of this kind. The judicious reader may, if he be so disposed, supply others of a similar nature. Fornication is undoubtedly injurious, and attended with very pernicious consequences to a state; but notwithstanding this, it would not be wisdom in any government to punish it in proportion to its evil influence. The reason is, because such punishment would lead to more flagitious lusts—to more enormous and to unnatural crimes. Accordingly, we find, that no great, wise, and flourishing community hath ever punished fornication, as its pernicious effects on society confessedly deserve. It will be difficult to assign any other reason for this, than that which we have just now mentioned.

III. Imperfect rights, by some termed the duties of imperfect obligation—such as gratitude, hospitality, charity, &c.—are not the proper objects of civil laws. They cannot conveniently reach these; nor enforce the observance of them by penal sanction. We have no laws among us to punish the neglect of these duties; and civil society, at least in its legislative capacity, takes no notice of them: for this I suppose, two reasons may be given.

I. The violation of these is not supposed so immediately and directly to strike at the existence of the social union, as the violation of the duties of perfect obligation.

II. There can be no precise and fixed rule laid down, for the regulation of men's conduct with respect to these duties.

(To be continued.)



Extract of a letter to the honourable William Samuel Johnson, L. L. D. president of Columbia college in New York, from the honourable Hugh Williamson, M. D. and L. L. D. dated 14th Sept. 1789.

“WHILE the citizens of the United states are shaking off the chains of political prejudice, and making improvements in useful knowledge—it may be questioned whether the rising generation are conducted by the shortest path in pursuit of knowledge, or continue to be deceived and led astray by the mystic charm of ancient opinion. It has long been considered as necessary for every youth, who would make a figure in life, to understand Latin and Greek. Five or six years must be devoted to the study of dead languages. This is a heavy tax on life. Does it appear to be a necessary tax? ‘Life is short,’ says Hippocrates, ‘and the art is long.’ If this observation was proper, when referred to the healing art alone, it must be extremely proper, when referred to all that a man should learn, in order to become a useful member of society. At twenty-one years, it is expected, that we shall enter upon the

employments of life. Deduct the years of childhood, and a moderate time for learning to read and write our national language—half the remaining time of discipline is spent—in what? Not in learning moral duties and civil history—nor the nature and use of things; but in learning the names of things, in a language that we are never to speak.

To a native of China or Japan, this would appear worse than ridiculous; he must call it the murder of time. We can easily discover the origin of this grievous servitude; but we cannot possibly determine why it should be entailed upon civilized Europeans and their posterity forever. While the sciences were buried under the ruins of Greece and Rome, the only thing called learning appears to have been in the hands of the clergy. They were obliged to read Latin, that they might be able to read their prayers; and they were too lazy to learn any thing besides. The education of youth was in their hands; because they were the only men of letters: and it was natural for them to be zealous in praise of Latin, while it was the only knowledge by which they were distinguished from the ignorant vulgar. Viewing the subject in this light, we cannot wonder, that the Latin tongue has long been regarded as the first of all human attainments.

For many ages, books were usually written in this language; because it was, in some manner, sacred; and because the readers of books understood no other common language. Hence it was, that the man, who desired to read books in law, physic, or theology, was obliged to understand Latin. How does it happen, that we are still obliged to learn Latin, after the original cause has been removed—every useful book being now published in the mother tongue? Is it not because our ancestors trod in this path—and because teachers of Latin and Greek are more numerous than teachers of philosophy? Memory alone is required: genius and understanding being equally unnecessary to forming a teacher of languages.

It is true, that other reasons have been

given for the study of Latin and Greek. We are told, that a thorough acquaintance with the Greek and Roman classics is necessary to making an accurate scholar, and to forming a good taste. This argument would be incomprehensible to a learned Asiatic. He might possibly enquire, whether the careful study of English or French grammatically, did not tend as much towards forming an accurate scholar, as the study of Latin? Whether the learned Romans, who generally understood two languages, had more taste than the Greeks, who understood none but their own? Perhaps he might be told, that the advantage is supposed to have been in favour of the Greeks: perhaps, it was because they cultivated their own language alone.

It is admitted that modern practice of law or physic are not supposed to be learned and good, unless they are variegated, shaded, and ornamented by phrases of Latin or Greek. Every process at law must be illuminated by two or three Latin words; every medical prescription must, at least, begin with a Latin word, which serves as an amulet; and books, in the learned professions, are universally larded with technical phrases, sentences, or quotations, in Greek or Latin; just as we see masons insert a few stones in the front of a brick house; who, by the way, have the better reason for their practice. Perhaps, the time may come, when books shall be wholly written in one language; and when gentlemen of the faculty and of the long robe may expect the reputation of being learned, without being obliged to pelt their audience with hard words, that are not understood.

I do not complain of the old custom, merely because it was founded on ignorance, nor because it consumes much time and labour to little purpose; but because I would redeem the time, that is prodigally expended on dead languages, for acquiring knowledge that is ornamental and may be useful in every path of life.

According to the general practice, some years are devoted to mathematics, logic, ethics, and the first lines of natu-

tural and experimental philosophy ; but these, after we have passed through a long and gloomy portico of Latin and Greek, usually constitute the whole academic structure ; and we stop at the very entrance upon useful and practical knowledge. Chymistry, botany, and the several other branches of natural history—the philosophy of husbandry and the mechanic arts—are commonly regarded as useless or impracticable attainments. I don't know that any professorship has ever been established for the purposes last mentioned ; nor have I seen any books, that seem to have been written with the view to conducting youth through the several branches of such a study. Chymistry and botany are usually neglected as subjects of no importance, unless by accident to the medical tribe : and a general acquaintance with animate and inanimate nature has not been considered in our schools as an object of pursuit. The philosophy of the mechanic arts has not been systematically treated ; in other words, the chymical principles, which avail in the operations of different artists, have not been explained and applied. The late dr. Lewis seems to have had this object in view when he began his *Commercium Philosophico-technicum*. He gave the history of gold, silver, and platina for the benefit of artists who work in those metals ; but he went little farther. There was a large field before him, and he must have become voluminous or less minute. We find occasional remarks, or detached essays, on farming, malting, brewing, distilling, dying, tanning, baking, and other arts ; but these subjects in general are not treated scientifically : for the writers have not been chymists.

(To be continued.)



Letter from dr. Franklin, to John Alleyne, esquire.

Dear Jack,

YOU desire, you say, my impartial thoughts on the subject of an early marriage, by way of answer to the numberless objections that have been

made by numerous persons to your own. You may remember, when you consulted me on the occasion, that I thought youth on both sides to be no objection. Indeed, from the marriages which have fallen under my observation, I am rather inclined to think, that early ones stand the best chance for happiness. The tempers and habits of the young are not yet become so stiff and uncomplying, as when more advanced in life ; they form more easily to each other ; and hence many occasions of disgust are removed. And if youth has less of that prudence, which is necessary to manage a family—yet the parents and elder friends of young married persons are generally at hand, to afford their advice, which amply supplies that defect : and by early marriage, youth is sooner formed to regular and useful life ; and possibly some of those accidents or connexions, that might have injured the constitution, or reputation, or both, are thereby happily prevented. Particular circumstances, of particular persons, may possibly sometimes make it prudent to delay entering into that state ; but in general when nature has rendered our bodies fit for it, the presumption is in nature's favour, that she has not judged amiss in making us desire it. Late marriages are often attended, too, with this further inconvenience, that there is not the same chance, that the parents shall live to see their offspring educated. “Late children,” says the Spanish proverb, “are early orphans ;” a melancholy reflexion to those whose case it may be ! With us in America, marriages are generally in the morning of our life ; our children are therefore educated and settled in the world by noon ; and thus our business being done, we have an afternoon and evening of cheerful leisure to ourselves, such as our friend at present enjoys. By these early marriages, we are blest with more children ; and, from the mode among us, founded by nature, of every mother suckling and nursing her own child, more of them are raised. Thence the swift progress of population among us, unparalleled in Europe. In fine, I am glad you are

married; and congratulate you most cordially upon it. You are now in the way of becoming a useful citizen: and you have escaped the unnatural state of celibacy for life—the fate of many here, who never intended it—but who, having too long postponed the change of their condition, find, at length, that it is too late to think of it; and so live all their lives in a situation that greatly lessens a man's value—an odd volume of a set of books bears not the value of its proportion to the set—what think you of the odd half of a pair of scissars?—it can't well cut any thing—it may possibly serve to scrape a trencher.

Pray make my compliments and best wishes acceptable to your bride. I am old and heavy; or I should ere this have presented them in person. I shall make but small use of the old man's privilege, that of giving advice to younger friends. Treat your wife always with respect; it will procure respect to you, not from her only, but from all that observe it. Never use a slighting expression to her, even in jest; for slights in jest, after frequent bandyings, are apt to end in angry earnest. Be studious in your profession; and you will be learned. Be industrious and frugal; and you will be rich. Be sober and temperate; and you will be healthy. Be in general virtuous; and you will be happy! At least, you will, by such conduct, stand the best chance for such consequences. I pray God to bless you both! being, ever, your affectionate friend,
B. F.

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Letter from S. L. Mitchill, esq. to professor Walker.

THE state of New-York lies between the fortieth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude; and on comparing it upon the globe, with the parts of Europe situated between the same parallels, a stranger might be led to conjecture that its climate resembled that of the country between Naples and Venice, or Oporto and Bourdeaux—yet there is undoubtedly a considerable difference; since it has been long known, that the temperatures of countries are

to be estimated, not merely by their distance from the equator, but also by their remoteness from the margin and level of the ocean. The following facts and remarks may perhaps enable you to form some idea of the climate of this state.

In July 1788, the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer rose in my chamber at New-York, as high as the hundred and third degree above 0—and in February 1789, at Albany, it sunk to the twenty-fourth degree below 0—by the natural changes of the weather.

During winter, if the quicksilver descend as low as the third or fourth degree beyond 0—those places of the rivers that are not covered with ice, emit copious vapours, which continue to rise until the cold abates. I know this to be a common appearance along the Hudson, between New-York and Albany, and along the St. Lawrence, from Montreal to Quebec. To a spectator, on the banks of the St. Lawrence—this vapour, at a distance, looks like a thick white cloud or fog-bank; and, congealing, falls down in beautiful hoarfrost upon the branches of the neighbouring trees. The theory of its elevation and precipitation is probably the same with that of the rise and condensation of the steam from a cauldron of warm water.

In such severe weather as this, the smoke, proceeding from chimneys, notwithstanding the dense state of the atmosphere, does not mount up in a column, but descends almost directly to the ground; the reason of which seems to be, that, as the heated air, coming from the chimney, is enabled, in the ordinary warmth of the atmosphere, to carry aloft the fuliginous matter, with which it is replete, until cooled and attenuated by degrees, it disappears; so in these cases of extreme coldness, the rarified air of the chimney is, immediately after leaving the vent, deprived of its acquired heat, and rendered incapable of rising; it therefore lets fall to the earth, whatever of sooty, cineritious, or watry substance, it had brought away with it from the fire-place.

Many gentlemen, of the highest respectability and veracity among us, have assured me, that during very cold winters, they have often known frozen fish brought to life, particularly bass, perch, and trout. At such times, these creatures are taken in nets, through holes cut into the ice, to supply the markets. The water in which they live, is then chilled so much, that the fish, benumbed and torpid, can barely swim. As soon as they are brought into the air, and laid upon the ice, they become stiff and motionless, and are thus carried to the places of sale. The purchasers of these fish, which have been transported more than fifty miles, in a state of hard congelation, and kept out of their element for several days, have, on throwing them into the cold water to thaw, been surprised to see them recover motion, swim briskly about, and seem as lively as ever. I tried several sets of experiments last winter at Albany, in order to witness the fact with my own eyes; but the fish, which I procured, were too delicate, or the weather too warm for my purpose—my fish all died before freezing; whereas it is necessary they should be fairly frozen, before exposure to air or privation of water kills them.

Though I have not, as yet, actual experiments of my own, to vouch for this fact, yet so much and so weighty testimony is brought in support of it, that I dare not any longer disbelieve. The recovery of frozen insects and congealed members of the human body, to life, strongly confirms the opinion. And we know that onions, turnips, and apples, can be completely iced without a destruction of their fine and tender texture. So potatoes and parsnips endure, oftentimes in the earth where they grow, the severities of our winters, and revive in the spring. What shall we think then? we must confess that the doctrine prevalent among the philosophers of Europe at this day, "That living creatures, completely frozen, are never again recoverable to life," is drawn from wrong premises; and the experiments made by freezing them artificially, in order to ascertain and establish the point,

have not been conducted according to the method of nature.

Our hares, which I take to be only a variety of the British species, notwithstanding the contrary sentiments of some respectable authorities, inhabit only the northern parts of the state; and turn white in winters.

The aurora borealis is sometimes so bright, as to allow print in the smallest size of capitals to be read—and this brings to my recollection a piece of phosphorescent wood, that I found a few nights ago, by the light of which I could see my watch plainly enough to tell the time. Very large meteors are likewise noticed from time to time; and are attended with such phenomena, as persuaded me they are caused by a train of inflammable air, set on fire by an electrical spark.

Lightning, during summer and autumn, is very frequent, particularly near the islands and sea-coast; and (for what reason I do not well understand)—the thunder-showers almost invariably come from the north-west; it is remarkable, that the flash will kill vegetables no less suddenly than animals, by depriving them of their susceptibility of excitement by the stimuli necessary to life, rather than by destroying their organization: for animated matter becomes defunct in three ways: 1st. By a destruction of organization, as by mortal wounds. 2d. When the organization is entire, but its capacity to receive the impressions of stimuli is taken away, as by long exposure to fixed or phlogisticated air, or by excessive electrical shocks. And 3dly. Where the organization and capacity are complete; but where, however, no stimuli are applied, as in seeds and in eggs before impregnation, and in animals not irrecoverably drowned, before resuscitation.

Our thunder storms afford abundant confirmation of dr. Hutton's ingenious theory of rain: and, if considered aright, serve excellently well to explain what is called, the suspension of clouds in the atmosphere. Water, when dissolved in air, is invisible; but, when precipitated,

immediately forms a cloud; the particles of water, composing this cloud, by their greater specific gravity tend downward, and reach the earth in the form of rain or mist—except the inter-jacent strata of the atmosphere redissolve them, and cause them once more to disappear. Clouds are incessantly agitated by internal or external motion; and whether the water-drops from them reach the ground or not, they perpetually, from the moment of their formation, descend; while the same cause, which formed the first clouds, continuing, generates more; or, ceasing, allows the air to grow clear: clouds, therefore, are to be considered as altering their form and substance every moment—and as being so variable and heavy, as not to admit of suspension in air. The globules of the clouds, formed over our heads, have a constant *nifus ad capsum*: and if the intervening air be in a condition fit for dissolving them, they are arrested in their fall; but otherwise reach the earth; and in both cases, the matter of the clouds descending, would quickly clear the atmosphere, did it not happen in the latter, that the precipitating process goes on, and produces new clouds; and this, we know, it sometimes does, for hours, days, and weeks, successively.

On Long Island, Indian corn is planted after the beginning, or about the middle of May: and the new crop is fit for grinding in one hundred and fifty days; but the same kind of grain, brought from Nova Scotia, grows here to maturity in ninety-six days; while that imported from Carolina, does not ripen in less than one hundred and ninety. Buckwheat grows from the seed to perfection, in eighty-four days.

Frost commonly occurs in every month of the year, excepting June, July, and August; and has now and then happened even in June and August. It comes frequently about the first of September: and I remember that on the fourth day of May, 1774, a considerable quantity of snow fell. In the spring, the blossoms of peach, apple, and other fruit-trees, and the sprouting foliage of other

plants, are often hurt by it; yet it is not universal over the face of the country; but, from causes, which I do not fully comprehend, prevails in low lands, vallies, and plains.

Drougths of six or eight weeks continuance, sometimes parch us; and again rain falls to the depth of five or six inches on a level in four hours.

Winds are very variable. The sea breezes, which blow from the south, are exceedingly regular; they are our coolest in summer, and warmest in winter. In winter, the north-west winds are the most boisterous and piercing; though the north-east are generally attended with storms of snow and sleet.

Great and sudden changes of weather make our winters and springs far less comfortable than they are in Canada. In those northern regions, the people, accustomed to a steady and unremitting siege of cold for a long time, make suitable fortification against it; but here, where the mercury sinks from sixty to twenty in twelve hours—where the deep snow of to-day is changed to water on the morrow—the inhabitants are unable to secure themselves against such irregular attacks. Accordingly, the abundance of melting snow and ice, which frequently overspreads the country, far and near, subjects those, whose feet are exposed to the sloppy colliquation, to colds, catarrhs, coughs, and their consequences. And here *dr. Black's* theory of latent heat, receives support from every body's experience; for who, that has walked abroad in February or March, is ignorant, that liquifying snow feels more cold and uncomfortable than the frostiest dry weather we have? That person would deserve the praises and rewards of his countrymen, who should contrive a cheap and easy kind of stuff for shoes, effectually capable of guarding against this sort of wet and cold; for wool and leather are insufficient.

Farmers find themselves obliged to employ a large portion of their time, from the end of June to the middle of November, in providing and collecting forage for their live-stock; and they

are necessitated to fodder them from about Christmas or sooner, to Easter or later. If the spring is backward, the cattle are often exceedingly pinched, even unto starvation. A great desideratum in our husbandry, is a wholesome plant, that, by its early vegetation, will nourish cattle, during that interval in the spring, from the time that provender is consumed, until the pastures are grown enough for grazing. The mangel wurtzel, or root of scarcity, upon trial among us, does not bid fair to be of any great use; for besides, that its root is not so large as has been represented, its leaves are in season when we have commonly a sufficiency of other sustenance. A plant more natural to our climate, called patience—which I take to be a species of rumex—is seemingly better calculated to do good; for from the experiments of that accomplished gentleman, Robert R. Livingston, chancellor of this state, it is plain that this rumex vegetates early, affords abundance of leaves, and is relished by horses, black cattle, and swine.

The rein-deer moss, (lichen rangiferinus) grows in several parts of this state, New Jersey, and Connecticut; but that strong and docile animal, the rein-deer, can never be domesticated in these latitudes; for the heat of our summers would kill him.

I find it noted in my calendarium florae, upon the information of sportsmen, that wood-cocks stay on Long-Island all the year; and certain it is, that they hatch here so early in the spring, that the snows and frost often are destructive to the brood.

Long-Island, May 14, 1789.



Sketch of the life of the late Nathaniel Greene, major general of the forces of the united states of America.

BY M. CAREY.

THIS gallant officer, whose death has been so generally and so justly regretted, was born in the town of Warwick, Kent county, Rhode Island,

in or about the year 1741; and was the second son of a respectable citizen of the same name (descended from some of the first settlers in the colony) who was extensively concerned in lucrative iron-works, the property of which, at his death, (prior to the late war) he left to his children.

General Greene was endowed with an uncommon degree of judgment and penetration; which, with a benevolent manner and affable behaviour, acquired him a number of valuable friends, by whose interest and influence he was, at an early period of life, chosen a member of assembly of the then colony of Rhode Island. This trust, in which he gave the highest satisfaction to his constituents, he continued to possess, until the period when the folly and madness of England severed a world from her empire.

After the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord, when a spirit of resistance spread, like wild-fire, over the continent—Rhode Island was not deficient in her contributions for the general defence. She raised three regiments of militia, the command whereof was given to Mr. Greene, who was nominated brigadier-general. The liberty, safety, and prosperity of his country being exposed to imminent danger, the pacific principles of quakerism, in which he had been educated, proved insufficient to combat the ardent spirit of liberty, with which his bosom glowed.

He led the troops, under his command, to Cambridge; and was present at the evacuation of Boston, by a force, which in England had been vauntingly stated as treble the number that would be requisite to dragoon America into unconditional submission.

General Greene's merit and abilities, as well in the council as in the field, were not long unnoticed by general Washington, who reposed in him the utmost confidence; and paid particular deference to his advice and opinion, on all occasions of doubt and difficulty. This excited the jealousy of several officers, of older date, and higher rank, who were not wanting in endeavours to

supplant him; but in vain: the commander in chief knew and prized his worth as it deserved.

He was appointed major-general, by congress, the 26th of August, 1776. Towards the close of that year, he was at the Trenton surprise; and, at the beginning of the next, was at the battle of Princeton, two enterprises not more happily planned than judiciously and bravely executed, in both of which he highly distinguished himself, serving his noviciate under the American Fabius.

At the battle of Germantown, he commanded the left wing of the American army—and his utmost endeavours were exerted to retrieve the fortune of that day, in which his conduct met with the approbation of the commander in chief.

In March, 1778, he was appointed quarter-master-general, which office he accepted under a stipulation, that his rank in the army should not be affected by it, and that he should retain his right to command, in time of action, according to his rank and seniority. This he exercised at the battle of Monmouth, where he commanded the right wing of the army.

About the middle of the same year, an attack being planned by the Americans, in conjunction with the French fleet, on the British garrison at Newport, Rhode Island, general Sullivan was appointed to the command, under whom general Greene served. This attempt was unsuccessful—the French fleet having failed out of harbour, to engage lord Howe's fleet, they were dispersed by a storm: and the Americans were obliged to raise the siege of Newport, in doing which, general Greene displayed a great degree of skill, in drawing off the army in safety.

After the hopes of the British generals, to execute some decisive stroke to the northward, were frustrated, they turned their attention to the southern states, as less capable of defence, and more likely to reward the invaders with ample plunder. A grand expedition was, in consequence, planned at New York, where the army embarked on the 26th of December, 1779: they land-

ed on the 11th of February, 1780, within about thirty miles of Charleston, which, after a brave defence, was surrendered to sir Henry Clinton, on the 12th of May.

A series of ill success followed this unfortunate event. The American arms in South Carolina were in general unsuccessful; and the inhabitants were obliged to submit to the invaders, whose impolitic severity was extremely ill calculated to answer any of the objects for which the war had been commenced.

Affairs were thus circumstanced, when general Washington appointed general Greene to the command of the American forces in the southern district. He arrived at Charlotte on the second day of December, 1780, accompanied by gen. Morgan, a brave officer, who had distinguished himself to the northward, in the expedition against Burgoyne. He found the forces he was to command, reduced to a very small number, by defeat and by desertion. The returns were nine hundred and seventy continentals, and one thousand and thirteen militia. Military stores, provisions, forage, and all things necessary, were, if possible, in a more reduced state than his army. His men were without pay, and almost without clothing: and supplies of the latter were not to be had, but from a distance of two hundred miles. In this perilous and embarrassed situation, he had to oppose a respectable and victorious army. Fortunately for him, the conduct of some of the friends of royalty obliged numbers, otherwise disposed to remain neuter, to take up arms in their own defence. This, and the prudent measures the general took for removing the innumerable difficulties and disadvantages he was surrounded with, and for conciliating the affections of the inhabitants, soon brought together a considerable force—far inferior, however, to that of the British, who deemed the country perfectly subjugated.

After he had recruited his forces with all the friends to the revolution that he could assemble, he sent a considera-

ble detachment, under general Morgan, to the western extremities of the state, to protect the well-disposed inhabitants from the ravages of the tories. This force, which was the first that had for a considerable time appeared there, on the side of the Americans, inspired the friends of liberty with new courage, so that numbers of them crowded to the standard of general Morgan, who at length became so formidable, that lord Cornwallis thought proper to send colonel Tarleton to dislodge him from the station he had taken. This officer was at the head of a thousand regular troops, and had two field pieces. He came up, on the 17th of January, 1781, at a place called Cowpens, with general Morgan, whose force was much inferior, and was composed of two thirds militia, and one third continentals. An engagement was the immediate consequence.

The brevity of this sketch will not allow a detail of the dispositions made on either side. Let it suffice to say, that the brave Morgan gained a complete victory over an officer, the rapidity and success of whose attacks, until that time, might have entitled him to make use of the declaration of Caesar, "veni, vidi, vici." Upwards of five hundred of the British laid down their arms, and were made prisoners—a very considerable number were killed. Eight hundred stands of arms, two field-pieces, and thirty-five baggage-wagons fell to the victors, who had only twelve killed and sixty wounded.

This brilliant success quite disconcerted the plan of operations formed by lord Cornwallis. Having entertained no idea of any enemy to oppose in South Carolina, the conquest of which he deemed complete, he had made every preparation for carrying his arms to the northward, to gather the laurels which, he imagined, awaited him. He now found himself obliged to postpone this design. He marched with rapidity after general Morgan, in hopes not only to recover the prisoners, but to revenge Tarleton's losses. The American general, by a rapidity of movements, and

the interference of providence, eluded his efforts: and general Greene effected a junction of the two divisions of his little army, on the 7th of February. Still was he so far inferior to lord Cornwallis, that he was obliged to retreat northward; and, notwithstanding the vigilance and activity of his enemy, he brought his men in safety into Virginia.

(To be continued.)



Fragment.

*** **H**OW sweet is the landscape before us!—The distant mountains mingle with the azure, and all between is the finest penciling of nature. The verdant lawn, the tufted grove, the dusky tower, the hanging wood, the winding stream, and tumbling waterfall, compose the lovely picture before you. The air is perfumed; and gives the senses new power to enjoy the beautiful scene. Bend, Eliza, for a moment, over the crystal fountain beside you; and, in the reflexion of your own form, behold the most charming picture of animated nature.

*** But the black clouds gather together; the forest bends beneath the blast; the rain descends; and nature's dusky mantle o'erspreads the prospect. This scene, too, has its beauties:—this, also, has its resemblance in intellectual nature. Behold that faithful youth clasping the marble urn of her, whose memory fills his heart!—Think you the evening-vigils of his mourning love have no pleasure in them? Eliza, those fond, faithful duties are worth a world of joys, and turn his tears to rapture.

*** Look on that naked rock, where the forlorn shepherd searches in vain to pasture the only lamb the storm has left him. That is the cold flinty heart, petrified by insensibility, which hears not the cry, nor heeds the tears of craving innocence.

*** Let your eyes wander to the valley before you—rich in varied harvests—and glowing with all the splendor of cultivation. That, Eliza, is the generous mind, whose joy is the communication of good, and would not suf-

fer, were it in its power, a craving eye or an aching heart in the world.

*** Turn, now, I beseech you, to the desert behind you, and behold a forlorn, solitary being wandering over it. The flints have wounded his feet; his staff scarce supports his steps; and the cutting blast pierces his tattered raiment. He sometimes throws his meek eye to the gates of heaven: and, as if he received comfort from thence, he proceeds on his way. At this moment, a female form meets the traveller; turns him aside from the inhospitable path; and conducts him to a sunny hillock, where verdure springs, where the fountains murmur, and the myrtle grows. She covers him with her mantle, and washes his wounds with her tears; she opens her wallet; and, with a celestial beneficence, spreads a table for him in the desert. Am I not that mournful traveller,—and is it not Eliza, who has guided my woe-worn steps to the sunny hillock, where I now solace my weary spirit? ***



Fragment.

GRACE possessed in an eminent degree every mental quality that renders a woman amiable—every personal endowment that renders a woman desirable—

Prudence dictated her conversation—and Affability enlivened it—Good Humour smiled upon her cheek—and Sensibility sparkled in her eye.

That heart must be unsusceptible, indeed, that could withstand the force of such a combination—a combination the more dangerous, because every look of Grace was accompanied with a delicate humility—and easy, innocent freedom, that captivates without design.

Grace was admired and respected by all who knew her—She was beloved by Leontine.

Leontine in an unguarded moment, disclosed his passion to Grace—She heard him with attention, and sighed and blushed.—He kissed her hand, and gazing on her with ardour, animated by hope—he would have pressed his suit

—but at that instant, a tear started from the eye of Grace, and rolled down her glowing cheek upon her bosom—

The hopes of Leontine were chilled—his heart dropped blood, in sympathy with the tears which fell from the eyes of Grace.

Frederic was the friend of Leontine—adopted upon experience of services that true friendship only can perform—To him Leontine disclosed this incident.

There can be but two causes, said Frederic, for those tears, which fell from Grace, and rendered you miserable—I should imagine, your declaration was not displeasing to her; but perhaps her heart had formerly been engaged—perhaps, at the instant you pressed her, the recollection of some insincere wretch, whom she once had loved, and who had deserted her affection—or of some true heart, separated from her by the hand of death, rushed into her mind.

Hold—said Leontine, interrupting his friend—my fancy can conceive the imagery of the scene, of which you have opened the prospect.—At the instant I was melted into tenderness with love and gratitude—at the instant I flattered my fond heart, that I had touched the sensibility of Grace in my favour, the effect was quite the contrary—I raised to her imagination some absent object upon whom her soul doated! for him she heaved her gentle bosom with sighs—for him she wept.

You are deeply in love, said Frederic—but perhaps this phantom I have raised is merely ideal; the tears of Grace may have fallen from another cause.

You tell me, that she was bred in affluence. Now, my friend, there is an honest pride that arises from education—Grace perhaps sighed and wept from this cause—she felt her pride hurt, that in the instant you pressed her to the surrender of her heart—that in the instant she was about to surrender it—she could not accompany the gift with an offer of fortune—Perhaps it was a struggle between generosity and love.

That idea, said Leontine, expands my soul—I despise fortune—but had I the riches of Croesus—I would bestow

them upon Grace—Alas, I have no riches!

You wrong yourself, said Frederic—you have a profession that leads to affluence, which must insure you a competency—a union with Grace would stimulate your industry, increase your connexions, and diminish your expenses; and believe me, my friend, continued Frederic, that true happiness can only be found in the enjoyment of a virtuous woman, whose love adheres to

the first object of its choice—founded in sincerity, and directed by chastity; who seeks not for general admiration, but the affection of an individual; and who, to preserve that love, retains the same conduct that gave rise to it.—I know Grace, esteem her, and respect her—in a union with her, I think you would find those blessings I have faintly described; therefore, persevere, my friend, in soliciting the attainment of such an inestimable treasure.

♦♦♦♦♦

M O R A L T A L E S.

The calamities of war, and the effects of unbridled passion.

WAR, however unavoidably entered into, and humanely carried on, must, from its very nature, occasion many distressing scenes—many heart-rending partings. The voice of patriotism informs us, there is something ennobling, and which raises us above the fear of death, in the idea of suffering in the cause of freedom, and dying for the public good. But when the father, husband, or son is snatched from us, our feelings will not permit us to give such speculative reasonings their full force; but we esteem ourselves peculiarly unfortunate, in being compelled to sustain so great a share of the common calamity. Such are the consequences of war, considered in the best light; but when malice, rancour, and revenge, add their baneful influence—when the leaden death comes armed from the hands of a brother—or, still more shocking, from that of a son—the distress must be greatly aggravated; it would be in vain to attempt to describe the horrors of such a war; it may then indeed be called the reign of the furies.

The following tale may serve to illustrate the foregoing remarks. Martius, an amiable and accomplished youth, residing in Boston, came of age precisely at the time, when the port-bill and the violence of the soldiery made the designs of the British ministry plain to every jealous lover of freedom. Being interrupted in his commercial views, he instantly determined to exert himself in

the immediate service of his country. Having obtained a subaltern commission, he endeared himself to our illustrious commander in chief, by his exertions in disciplining the irregular multitude, which had flocked together at the first cry of distress; and, by his active, firm, and intrepid conduct, displayed in several actions, was thought worthy of being promoted, by gradual advances, to the command of a troop of horse. This station, at the same time that it enlarged the sphere of his duty, served to call forth those great military powers, which he possessed: and there were few actions, where secrecy, firmness, and skill were displayed, in which he bore not an active part.

Thus far we have considered him in a military character: in the domestic line he was not less worthy of imitation.

Martius and Sophia had lived in the greatest intimacy from their childhood; constant companions in youth, when the passions are undisguised, a mutual tenderness had subsisted between them, which, increasing with their years, had ripened into love. To her tall and graceful form, nature had joined a most pleasing countenance, which, with a mild, blue, rolling eye, and a complexion, the just combination of the lily and rose, heightened with a constant smile, confirmed the truth of the assertion, that beauty and her attendant graces had fixed their residence in that capital. With the consent of their immediate connexions on both sides, they were led, willing victims, to the altar of Hymen; and we

may assert that a more accomplished and affectionate couple has never graced this temple.

Soon after their marriage, his duty obliged him to join his corps; and he used every argument to persuade her to continue with her friends; he represented to her, to what shocks her feelings and delicacy would be exposed, in attending a camp; that whenever he was absent from her, and especially when in action, so apprehensive would she be of danger, and fearful for his safety, that her mind would be kept in a continual state of alarm. On her side, she urged that the most afflicting certainty could not be equal to that cruel state of suspense, in which, at a distance from him, she must unavoidably be involved; that the thought of administering in the least to his comfort or convenience, in her mind fully over-balanced any hardships she must be exposed to—"let me accompany you," said she; "if you are fortunate, it will be an agreeable tour: if not—if any misfortune should befall you, I will by my conduct endeavour to prove, that the virtues of resolution and patience under sufferings are not confined to your sex." Indeed she met with many hardships to exercise her patience; but one, particularly affecting, served to put her fortitude and magnanimity to the hardest proof. One day, as Martius was upon his station, advanced from the main army, he was surprised at the sudden appearance of a body of horsemen, who, by their uniform, he knew were of those men, who, from mistaken notions of loyalty, had taken arms against their country; nor was the surprise less on their part; they had inadvertently approached nearer the outposts than they had intended: their party being small, they instantly betook themselves to flight; and Martius and his followers, urged on by a thirst for military glory, hastily pursued them; the foremost of the pursuers had almost come up with the rear of the pursued, when a young man, who appeared to be their leader, with the fury of a tyger, turning upon his hunters, suddenly facing round, discharged his carabine in the breast of Martius!

His faithful followers would have revenged the fall of their favourite chief by the immediate death of the whole party, who were compelled to submit themselves prisoners at discretion; but our hero, with a feeble voice, charged them to abstain from violence.

They then conveyed the almost breathless body of their friend to the door of his tent: and the youth, from whom he had received the mortal wound, softened by the noble manner, in which he had restrained the just indignation of his followers, and already repenting of his rash act, accompanied them.

The melancholy sight of an officer, carried by two soldiers, drew the attention of Sophia; and she freely bestowed her pity upon the unfortunate sufferer; but little did she suppose that she herself was so nearly concerned in the calamity. Language cannot express her feelings when her bosom friend was laid almost lifeless at her feet; and his last sigh, which was poured out upon her bosom, seemed to rend her very heart asunder; but how was she shocked, when, in the person of the youth, who had occasioned her distress, she recollected an only brother. He had early in life warmly espoused the cause of the British government; and with the rancour, common to those whose friendship is changed into the bitterest enmity, had sought every opportunity of distressing his countrymen: the warmth of his passions had led him into the unjustifiable action which had thus involved his sister in distress: and the same ungovernable temper would now have led him to an act, which could only aggravate her sufferings, and entail on him everlasting ruin: viewing himself as the cause of these complicated calamities, he suddenly snatched a pistol, and would have finished his life by his own hand, but was restrained by his sister's entreaties, and the influence of the surrounding multitude. Here then was an occasion for the display of female fortitude and magnanimity, to pay the tribute of her tears and sorrows to the memory of her husband; and at the same time, to avoid driving to despair, by her excessive grief, a brother, whom, in spite of his faults,

she loved; this was a difficult task, but which by her prudence and self-command she effected.

We will not detain the reader's attention on this distressing subject longer than to add, that Sophia spends her time in an agreeable retirement, insinuating into the mind of her son, the only image of her lost Martius, the virtues which his parent so eminently possessed; and to him also her brother endeavours to supply the place of a lost father, by his instructions, and by warning him against indulging any passion to excess, as it will infallibly be a means of rendering him and his connexions unhappy through life.



Love and Joy. A tale.

IN the happy period of the golden age, when all the celestial inhabitants descended to the earth, and conversed familiarly with mortals, among the most cherished of the heavenly powers were twins, the offspring of Jupiter, Love and Joy. Wherever they appeared, the flowers sprung up beneath their feet; the sun shone with a brighter radiance; and all nature seemed embellished by their presence. They were inseparable companions, and their growing attachment was favoured by Jupiter, who had decreed, that a lasting union should be solemnized between them, so soon as they were arrived at maturer years. But in the mean time, the sons of men deviated from their native innocence; vice and ruin over-ran the earth with giant strides; and Astrea, with her train of celestial visitants, forsook their polluted abodes. Love alone remained, having been stolen away by Hope, who was his nurse, and conveyed by her to the forests of Arcadia, where he was brought up among the shepherds. But Jupiter assigned him a different partner, and commanded him to espouse Sorrow, the daughter of Ate. He complied with reluctance; for her features were harsh and disagreeable, her eyes sunk; her forehead contracted into perpetual wrinkles; and her

temples were covered with a wreath of cypress and wormwood. From this union sprung a virgin, in whom might be traced a strong resemblance to both her parents; but the full and unamiable features of her mother were so mixed and blended with the sweetness of her father, that her countenance, though mournful, was highly pleasing. The maids and shepherds of the neighbouring plains gathered round, and called her, Pity. A red-breast was observed to build in the cabin where she was born; and while she was yet an infant, a dove, pursued by a hawk, flew into her bosom. This nymph had a dejected appearance—but so soft and gentle a mien, that she was beloved to a degree of enthusiasm. Her voice was low and plaintive, but inexpressively sweet; and she loved to lie for hours together on the banks of some wild and melancholy stream, singing to her lute. She taught men to weep; for she took a strange delight in tears; and often, when the virgins of the hamlet were assembled at their evening sports, she would steal in amongst them, and captivate their hearts by her tales, full of a charming sadness. She wore on her head a garland, composed of her father's myrtles, twisted with her mother's cypresses.

One day, as she sat musing by the waters of Helicon, her tears by chance fell into the fountain; and ever since, the Muses' spring has retained a strong taste of the infusion. Pity was commanded by Jupiter to follow the steps of her mother, through the world, dropping balm into the wounds she made, and binding up the hearts she had broken. She follows with her hair loose, her bosom bare and throbbing, her garments torn by the briars, and her feet bleeding with the roughness of the path. The nymph is mortal, for her mother is so; and when she has fulfilled her destined course upon the earth, they shall both expire together, and Love be again united to Joy, his immortal and long betrothed bride.

Henry and Charlotte.

UNDER the mastership of the celebrated Busby, there was a boy, at Westminster school, whom I shall distinguish by the name of Henry, equally esteemed by his masters for the brilliancy of his talents, and beloved by his school-fellows for the various excellent qualities of his mind, and the sweetness of his disposition. Before he had risen very high in school, he conceived a passion for a young lady in the neighbourhood—eminently beautiful, and differing from him in character, only as the natural delicacy and softness of her sex added a charm to every perfection of her lover. From the many interviews they had had, the flame, which at first fired his bosom, quickly became mutual; and they already indulged themselves in romantic ideas of celebrating their nuptials, when they scarce knew what love was, but from the fluttering it caused in each of their tender breasts. Two years were now elapsed, since they had declared their flame to each other. Henry had long pleaded his love to his dear Charlotte, with all the force a sincere and daily increasing passion could inspire him with. Marriage was what they both looked up to; but impossibilities dimmed the prospect: and though he loved her with a tenderness, which nought but virtuous motives can implant, yet still his desires tended to that point of bliss which nothing but privilege of marriage can give sanction to.

His father (it seems) having long observed the close intimacy which existed between our hero and this amiable girl, and fearful of the consequence, (namely, marriage) as she had no fortune, resolved to separate them in the hastiest manner possible. Accordingly, he purchased him an ensigncy in a regiment, just going abroad; and paying little regard to his son's disapprobation of a military life, sent him off to Jersey. This precaution, however, proved fruitless; for Henry, as soon as he was acquainted with his father's cruel determination, having obtained Charlotte's full consent, had their marriage consummated, un-

known to any of his friends; and as his regiment was detained in England, by unforeseen delays, a much longer time than was expected, he found means to pass the greater part of his time in her company. I shall pass over the tender scene which took place at their parting: suffice it to say, that never was a picture of grief displayed in more natural and affecting colours, than what this interview exhibited. With difficulty, he dissuaded her from the earnest desire she had of accompanying him; but he knew the dangers of the voyage, and the difficulties a woman is exposed to in a camp, too well to comply with her request. All he had to console her with was, an assurance of the most speedy return he could obtain.

Before he had been six months in Jersey, he received the news of her being brought to bed of a son. Since she had last seen her dear Henry, her constancy had been put to the trial by a thousand pressing calamities. Just after he had set sail, she felt a severe shock in the loss of a kind and affectionate mother, her only surviving parent; and was now left an helpless orphan, exposed to all the dangers of the wide world, deprived of every comfort of life, and nearly destitute of all its necessaries. Her mother, being the relict of a colonel, had, with some economy, made shift to support herself and daughter in a genteel manner, on her pension; but this dropt at her death; and poor Charlotte, who, either from the too great indulgence or the pride of her parents, had not been brought up to any business, was now reduced to the desperate alternative of either starving, or maintaining herself by the most wretched trade her sex is acquainted with. Happily an old school-fellow of Henry's, learning the distressed state of her circumstances, flew to her assistance, with all the ardour the thought of relieving his friend's dearer half could inflame him with, and saved her from the rigour of a death she no ways merited, and which had long appeared to her inevitable. Shortly after this timely rescue, she received the following letter from her Henry.

‘ My dearest Charlotte,

‘ Judge my happiness, on hearing that heaven has blest us with a token of our love! That he may resemble his mother in every thing, is the only boon I crave now for him;—but I change my joy to a note of sorrow! The pernicious effects of this climate have inflicted on me an illness, which I fear I never shall get over. Life, however, is a burden to me, while thou art absent; nor could I have held it out thus long, but that I support myself on the prospect of that bliss, which will, I hope, crown the rest of our years, should I ever return to thee. I live, I breathe but for thee; and fear not death, but as it shall snatch thee from me: but there is a place, a paradise, where we shall one day meet—to part no more!—Farewel! May heaven shed its choicest blessings on thee, and thy infant, and render you both happy, as it made thee good!’

Equally alarmed at the severity of her Henry’s disorder, and charmed with the sincerity of his passion, she resolved to set sail in quest of him. Accordingly, supplied, by the kindness of his friend, with every thing requisite for her voyage, she went on board a transport, bound for the place of her husband’s destination; but the bitterest scene of her affliction remained as yet unaccomplished; all those flattering images of joy, which the thought of quickly seeing her Henry had presented to her, were suddenly over-clouded by a storm, which intercepted them in their passage. After every exertion of the crew had proved vain, they were driven to the last resource; and fired the signal of distress. This was instantly answered by another ship, which had long been near, but, from the darkness which reigned around, without the knowledge of either. It was, however, too late to save their vessel: the leak, which had so long distressed them, now took in so fast, that it was impossible to keep her above water; and just as the ship made up to her, she sunk. Her long-boat, stowed full, was now approaching the side of the ship, when a cruel wave snatched it under, and Char-

lotte, with her dear infant close clasped to her breast, floated at the mercy of a stormy sea. (Must I stop my reader to tell him, that Henry, having procured leave of absence, was returning in the other ship?) He had long fixed his eyes on the boat, struck with the beauty of his unknown wife. Unable any longer to be witness to such a scene of distress, without taking an active part in it, he plunged in at the hazard of his own life, and catching her as she rose on the back of a billow, bore her to his own ship’s boat. But what were his feelings, when he beheld the face of his Charlotte! Her benumbed arm had dropt its tender charge. The horror of her distress had deprived her cheeks of their roseate hue; and plundered her ruby lips of all their melting beauties. Dead was the lustre of her glossy eye, and cold her lily hand. He pressed her to his breast, in the agonies of despair: and strove to recal her affrighted spirits to their gay abode. She at length awoke almost from the shades of death; but seeing her Henry’s face, shrieked astonishment, and sunk into his arms, a breathless corpse!

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Mr. CAREY, Jan. 7, 1790.

The following truly affecting tale is copied from the Oxford Magazine. To readers of tenderness and sensibility, its locality will hardly prove an objection. C. R.

TO THE EDITOR.

NO other recommendation can be necessary to the bosom of humanity, than misery unutterable. I have a tale to tell, and a purpose to effect; may I not then hope to obtain attention for the former, as the success of the latter wholly depends on that indulgence?

The smile of prosperity once was mine; bred with tenderness, and blessed with affluence, gratitude to the Deity, and affection for a fond and only parent, were the perpetual and lively sensations of my happy heart.

My situations and connexions brought me very early acquainted with a young gentleman, whose merit sufficiently justified my attachment to him; but as he

was a younger brother, and a handsome cure the only possession of my father, our prospect was by no means flattering.

He took orders, and five years elapsed in that friendship (pity and forgive the vanity of wretchedness) which delicate sensibility alone is capable of. He officiated for my father; called himself his son; and waited but for a proper opportunity to realize his claim.

My poor valuable father, by walking out late one cold evening from the most benevolent motives, contracted an alarming complaint; physicians were useless; and finding his dissolution near, the tear of parental anxiety bedewed his venerable cheek. Mr. Knightly understood its meaning; and with honest eloquence besought him to be witness to our union, even in the moment of his departure. The thought was soothing. He raised his drooping head; and in the feeble accents of death, pronounced his approbation; the ceremony was performed; the last affecting farewell accomplished. He recommended my husband to his patron; and died in full confidence of his succeeding him, and protecting me.

He died, happily deceived, as we his children for some time lived; for, in a fatal hour, an unfeeling creature arrived, produced his authority, and drove us from our asylum.

Poverty—but poverty is too light an evil to find a place in my catalogue! Our marriage was deemed an imprudence, and our want of provision a just punishment.

A nobleman, known to my husband's family, at last most compassionately relieved us. A little living in America was, to people in our circumstances, an irresistible allurement. We embarked; were kindly received; and peace and plenty once more were ours.

The goodness of my husband's heart rendered him an object of universal esteem; presents poured in from every quarter; a little boy and girl—merciful God support me under the recollection!—the one six, the other seven years old, now prattled around us; our own sentiments, our tastes, in unison—never,

never, was domestic felicity superior to what we enjoyed.

It was indeed too much for mortality! but what a price!—Ye happy wives, ye happy mothers, enter, if it is possible, into the bitterness of my distress! I am a wife, a mother no longer; yet existence and sensibility remain!—All the horrors rise before me!—My husband massacred, my children slaughtered! I will, nevertheless—yes, severe as is the task—I will endeavour to relate the dreadful catastrophe.

The first friend we had made in the country, by a fall from her horse, was so dangerously ill, that I conceived it my duty to attend her. I had no foreboding of calamity; to the home I quit— I had no idea but I should return. Well, well—shall I dare to arraign the Creator of the universe?

At six o'clock the ensuing morning, an alarm reached us; a party of the most savage Indians had been abroad, and committed infinite devastation. My husband, my children! how my soul was agonized! In all the tortures of apprehension and suspense, I hastened to my beloved habitation: O, sir, that you could but guess the rest!

The court-yard was marked from end to end with blood; what became of me for some time I know not; but, on the first dawn of recollection, I insisted on being reconveyed to the horrible scene!—My mangled infants, not a trace of humanity in their late lovely countenances! My husband covered with wounds!—He however breathed, he moved; hope and despair, how violent their operations!

By proper assistance, his dear eyes were at length opened. "My wife! my most esteemed wife!" was laboriously articulated; "I die in peace!—your person unviolated. Had you been here—the injuries you would have sustained—heaven has been gracious, and I die in peace." He lived twelve hours, though totally insensible; and I beheld him expire.

What think you, sir, of a heart under these circumstances? a second marriage—could you believe it possible for

the utmost inhumanity to offer it such an insult? yet that I am this insulted wretch, is the cause of my troubling you with my misfortunes.

I returned to England. The captain of the ship became enamoured, during our passage, of my tears; and from superiority of fortune, brutally recommended a second husband to replace the loss of a first.

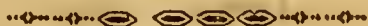
I had only one relation to receive me; a small sum of money was all that affliction had preserved, or injustice spared; that money is now nearly exhausted; my relation is become a warm advocate for a mercenary sacrifice of my person; nay, has proceeded so far as to intimate, that I must seek a new situation, if I persist in my folly.

All principles of delicacy out of the

question, let me ask you, what disposition I can have towards matrimony? My peace, my affections, my hopes, my dependencies, are lodged only in the grave; that I had escaped violation gave tranquility to the husband of my choice in a moment of the greatest horror; nor will I affront his memory by legal prostitution.

It is true, my spirits are broken, and my strength impaired; yet if there is on earth, a sheltering roof to be obtained, I will exert the one, and employ the other in the benevolent owner's service. O, sir, will you not bestow some humane consideration on my complicated distress, and timely rescue me from the depth of despair? I am, sir,

Your wretched humble servant,
THEODOSIA.



TABLES.

Exports from the port of Boston, in the year 1787.

Boards,	4,789,000	at 30s.	£. 7,183	10	0
Pipe staves,	95,000	at 120s.	570	0	0
Barrel do.	231,000	at 44s.	508	4	0
Heading,	10,000	at 80s.	40	0	0
Hoops,	82,000	at 72s.	295	4	0
Plank,	50,000	at 120s.	300	0	0
Shingles,	1,433,000	at 8s.	573	4	0
Feet of timber,	6,260	at 6d.	156	10	0
Feet of oars,	21,000	at 1d.	87	10	0
Hogshead staves,	1,072,000	at 54s.	2,899	8	0
Shooks,	11,465	at 1s. 6d.	859	17	6
Hogsheads fish,	3,573	at 130s.	23,224	10	0
Quintals fish,	49,333	at 15s.	36,999	15	0
Barrels mackrel,	4,812	at 26s.	6,255	12	0
Do. alewives,	516	at 14s.	361	4	0
Do. herring,	638	at 14s.	446	12	0
Do. menhayden,	323	at 10s.	16	3	0
Do. salmon,	210	at 48s.	504	0	0
Kegs do.	1,019	at 5s. 6d.	280	4	6
Barrels pickled fish,	1,042	at 18s.	937	16	0
Hhds. N. E. rum,	4,783	at 180s.	43,047	0	0
Barrels do.	3,366	at 45s.	7,573	10	0
Hhds. foreign spirits,	342	at 280s.	4,788	0	0
Barrels do.	317	at 70s.	1,109	10	0
Pipes Madeira,	11	at 800s.	440	0	0
Quarter casks do.	8	at 200s.	80	0	0
Pipes inferior wine,	72	at 360s.	1,296	0	0
Quarter casks do.	205	at 90s.	922	10	0

141,755 14 0

Brought over,			£141,755	14	0
Tierces rice,	579	at 80s.	2,316	0	0
Barrels pork,	359	at 66s.	1,184	14	0
Do. flour,	8,388	at 32s.	13,420	16	0
Do. beef,	3,963	at 42s.	8,322	6	0
Do. bread,	1,013	at 18s.	911	14	0
Kegs crackers,	878	at 4s.	175	12	0
Bushels corn,	24,834	at 3s.	3,725	2	0
Do. meal,	4,906	at 3s.	735	18	0
Barrels pease and beans,	538	at 18s.	484	4	0
Bushels potatoes,	5,016	at 1s.	250	16	0
Firkins butter,	2,055	at 50s.	5,137	10	0
Do. hogs fat,	106	at 50s.	265	0	0
Oxen,	459	at 150s.	3,442	10	0
Cows,	20	at 100s.	100	0	0
Sheep,	688	at 10s.	344	0	0
Hogs,	479	at 15s.	359	5	0
Dozen poultry,	146	at 12s.	87	12	0
Cwt. hollow ware,	791	at 12s.	474	12	0
Do. bar iron,	708	at 25s.	885	0	0
Casks flaxseed,	5,180	at 40s.	10,360	0	0
Thousand bricks,	518	at 18s.	466	4	0
Barrels pot and pearl ash,	6,097	at 5l.	30,485	0	0
Trunks furs,	8	at 100l.	800	0	0
Casks do.	46	at 200l.	9,200	0	0
Casks oil,	2,416	at 120s.	14,496	0	0
Barrels do.	5,092	at 80s.	20,368	0	0
Cwt. whale bone,	128	at 200s.	1,280	0	0
Pounds wax,	3,400	at 1s. 6d.	255	0	0
Boxes tallow candles,	2,024	at 40s.	4,048	0	0
Do. spermaceti do.	949	at 80s.	3,796	0	0
Boxes soap,	298	at 25s.	372	10	0
Do. chocolate,	1,695	at 40s.	3,390	0	0
Pounds coffee,	101,282	at 1s.	5,064	2	9
Do. cocoa,	4,400	at 6d.	110	0	0
Do. bohea tea,	67,557	at 2s.	6,755	14	0
Do. other India tea,	2,774	at 7s.	970	18	0
Do. loaf sugar,	57,876	at 10d.	2,411	10	0
Do. cheese,	115,204	at 4d.	1,920	1	4
Cwt. of brown sugar,	1,702	at 40s.	3,404	0	0
Dozen wool cards,	1,877	at 24s.	2,252	8	0
Pounds leather,	79,136	at 1s. 1d.	4,286	10	8
Dozen shoes,	2,566	at 60s.	7,698	0	0
Hogsheds salt,	1,861	at 13s.	1,209	13	0
Do. melasses,	1,194	at 140s.	8,358	0	0
Barrels do.	74	at 35s.	129	10	0
Do. naval stores,	5,562	at 12s.	3,337	4	0
Casks ginseng,	15	at 75l.	1,125	0	0
Hhds. tobacco,	351	at 210s.	3,685	10	0
Bolts duck,	989	at 60s.	2,967	0	0
Cwt. of hemp,	1,567	at 45s.	3,525	15	0
Do. cordage,	35	at 48s.	84	0	0
Casks of nails,	253	at 120s.	1,518	0	0

MR. PRINTER,

HAVING some time since seen a publication from the collector of the port of New York, of the exports from the state*, between the first day of January, 1788, and the thirty-first day of December following—curiosity led me to make a rough calculation of the value of those articles, which may with propriety be denominated the produce of the state: and as I have not seen any thing of the kind attempted, you are requested, as it is presumed it will not be unacceptable to your readers, to print the same for their information.

From the calculation, the amount appears to be nearly seven hundred and seventy thousand pounds: but as many articles were shipped to the neighbouring states, without being entered at the custom house, it is supposed, by proper judges, if the amount thereof was added to the former sum, that the exports of the produce of the state, for the year 1788, cannot be less than one million, our currency. Should I be wrong in my calculations and conjectures, it will afford me peculiar satisfaction, to have the business more accurately stated by some more able hand.

New York, March 19, 1789.

Value of the exports from the city and port of New York, for the year 1788, exclusive of foreign manufactures, and articles, coastwise to the other states, viz.

Bushels of wheat,	322,000	at 8s.	£.128,800
Bushels of Indian corn,	183,000	at 3s. 6d.	32,025
Bushels of rye,	10,000	at 4s. 6d.	2,250
Bushels of buckwheat,	12,000	at 3s.	1,800
Bushels of oats,	12,000	at 2s.	1,200
Barrels of flour,	62,000	at 40s.	124,000
Barrels of beef,	8,600	at 50s.	21,500
Barrels of pork,	8,700	at 80s.	34,800
Barrels of fish,	3,800	at 25s.	4,750
Barrels of cider,	520	at 15s.	390
Barrels of apples,	2,800	at 8s.	1,120
Barrels of potatoes,	1,920	at 10s.	960
Barrels of bread,	42,100	at 30s.	63,150
Barrels of lampblack,	200	at 20s.	200
Barrels of hams,	190	at 180s.	1,710
Barrels of vinegar,	3	at 20s.	3
Barrels of pease,	4,300	at 30s.	6,450
Barrels of tallow,	96	at 200s.	960
Barrels of nuts,	245	at 8s.	98
Barrels of oil,	517	at 70s.	1,809 10
Barrels of naval stores,	7,900	at 10s.	3,950
Barrels of potashes,	13,124	at 120s.	78,744
Barrels of honey,	73	at 150s.	547 10
Barrels of bees wax,	58	at 40l.	2,320
Barrels of mustard,	6	at 40l.	240
Barrels of starch,	145	at 80s.	580
Barrels of clover-feed,	66	at 80s.	264
Barrels of rye meal,	8,653	at 20s.	8,653
Barrels of Indian do.	2,024	at 20s.	2,024
Hogheads of lime,	85	at 20s.	85
Hhds. of ginseng, 410† lbs.	65,600	at 4s.	13,120

NOTES.

* See American Museum, Vol. V. page 230.

† The casks ginseng are supposed to be flax-seed casks, and that they will weigh 160 lbs. neat, at least.

Hogheads of flaxseed,	42,042	at 45s.	94,594 10
Hogheads of flax,	9		130
Hogheads of loaf sugar,	29	at 35l.	1,015
Hogheads of snuff,	14	at 75l.	1,050
Hogheads of New York rum,	500	at 12l.	6,000
Casks of oak bark,	132	at 20s.	132
Casks of furs,*	138	at 200l.	27,600
Casks of nails,	32	at 10l.	320
Kegs of bread,	4,623	at 8s.	1,849 14
Firkins of butter,	2,541	at 40s.	5,082
Firkins of hog's lard,	1,281	at 30s.	1,921 10
Jars of honey,	71		56
Anchors,	120	at 6l.	720
Boards,	65,000	at 1s.	3,250
Hoops,	500,000	at 70s.	1,750
Shingles,	1,798,525	at 1l.	1,798
Heading and staves,	4,215,448	at 5l.	21,075
Oars,	7,762	at 2s.	776
Handspikes,	2,081		50
Trunnels,	5,000		50
Shaken hogheads,	838	at 8s.	335
Hogheads of cider,	149	at 70s.	521 10
Carriages,	18	at 75l.	1,350
Windfor chairs,	1,132		450
Hogs,	841	at 20s.	841
Horses,	600	at 10l.	6,000
Sheep,	1,065		500
Horned cattle,	109		400
Raw hides,	6,411	at 40s.	12,822
Cables,	4		400
Coils of cordage,	225	at 90s.	1,002 10
Spars,	214	at 20s.	214
Boats,	11		100
Bricks,	245,283		280
Iron pots,	201		100
Mill stones,	50	at 10l.	500
House frames,	2		50
Saddles,	8		30
Oysters,	60,000		120
Feet of boards	1,101,453	at 70s.	3,853 10
Feet of scantling,	404,672	at 70s.	1,416 7
Feet of plank,	30,627		40
Pieces of square timber,	3,421		1,000
Pieces of cherry wood,	220		1,000
Bunches of onions,	90,341	at 4d.	1,505 13
Cheese,	67,239	at 6d.	1,680 19
Flax,	27,179	at 6d.	681 19
Hams,	5,651	at 6d.	141
Bars of iron,	15,134	at 23s. per C.	6,120

NOTE.

* The casks of fur are generally made up of foxes, martins, otters, fishers, minks, &c. and are supposed to be worth between 200l. and 300l. each, but they are only valued at 200l.

Dozens of poultry,	325	at 12s.	£.195
Tons of hemp,	20	at 50l.	1,000
Tons of hay,	12	at 3l.	36
Tons of nail rod,	4		120
Tons of pig iron,	530	at 8l.	4,240
Tons of timber,	454	at 5l.	2,270
Tons of clay,	6		6
Pairs of shoes,	114		40
Bundles of tow-cloth	92	at 4l.	368
Bundles of leather,	30	at 10l.	300
Bundles of whalebone,	22	at 10l.	220
Boxes of candles,	914	at 60s.	2,742
Boxes of soap,	788	at 30s.	1,182
Boxes of chocolate,	251	at 70s.	878



Statement of the number, and amount of tonnage, of vessels entered at the naval office, of the port of Philadelphia, from January 1, to December 31, 1788, inclusive.

	Amer.	Brit.	French	Dutch	Span.	Port.	Swed.	Danish	Pruf.
Ships	51	34	1	0	7	0	0	0	0
Brigs	134	84	4	4	4	3	1	1	2
Snows	1	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
Sloops	290	66	0	2	0	0	1	0	0
chooners	120	27	1	4	4	0	0	0	0
	<u>596</u>	<u>213</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>

Tonnage.

American	43,136
British	25,427
French	692
Dutch	1,022
Spanish	2,335
Portuguese	321
Swedish	430
Danish	157
Prussian	388

Total tons 73,908

Custom-house, Philadelphia,
May 1789.

ARCHIBALD ENGLE, deputy naval officer.



Account of sea vessels which arrived in the port of New York, from Jan. 1, to Dec. 31, 1789, inclusive.

	Amer.	Brit.	Port.	Span.	Dutch	French	Swedes
Ships	43	68	3	3	2	1	0
Brigs	145	73	4	3	1	5	2
Schooners	167	91	1	1	0	0	0
Sloops	415	73	0	4	0	0	3
	<u>770</u>	<u>305</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>

Account of inhabitants, buildings, lands, &c. in Massachusetts, taken in September, 1784.

Number of inhabitants,	—	—	—	357,511
Number of fighting men,	—	—	—	70,648
Dwelling houses,	—	—	—	45,123
Shops, tan, and slaughter houses,	—	—	—	3,521
Other work stores,	—	—	—	708
Barns,	—	—	—	33,236
Distil and sugar houses,	—	—	—	67
Rope walks,	—	—	—	23
Pot and pearl ash works,	—	—	—	138
Warehouses,	—	—	—	481
Grist, saw, fulling, slitting, and all other mills,	—	—	—	1,808
Iron works and furnaces,	—	—	—	76
All other buildings of 5l. value, and upwards,	—	—	—	4,480
Superficial feet of wharf,	—	—	—	489,783
Acres of tillage land,	—	—	—	154,935
Acres of mowing land,	—	—	—	199,612
Acres of fresh meadow,	—	—	—	156,679
Acres of salt-marsh,	—	—	—	42,549
Pasturage,	—	—	—	540,047
Acres of woodland,	—	—	—	736,103
Acres of unimproved land,	—	—	—	1,954,640
Acres of land unimproveable,	—	—	—	692,390
Barrels of cider which can be made yearly,	—	—	—	191,870
Tons of vessels at home,	—	—	—	59,881
Stock in trade, paid or not paid for,	—	—	538,257l.	3s. 4d.
Commissions on goods yearly,	—	—	8,861l.	5s. 6d.
Horses,	—	—	—	45,452
Oxen, and other neat cattle, different ages,	—	—	—	162,552
Cows,	—	—	—	127,467
Sheep and goats,	—	—	—	224,307
Swine,	—	—	—	85,671
Debts due, on interest or not,	—	—	430,200l.	1rs. 2d.
Ounces of plate,	—	—	—	74,879
Monies on hand,	—	—	35,050l.	18s. 11d.



NATIONAL CHARACTERS, MANNERS, &c.

Character of the Irish. From Chamber's edition of Guthrie's geography.

NOTWITHSTANDING the baleful effects of various political causes—though luxury enervates—though corruption dissolves and effaces—though extreme misery distorts and deforms—and though a revenue is made to depend, in Ireland, on what directly tends to blast the vigour of mind and body—still are the great features, which have at all times characterised Irishmen, plainly discernible by the attentive and impartial observer.

The moisture, the unparalleled tem-

perature of the climate, the vivifying breezes of the west, are here very favourable to animal as well as to vegetable growth. The Irish are inferior to none in bodily strength and beauty; they are perhaps superior to any in pliability and agility of limbs.

Always inclined to manly and martial exercises, they readily confront any undertaking. Their bodies are fitted to any climate, or to any difficulty; and from the same source might perhaps be derived, that spirit of heroism, which has so eminently characterised them.

Strong intellects, warm fancies, and

acute feelings, have generally carried them beyond the line of mediocrity ; and whether the depths of science were to be explored, the heights of heroism attained, or sympathy awakened in the inmost soul, Irishmen would be equal to the task. In virtue too they take an uncommon range ; and in the paths of vice they are not slow or backward. Even the blunders, with which they have been charged by their good neighbours, may have some foundation in truth, if by blunders we are to understand, those quick fallies, by which the regular concordance of words is broken and over-leaped for something bold and expressive in the thought. But what peculiarly distinguishes the Irish character, is, a comprehension of qualities which are seldom found compatible—sudden ardour—unabating perseverance ; universal aptitude—firm adherence ; impatience of injury—a long remembrance of it ; strength of resolution—tenderness of affection. These outlines of the Irish character may be filled by the full-grown lineaments, which the writers of different ages, and of different countries, have affixed to it. The Irish have been represented, strongly actuated by a thirst of glory, prodigal of life, impetuous, vindictive, generous, hospitable, curious, credulous, alive to the charms of music, constant to love or hatred.

Qualities so powerful, so various, and so opposite, if properly attuned, would exhibit human nature in its highest perfection : but when discomposed, sometimes by too much internal energy, and often by external adventitious circumstances—they have invariably produced a spirit of discord, which has uniformly led this unhappy people to misery and ruin. The influence of this infernal spirit, with a multitudinous train of evils, acceding as well as following, has here deformed the general view of nature ; so that we must descend from public to private life, from the statesman to the citizen—or, on the other side, arise from the vassal to the independent man—in order to find those glowing tints, which strongly mark the manners of the people. In some sequestered spot,

untainted by luxury, undisturbed by low ambition, and not distracted by the agitating hand of oppression, behold the Irish, and they shall command your esteem and affection. In their social intercourse, how open ! how cheerful ! through the circle of their acquaintance, how ready to oblige ! in sentiment how noble ! in their general conduct how dignified ! Weakness is sure to meet their pity and protection ; insolence never fails to rouse them to resistance. The stranger among them forgets his home : his desires are constantly prevented, and are constantly gratified by a pleasing variety. With the ancient Romans, a stranger and an enemy were synonymous ; with the Irish, it is otherwise ; the stranger is a friend.

Virtues so warm and beneficent, naturally expand ; and the philanthropy of Irishmen is not chilled in the frigid, or wasted in the torrid zone. Their patriotism, too, is of the most ardent kind : but its object lies confused, and its progress must therefore be irregular or fruitless. Better then to throw a veil over it, until the rising light of the present age, gives a proper direction to great but misguided passions.



“The Irish character is upon the whole respectable : it would be unfair, to attribute to the nation at large, the vices and follies of only one class of individuals. Those persons, from whom it is candid to take a general estimate, do credit to their country. That they are a people, learned, lively, and ingenious, the admirable authors they have produced, will be an eternal monument ; witness their Swift, Sterne, Congreve, Boyle, Berkeley, Steele, Farquhar, Southerne, and Goldsmith. Their talent for eloquence is felt and acknowledged in the parliaments of both the kingdoms. Our own service both by sea and land, as well as that (unfortunately for us) of the principal monarchies of Europe, speak their steady and determined courage. Every unprejudiced traveller, who visits them, will be as much pleased with their cheerfulness as obliged by their hospitality ; and will find them a brave, polite, and liberal people.” Young’s tour in Ireland.

Short account of the women of Egypt.

THE women act a brilliant part in Europe. They appear as sovereigns on the theatre of the world. They preside over manners; and decide on the most important events. The fate of nations is often in their hands. In Egypt, what difference! They are there only to be seen loaded with the chains of slavery. Condemned to servitude, they have not the smallest influence on public affairs. Their empire is limited to the walls of the haram: for there are buried all their graces and their charms. Confined within the bosom of their family, the circle of their life does not extend beyond domestic employments.

Their first duty is the education of their children. Their most ardent wish is to have a great number of them; since the public esteem, as well as the tenderneſs of their husbands, are measured by their fecundity. Even the poor man, who earns his bread with the sweat of his brow, prays to heaven for a numerous progeny: and the barren woman would be inconsolable, did not adoption indemnify her, in some degree, for the injury of nature. Every mother suckles the child she has brought into the world. The first smile of that tender creature, and an easy childbed, repay her for the pains and cares imposed upon her by this duty.

The overflowings of the milk, therefore, and other disorders, which drain the sources of life of the young spouse, unobservant of this law, are not known in this country. Malionet has converted this custom, which is coeval with the world, into a precept. "Mothers shall suckle their children two whole years, provided they are disposed to take the breast so long. The mother shall be permitted to wean her nurse-child, with the consent of the husband." Ulyſſes, descending into the gloomy kingdom of Pluto, saw there his mother, who had nourished him with her milk—who had reared up his infancy.

When circumstances compel them to have recourse to a nurse, she is not looked upon as a stranger. She be-

comes part of the family; and passes the rest of her life in the midst of the children she has suckled. She is honoured and cherished, like a second mother.

The haram is the cradle and the school of infancy. The helpless being, just brought into the world, is not enfolded in wretched swaddling clothes, the source of a thousand disorders. Stretched out naked on a mat—exposed to the air in a spacious apartment, he breathes without restraint; and moves his delicate limbs at pleasure. His entrance into the new element, wherein he must pass his life, is not marked either by grief or tears. Bathed in water every day, reared up under his mother's eye, he grows rapidly. Free in all his movements, he tries his growing strength: he is in constant action; he rolls about; he gets up; and if he happen to tumble, his falls cannot be dangerous, on the carpet or mat which covers the floor. He is not banished his father's house, at seven or eight years old, to send him to college, where he loses his health and his innocence. It is true, that he acquires little knowledge. His education is often limited to the art of reading and writing. But he enjoys a robust state of health: whilst the fear of the Divinity, respect for old age, filial piety, the love of hospitality, virtues which every object presents to him in the bosom of his own family, remain deeply graven on his heart.

The girls are brought up in the same manner. The whalebone, and the busks, to which the European women fall martyrs, are unknown to them. They are left naked, or covered only with a shift, until they are six years old. The habit they wear the remainder of their lives, does not fetter any of their limbs; and allows the whole body to assume its natural structure. Nothing is so uncommon, therefore, as to see children full of humours, or with crooked persons. It is in these eastern parts of the world, that man rises in all his native majesty, and that woman displays all the charms of her sex. It is in Georgia and in Greece that those well-defined features, those

admirable forms, impressed by nature on the *chef d'oeuvre* of her works, are in the highest preservation. It is there

that Apelles would still find models worthy of his pencil.

(To be continued.)



THE HISTORICAL COLLECTOR.

To the editor of the *American Museum*.

S I R,

Jan. 15, 1790.

FOR your present number, I send only one historical extract; but one that will be found worth hundreds. He, who can read it attentively without shedding the approving tear of sympathy—without experiencing the most exquisite sensations, of which humanity is susceptible—though he may be *animal bipes et implume*—is not a man—he is an unfeeling savage—and should quit human converse, and fly to the wilderness.

HISTORICUS.

EDWARD the third, after the battle of Cressy, laid siege to Calais. He had fortified his camp in so impregnable a manner, that all the efforts of France proved ineffectual to raise the siege, or throw succours into the city. The citizens, however, under the conduct of count Vienne, their gallant governor, made an admirable defence. Day after day, the English effected many a breach, which they repeatedly expected to storm by morning; but, when morning appeared, they wondered to behold new ramparts raised, nightly erected out of the ruins which the day had made.

France had now put the sickle into her second harvest, since Edward, with his victorious army, sat down before the town. The eyes of all Europe were intent on the issue. The English made their approaches and attacks without remission; but the citizens were as obstinate in repelling all their efforts.

At length, famine did more for Edward than arms. After the citizens had devoured the lean carcases of their starved cattle, they tore up old foundations and rubbish in search of vermin—They fed on boiled leather and the weeds of exhausted gardens; and a mor-

fel of damaged corn was accounted a matter of luxury.

In this extremity they resolved to attempt the enemy's camp. They boldly sallied forth: the English joined battle; and, after a long and desperate engagement, count Vienne was taken prisoner; and the citizens, who survived the slaughter, retired within their gates.

On the captivity of the governor, the command devolved upon Eustace Saint Pierre, the mayor of the town, a man of mean birth, but of exalted virtue.

Eustace now found himself under the necessity of capitulating; and offered to deliver to Edward the city, with all the possessions and wealth of the inhabitants, provided he permitted them to depart with life and liberty.

As Edward had long since expected to ascend the throne of France, he was exasperated, to the last degree, against these people, whose sole valour had defeated his warmest hopes; he therefore determined to take an exemplary revenge, though he wished to avoid the imputation of cruelty. He answered, by sir Walter Mauny, that they all deserved capital punishment, as obstinate traitors to him, their true and natural sovereign: that, however, in his wonted clemency, he consented to pardon the bulk of the plebeians, provided they would deliver up to him six of their principal citizens, with halts about their necks, as victims of due atonement, for that spirit of rebellion, with which they had inflamed the vulgar herd.

All the remains of this desolate city were convened in the great square; and, like men arraigned at a tribunal, whence there was no appeal, expected, with beating hearts, the sentence of their conqueror.

When sir Walter had declared his message, consternation and pale dismay were impressed on every face. Each looked upon death as his own inevitable lot; for, how should they desire to be saved, at the price proposed? whom had they to deliver, save parents, brothers, kindred, or valiant neighbours, who had so often exposed their lives in their defence? To a long and dead silence, deep sighs and groans succeeded; till Eustace Saint Pierre, getting up to a little eminence, thus addressed the assembly:

“My friends, we are brought to great straits this day. We must either submit to the terms of our cruel and ensnaring conqueror, or yield up our tender infants, our wives and chaste daughters, to the bloody and brutal lusts of the violating soldiery.

“We well know what the tyrant intends, by his specious offers of mercy. It will not satiate his vengeance to make us merely miserable; he would also make us criminal; he would make us contemptible: he will grant us life on no condition, save that of our being unworthy of it.

“Look about you, my friends; and fix your eyes on the persons whom you wish to deliver up as the victims of your own safety. Which of these would you appoint to the rack, the axe, or the halter? Is there any here, who has not watched for you, who has not fought for you, who has not bled for you? who, through the length of this inveterate siege, has not suffered fatigues and miseries, a thousand times worse than death, that you and yours might survive to days of peace and prosperity? Is it your preservers, then, whom you would destine to destruction? you will not—you cannot do it. Justice, honour, humanity, make such a treason impossible.

“Where then is our resource? is there any expedient left, whereby we may avoid guilt and infamy, on the one hand, or the desolation and horrors of a sacked city, on the other? There is, my friends—there is one expedient left; a gracious, an excellent, a god-like ex-

pedient! Is there any here to whom virtue is dearer than life? let him offer himself an oblation for the safety of his people! he shall not fail of a blessed approbation from that power, who offered up his only son for the salvation of mankind.”

He spoke—but a universal silence ensued—Each man looked around for the example of that virtue and magnanimity in others, which all wished to approve in themselves, though they wanted the resolution.

At length Saint Pierre resumed—“It had been base in me, my fellow-citizens, to propose any matter of danger to others, which I myself had not been willing to undergo in my own person. But I held it ungenerous, to deprive any man of that preference and estimation, which might attend a first offer, on so signal an occasion. For I doubt not but there are many here as ready, nay more zealous of this martyrdom—than I can be; however modesty and the fear of imputed ostentation may withhold them from being foremost in exhibiting their merits.

“Indeed, the station to which the captivity of lord Vienne has unhappily raised me, imparts a right to be the first in giving my life for your sakes. I give it freely; I give it cheerfully: who comes next?”

“Your son” exclaimed a youth, not yet come to maturity. “Ah, my child!” cried Saint Pierre: “I am, then, twice sacrificed—But, no—I have rather begotten thee a second time—Thy years are few, but full, my son! the victim of virtue has reached the utmost and final purpose of mortality. Who next, my friends?—This is the hour of heroes.” “Your kinsman,” cried John de Aire! “Your kinsman,” cried James Wissant! “Your kinsman” cried Peter Wissant! “Ah,” exclaimed sir Walter Mauny, bursting into tears, “why was I not a citizen of Calais?”

The sixth victim was still wanting; but was quickly supplied by lot, from numbers who were now emulous of so ennobling an example.

The keys of the city were then de-

livered to sir Walter. He took the six prisoners into his custody. He ordered the gates to be opened; and gave charge to his attendants, to conduct the remaining citizens, with their families, through the camp of the English.

Before they departed, however, they desired permission to take their last adieu of their deliverers. What a parting, what a scene! They crowded with their wives and children about Saint Pierre and his fellow-prisoners. They embraced, they clung round, they fell prostrate before them. They groaned: they wept aloud: and the joint clamour of their mourning passed the gates of the city; and was heard throughout the camp.

The English, by this time, were apprised of what passed within Calais. They heard the voice of lamentation: and their souls were touched with compassion. Each of the soldiers prepared a portion of his own victuals to welcome and entertain the half-famished inhabitants; and they loaded them with as much as their present weakness was able to bear, in order to supply them with sustenance by the way.

At length, Saint Pierre and his fellow-victims appeared, under the conduct of sir Walter and a guard. All the tents of the English were instantly emptied. The soldiers poured from all parts; and arranged themselves on each side, to behold, to contemplate, to admire this little band of patriots, as they passed. They bowed down to them on all sides. They murmured their applause of that virtue, which they could not but revere, even in enemies: and they regarded those ropes, which they had voluntarily assumed about their necks, as ensigns of greater dignity, than that of the British garter.

As soon as they had reached the presence, "Mauny," says the monarch, "are these the principal inhabitants of Calais?" "They are," says Mauny: "they are not only the principal men of Calais; they are the principal men of France, my lord, if virtue has any share in the act of ennobling." "Were they delivered peaceably?" says Edward; "was there no resistance—no commo-

tion—among the people?" "Not in the least, my lord; the people would all have perished, rather than have delivered the least of these to your majesty. They are self-delivered—self-devoted; and come to offer up their inestimable heads as an ample equivalent for the ransom of thousands."

Edward was secretly piqued at this reply of sir Walter's: but he knew the privilege of a British subject; and suppressed his resentment. "Experience," says he, "hath ever shewn, that lenity only serves to invite people to new crimes. Severity, at times, is indispensably necessary, to deter subjects into submission by punishment and example. "Go," he cried to an officer, "lead these men to execution. Your rebellion," continued he, addressing himself to Saint Pierre, "your rebellion against me—the natural heir of your crown—is highly aggravated by your present presumption and affront of my power." "We have nothing to ask of your majesty," said Eustace, "save what you cannot refuse us." "What is that?" "Your esteem, my lord," said Eustace; and went out with his companions.

At this instant, a sound of triumph was heard throughout the camp. The queen had just arrived with a powerful reinforcement of those gallant soldiers, at the head of whom she had conquered Scotland, and taken its king captive.

Sir Walter Mauny flew to receive her majesty; and briefly informed her of the particulars respecting the six victims.

As soon as she had been welcomed to Edward and his court, she desired a private audience. "My lord," said she, "the question I am to enter upon is not touching the lives of a few mechanics—It respects a matter more estimable than the lives of all the natives of France. It respects the honour of the English nation. It respects the glory of my Edward, my husband, my king.

"You think you have sentenced six of your enemies to death. No, my Lord! they have sentenced themselves: and their execution would be the execution of their own orders; not the orders of Edward,

“ They have behaved themselves worthily: they have behaved themselves greatly. I cannot but respect, while I envy—while I hate them—for leaving us no share in the honour of this action, save that of granting a poor, an indispensable pardon.

“ I admit they have deserved every thing that is evil at your hands. They have proved the most inveterate and efficacious of your enemies. They alone have withstood the rapid course of your conquests; and have withheld from you the crown to which you were born. Is it therefore that you would reward them? that you would gratify their desires—that you would indulge their ambition—and enwreath them with everlasting glory and applause?

“ But, if such a death would exalt mechanics over the fame of the most illustrious heroes, how would the name of my Edward, with all his triumphs and honours, be tarnished thereby! would it not be said that magnanimity and virtue are grown odious in the eyes of the monarch of Britain? and that the objects whom he destines to the punishment of felons, are the very men who deserve the praise and esteem of mankind? The stage, on which they should suffer, would be to them a stage of honour—but a stage of shame to Edward—a reproach to his conquests—a dark and indelible disgrace to his name.

“ No, my lord; let us rather disappoint the saucy ambition of these burghers, who wish to invest themselves with glory at our expense. We cannot, indeed, wholly deprive them of the merit of a sacrifice so nobly intended: but we may cut them short of their desires. In the place of that death, by which their glory would be consummate, let us bury them under gifts; let us put them to shame with praises. We shall thereby defeat them of that popular opinion, which never fails to attend those who suffer in the cause of virtue.”

“ I am convinced; you have prevailed; be it so,” cried Edward; “ prevent the execution; have them instantly before us!”

They came; when the queen, with an aspect and accents, diffusing sweetness, thus bespoke them:

“ Natives of France, and inhabitants of Calais, ye have put us to vast expense of blood and treasure, in the recovery of our just and natural inheritance; but you acted up to the best of an erroneous judgment; and we admire and honour in you that valour and virtue, by which we have been so long kept out of our rightful possessions.

“ You noble burghers, you excellent citizens! though you were tenfold the enemies of our person and our throne, we can feel nothing, on our parts, save respect and affection for you. You have been sufficiently proved. We loose your chains: we snatch you from the scaffold: and we thank you for that lesson of humiliation which you teach us, when you shew us that excellence is not of blood, of title, or station; that virtue gives a dignity superior to that of kings; and that those, whom the Almighty inspires with sentiments like yours, are justly and eminently raised above all human distinctions.

“ You are now free to depart to your kinsfolks—your countrymen—to all those, whose lives and liberties you have so nobly redeemed, provided you refuse not to carry with you the due tokens of our esteem.

“ Yet we would rather bind you to ourselves by every endearing obligation; and for this purpose, we offer to you your choice of the gifts and honours that Edward has to bestow. Rivals for fame, but always friends to virtue, we wish that England were entitled to call you her sons.”

“ Ah my country!” exclaimed St. Pierre, “ it is now that I tremble for you. Edward could only win your cities; but Philippa conquers hearts.”

“ Brave St. Pierre,” said the queen, “ wherefore look you so dejected?” “ Ah, madam!” replied St. Pierre, “ when I meet with such another opportunity of dying, I shall not regret that I survived this day.”



THE
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O R I G I N A L P R O S E.

MESS. PRINTERS,

MY husband is a subscriber for your Museum, and I am fond of reading it—therefore, by your indulgence, I should be glad to give the public a little of my chat upon the article of visiting.

I suppose you will wish to know who I am; and therefore shall tell you that I am a lady past the meridian of life; and have been engaged as much as any body, in the business of receiving and returning visits—in the morning, afternoon, and evening—in town and out of town—half days, and whole days, two days, three days, a week, and a month at a time: and from a long course of observation and experience, I must lay it down as a maxim, that the true art of visiting, lies in pleasing and being pleased; or, if this cannot be, in endeavouring to please, and in seeming to be pleased. True genuine good nature is the best rule to direct persons how to make visits agreeable; but where that is wanting, politeness will do much toward supplying its place: and even where good nature is found, politeness helps much to set it off: for how much

more agreeable is the behaviour of two or three well-bred misses, at their needles, or over a cup of tea, than the romping and bawling of as many buxom lasses, without any more breeding than geese or parrets?

That good nature, or its substitute, politeness, is absolutely necessary to the pleasure of a visit, I think will never be questioned, by any who have been in company with two ladies of my acquaintance, whose characters and manner of behaviour are in many respects a contrast to each other. I shall describe them both.

Letitia has been married about ten years; and has a pretty parcel of children round her, who, by her admirable management, greatly contribute to heighten the pleasure of her visitants. She is a lady of perfect good nature, easy, free, and genteel. She receives you with a smile, that speaks a more pleasing language, than the brightest compliment from the most practised courtier; and is unaffectedly glad to see you; which she expresses, not in a multitude of words, but in all the gentleness and delicacy of true benevolence.

She has learned the art of improving time to the best advantage; and therefore is never idle in company. She does not entertain you with common small-talk, but always has something solid and rational to furnish a topic, enlivened, at every proper turn, with delicate strokes of humour—not sarcastic—for she has a tender regard to characters; and is never guilty of traducing a person, whose name happens to be mentioned; but, on the contrary, if any thing be hinted to the disadvantage of the absent, she is always ready, with a candid apology, to excuse or palliate, even where she cannot justify. She is not fond of imposing her opinion; but modestly takes opportunity of a silent interval, to make some ingenious observation, or propose some query, which shall give others occasion to speak, and herself the pleasure of seeming to be a learner, though fully able to instruct. The repast, which she provides you, is wholesome and elegant—free from ostentation—and unattended by excuses. You are urged no more than decency requires; and your declining what is offered, is looked upon to be the effect of your own judgment and prudence. Nothing is insisted on; but you are at perfect liberty to regale yourself as you please. I never visit her, without discovering some agreeable stroke in her character, which I knew not before. Her modest merit would seek concealment; but it is so void of artifice, that it cannot help being seen, in the garb of sincerity. The hours are always so short in her company, that I never need be urged to stay beyond the proper season: and indeed she has so good an opinion of my understanding, as to think I am best capable of judging when my affairs call me home: but I never leave her without an increased relish for her conversation.

Laura is a lady somewhat more advanced in years; is mistress of a well-ordered family—a good economist—very neat and very sensible, and really means to treat her company with respect; but partly for want of a natural softness of disposition, and partly for

want of being early in life used to polite company, she can neither give nor receive so much pleasure as Letitia. When you come in, she is glad to see you; and wonders you did not come sooner. She enquires after your health, with as much earnestness as your physician; and insists upon knowing how every one in your family does, by name. If you happen to wear a black riband, she is in an agony to know, what friend you have lost; and though it be only a second cousin, she condoles with you in the most melancholy accents, and with a forehead as wrinkled as a woman of fourscore. The same unnatural earnestness leads her to pry into your domestic affairs; and give her advice upon every subject of family management; and the next time she sees you, to enquire whether you have followed her directions. If she happen to come into a room, where two persons are talking, she enquires what is the topic of their discourse; or, if they cease speaking at her entrance, she suspects they have been talking against her. If there be any gentlemen present, and they be engaged in ever so rational and profitable conversation, she will not suffer any body to listen to them; but engages them in a party with her, upon the subject of fashions or scandal. When she sits down to dinner or tea, she finds fault with her servant, before all the company, for the most trifling omission. She forces you to eat or drink beyond your inclination, or else takes it for granted, that you dislike her provision; and wishes it had been better. If you assure her ever so often, that it is exceeding good, and perfectly agreeable, she will not give you the least credit; for she is “sure that actions speak louder than words.” When you rise to go away, she is concerned at your hurry; and asks whether you came to fetch fire. She is sure it is time enough yet; it will be more agreeable by and by; the moon will be up an hour hence—and the like. If you be overpersuaded to stay, and sit upon thorns a quarter of an hour longer, you have no credit for your compliance; because “you might

as well stay another quarter of an hour ;” and the same answers are repeated, or new ones invented, when you rise the second time. When you are in earnest determined to go, she will try to extort from you the promise of a longer visit next time ; and if you attempt excuses, she will answer them with all the fluency of an attorney at the bar. In short, it is extremely difficult to get clear of her, without telling a downright lie : and for this reason, I seldom visit her. When I happen to pass by her door, without calling, I am sure to be blamed for slighting her ; if I meet her abroad, I am always examined where I am going ; and often suspected of having a greater regard for some other person, than for herself.

The design of Laura, in thus plaguing her friends, is to make them think she has a great regard for them—is glad to see them—and unwilling to be absent from them. That she really has a regard for me, I cannot doubt ; but surely such ways of shewing it are extremely disagreeable. I had almost rather be without her friendship, than enjoy it on such terms. Yet, Laura has valuable accomplishments. Her industry and economy have saved hundreds of pounds to her husband : and her family always makes a respectable figure in society. What a pity is it, that a lady of so much consequence to her own family, should not be more agreeable to her acquaintance !

But I will not take up any more room in your Museum. Your readers will be able to judge whether my observations are of any importance. If they be amused by them, I shall be glad ; but if not, I have this to comfort me, that I am not the first writer of my sex, who has been censured for impertinence.

AMINTA.



Some account of treading-out wheat. By John Beale Bordley, esq.

TREADING-out wheat crops with horses, is a general practice in the peninsula of Chesapeake : it was practised in the early ages with oxen ; the

Moors still tread wheat with oxen—a practice also in some other countries. In Britain, and in all the American states to the northward of Maryland, the flail is the common instrument for threshing out wheat ; both ways are become fixed habits in the respective countries, whatever caused a preference to be given to the one or the other. Oxen have been tried in Maryland, by some who had been used to tread with horses ; they found them not so proper.

It is not meant to recommend to those who can save their wheat with the flail, to give it up for the hoof. The intention is to gratify the curiosity, on the one hand, of those who are unacquainted with the practice of treading ; and on the other hand, to assist inferior treaders of wheat with some particulars, which may improve their practice. The methods are various, all best in the opinion of the respective farmers. Until some other as speedy a method shall be discovered, treading, or tramping, cannot be dispensed with, wherever the wheat-fly abounds, as it does in the peninsula of Chesapeake.

Prejudices against treading wheat are great, in those who are unacquainted with the best methods : mine were so, whilst I was becoming a farmer in a country where the flail was very little used, and treading was conducted in a slovenly manner, as far as I saw. Many farmers still shift their treading floors from field to field, from whence much rough-feeling dirty wheat goes to market. Those, who have a proper waxy earth, which becomes glossy by treading wheat on it, and who always tread on the same place, will have no more dirt in their wheat, than the thresher, who beats it out on plank ; provided they are attentive in taking off the horse-dung as soon as it is dropt on the straw (which in a proper method of treading is easily done) and do not let the horses stop to stale, until each journey is out and they are led off : and provided, as soon as the treading season is over, they cover the floor thick with straw, until a week or two before they are to tread again in the next season ; and if on this coat of

straw they add more, and fodder their cattle all winter, it will be very hard, glossy, and perfect. When horses are led in halters, in ranks, each rank detached and kept as far apart from the others as can be, time is given for the taking off the dung before the next rank tramples on it: and in this detached way of travelling, the horses are kept cool.

It is important that they do not close their ranks.

I was always much hurt by the injury done the horses in my former awkward manner of driving them loose, and indeed their driving, kicking, and jostling each other, helter skelter; but am now quite easy on that head, since haltering and leading them in ranks prove the labour or injury to be less than half a day's ploughing in a corn field. The above are the only objections occurring to me against treading wheat with horses. The advantages are—an entire crop of wheat may be beat out before the end of July—in a few days' work; which is a perfect method of securing it against the fly, and the best against pilferers: and it is thus ready for an early market. If I were to hire threshers, or set my labourers to thresh with the flail, the time spent would give abundant opportunity for thieving, which is avoided by the speedy method of treading, when, in ten days, 3000 bushels may be secured, which, with flails, would require near 100 days of five men threshing.

Treading floors are 60 to 100 feet, diameter: some are as small as 40 feet, and others as large as 130 or more: the larger the floor, the easier to the horses. I never knew a horse disordered on a large floor: but on a floor 60 feet or under, it is not uncommon. The track, or path, on which the sheaves are laid, and the horses travel, is 12 to 24 feet wide, or more: the floors are commonly fenced round, some with both an outside and inside fence: and there the horses

are usually driven loose and promiscuously, each pressing to be foremost to get fresh air, jostling, biting, and kicking each other unmercifully: the labour is thus in the extreme.

A few floors are open and airy without a fence. Some small floors have a center stake, to which hangs a rope or pole and swivel; and four or five horses are fastened by halters at the other end of the rope, and travel abreast. Although I have known some instances of treading with horses in halters, yet they seem to me to have been faint attempts, and partial. It is to the practice and communicative disposition of Mr. Adam Gray, that I am obliged for assurances of its superior advantages, when more perfectly performed: and I boldly aver from experience in my treading this summer, it is far preferable to the methods above or any other I ever heard of; and that it is a very valuable and satisfactory method, if performed with attention.

I particularly advise that the ranks of horses be kept at the utmost distance, rank from rank, while they travel; and that they go only a sober trot. The position, in travelling round the circle, for four ranks, should be as the four main arms of a wheel—or as the four cardinal points of the compass. In the march of a column of soldiers, the front advances at its ease, while the rear labours hard to keep up, and the front is sometimes obliged to halt for the rear to come up. In treading with horses promiscuously, they know this difference; and the laziest beast, on other occasions, now presses forward to gain the fresh air. Wild geese also have brains enough to know the value of fresh air, on their journies; whence in part their choice of the wedge-form.

(To be continued.)

[We are sorry that a disappointment in the figures requisite for the illustration of this communication, obliges to defer the remainder of it till our next.]

Character of the rev. dr. George Duffield, late pastor of the third presbyterian congregation, in the city of Philadelphia, who died February 2d, 1790; extracted from his funeral sermon, preached by the rev. Ashbel Green.

FUNERAL panegyric has been so much abused, that it has, in a measure, destroyed its own purpose. Extravagant encomium, by bearing marks of fallacy, has rendered even the truth suspicious. The truth, however, ought to be told; and, on the present occasion, it is our intention to be governed by it, in its rigorous strictness. And, indeed, so much may be said, without going beyond its bounds, that there is little temptation to transgress.

As a man, the rev. dr. Duffield possessed a vigorous, active, firm, and benevolent mind. He thought with energy and quickness; and he dreaded not the labour of thinking. In promptitude of conception, and readiness of utterance, few were his equals. These qualities, in early life, enabled him to preach with a frequency, of which the instances are rare: and throughout life, they gave him a consequence and utility in deliberative bodies, to which few can attain.

To the opinions which he formed, he adhered with steadiness. He was neither frightened from them by the number of his opponents, nor soothed by the respectability of their characters, or stations. His behaviour indeed, was at the farthest remove from disrespect: but he was in an eminent degree, a man of an undaunted spirit. The firmness of his mind was a leading trait, a prominent feature of his whole character. It enabled him, in all the vicissitudes, and under the severest trials of life—and he was familiar with them—to maintain an equanimity of conduct, which seemed to flow from the fortitude of the philosopher, mingled with the patience, and resignation of the christian.

His kindness and benevolence were great and extensive. They were the ornament of his other virtues. As a husband, a father, a brother, a master, and a friend, he was singularly indulgent,

tender and affectionate. But his benevolence was not confined to these limits. It led him to be, in a peculiar manner, the friend of the friendless. He espoused their cause, and advanced their interest, with the warmest zeal. In his death, the afflicted, the distressed, and the poor, have lost one of their best friends and counsellors, and one of their warmest advocates and most constant visitors. It was this part of his character, which led him to connect himself with the various humane institutions in this city, and which rendered him one of their most active, attentive, and valuable members. It was his benevolent temper of mind, likewise, which rendered him so highly esteemed by almost all denominations of christians; and which disposed him to unite an extensive charity for those who differed from him in matters of faith or opinion, with an earnest contention for what he esteemed the truth.

As a scholar, he was considerably distinguished. He early discovered a thirst for knowledge, which led him to the pursuit of liberal science. In his academical course, he rose above most of his fellows; and was afterwards employed as a tutor, in the seminary which was the nurse of his juvenile studies. His knowledge was more of the solid, than of the ornamental, or polished kind. He was accurate in classic learning: and he loved philosophy in all its branches. For these reasons, he was elected a member of the Philosophical Society, in this place, of which he was a diligent attendant, and a useful member.

As a citizen, he was highly distinguished for public spirit, and the love of liberty, and for the promotion of every design, which had for its object the general welfare. No one was a more zealous and active patriot than he; or in the smaller divisions of society, more sincerely endeavoured to do service to the community. In the late struggle for liberty, in America, he was an early, a decided, and a uniform friend to his country: and since the peace, he has been equally assiduous, in using all his

influence to advance the public interest and tranquility.

As a christian, he shone conspicuously. He lived the religion which he professed. The spirit of the gospel seemed to have tingured his whole mind, and to possess a constant and powerful influence on his heart. He was, truly and remarkably, an example of the life of God in the soul of man. His "fellowship with the father of his spirit," and his "conversation with heaven," appeared to be almost uninterrupted. Nor was he less distinguished in active duty. He sought all occasions of serving his Lord. Of him it may be said with truth, that he "went about doing good."

As a divine, he was thoroughly acquainted with the most approved systems of Calvinistic divinity. He was a warm admirer and advocate of the doctrines of grace. He was ever ready to plead for, and defend them in public and in private. Descended from pious parents, "from a child he had known the holy scriptures:" and he improved his early acquaintance with them, into a familiarity seldom acquired. He read them in their original languages, of which he was no unskilful master. In ecclesiastical history, his knowledge, if not minute, was comprehensive; and in the government and discipline of the presbyterian church, I believe he hath not left a superior, in an acquaintance with all its parts. He was honoured for these accomplishments with the degree of doctor in divinity.

As a preacher of the gospel, he was indefatigable, evangelical, and successful. He was "a workman that needed not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of life." In the early part of his ministry, while his imagination retained its fervour, he was remarkably animated in his public addresses, and unusually popular. An intimation that he was to preach, was the sure signal of a crowded auditory. His manner was always warm and forcible, and his instructions always practical. He had a talent of touching the conscience, and seizing the heart, almost peculiar to himself. He dwelt much on the great, plain and es-

sential truths of the gospel. Yet he was master of a singularly happy method of explaining scripture, which, in more advanced life, he frequently practised.

His first settlement in the gospel ministry, was at the town of Carlisle, in this state. Here he was abundant in labours. His natural activity and industry enabled him, not only to feed the flock, of which he was the immediate overseer, but to water the vacant parts of his Lord's vineyard, to which he was contiguous, in almost an incredible degree.

These circumstances marked him out as one properly and peculiarly qualified for planting and organizing churches, in places destitute of the regular administration of gospel ordinances. To this important business he was therefore called and appointed, by the synod of New York and Philadelphia; and, in company with the late rev. mr. Beatty, spent a year, in visiting the frontiers of the country, to preach the word of life to those who were perishing for "lack of knowledge;" and to form them into congregations for the stated reception and support of the gospel. A printed memorial of this tour has been given to the world; and is a monument of his zeal and labour in the cause of Christ, and for the good of souls. During his residence at Carlisle, his ministry, thro' the effusion and application of the divine spirit, was made effectual to turn many "from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God." But his talents drew him at length into a more public sphere; and placed him as the pastor of this flock. Here, my brethren, you have been witnesses, both of his respectability and fidelity, in his sacred office. You have seen him possess a distinguished weight and influence, in all the judicatures of the church, to which he belonged. You have seen him happily unite "the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove," in the management of all its concerns and interests. You have seen him called, by the supreme council of the nation, to officiate as one of their chaplains, during the whole of their residence in this city. But—what he was

more solicitous about than for all earthly honours, and you should remember with more care and pleasure—you have seen him “instant in season and out of season,” to promote your spiritual and eternal welfare. He has truly “watched for you,” as one that had the charge of souls. He has broken unto you the “bread of life.” He has been to you a faithful and an “able minister of the new testament.” It was his zeal to do good, that exposed him to the disease, by which he has been called from you.—Such was the man over whom we lament, and whose decease is a loss, not to you only, but to the whole church of Christ.

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Imports into and exports from Philadelphia of sugar, wines, spirits, melasses, teas, coffee, and cocoa, from March 18, 1784, to March 17, 1785.

	<i>Imp.</i>	<i>Exp.</i>
L OAF sugar, cwt.	4,694	176
Muscov. sugar,	74,720	5,935
Madeira wine, galls.	44,738	3,130
Other wine,	255,278	3,325
Bottled wine, dozens,	11,297	6
Gallons of rum,	1,221,118	146,595
Gallons of brandy, gin, &c.	135,391	12,602
Gallons of melasses,	593,094	28,700
Pounds of green tea,	48,803	3,900
Pounds of black teas,	382,479	41,135
Cwt. of coffee,	5,997	470
Cwt. of cocoa,	764	
Value of enumerated articles imported from March 18, 1784, to March 17, 1785.	£. 469,322	s. d. 8 11
Value of non-enu- merated articles, imported during same time.		
Amount of duty paid for articles import- ed into Philadelphia from March 18, 1784, to March 17, 1785.	102,601	17 9
Amount of drawback		

Amount of particular articles of export from Philadelphia, from January 1, 1788, to January 1, 1789.

H OGSHEADS of bread,	209
Tierces of do.	408
Barrels of do.	63,888
Kegs of do.	28,055
Hogsheads of flour, Barrels of do.	167 200,481
Half barrels of do.	15,619
Hhds. of Indian meal, &c. Barrels of do.	2,930 18,380
Barrels of beef and pork, Tubs of do.	9,173 180
Hogsheads of tobacco, Tierces of do.	3,101 16
Barrels of do.	79
Boxes of do.	13
Hogsheads of beer and porter, Tierces of do.	177 267
Barrels of do.	808
Hampers of do.	67
Tons of bar iron and steel, Bars of iron and steel,	815 16,742
Tubs of do.	50
Bundles of do.	281

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Philad. Jan. 20, 1790.

THE flattering alteration that the late year has produced in the export trade of this state, will be put in the most conspicuous point of view, by the following comparative statement of the export of one of our principal staples at different periods.

The flour exported from Phi- ladelphia in the year 1773,	barrels.
was	265,967
ditto in 1784	201,365
ditto in 1787	193,720
ditto in 1788	208,290
ditto from August 7 to Dec. 31, 1789	198,383

The whole quantity of flour exported last year, I am credibly informed, was 380,000 barrels, worth £.760,000. This accounts for the reduction of the rate of exchange between this place and London.

W.

FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

An oration, intended to have been spoken, at a late commencement, on the unlawfulness and impolicy of capital punishments, and the proper means of reforming criminals. By a citizen of Maryland.—Page 8.

TO say that an enlightened man, living in society, without government, would inflict death for crimes, as it is an assertion without proof, so it gives but an unfavourable idea of the heart of him who makes it. Revenge can have no place in an improved mind. The retribution of justice, it would leave to heaven. If it be said, that he might be prompted to deprive the criminal of life by a regard to personal safety, and the safety of others—this supposes, that the calm principle of prudence would be enabled, upon a mere probability, to contradict all the calls of humanity. O Humanity! how do the sons of men labour to prove that thou formest no part of our original frame! Thy very name is an encomium upon our species. But did we all assent to the framing of our bloody laws, surely thy name would be applied, in the language of fiends and demons, to denote cruelty!

But it has been said, that religion authorises capital punishments. And here we are presented with a long list of sanguinary laws, among the Jews, not only permitted, but prescribed by God himself; and are told, that the gospel, if it does not expressly ratify these, at least justifies the principle.

To this I answer, that the system of Jewish jurisprudence was adapted to the particular state of that people. Their government was a theocracy; and their circumstances, as a nation, singular and unexampled. Their laws, whether we regard them in a moral, religious, or political view, were plainly adapted, by the all-wise framer of them, to the singular case of that people, in order to separate them from the pagan world; to preserve among them the seeds of true religion; and to serve as introductory to a universal and more glorious dispensation.

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This may serve as a key to the apparent imperfections of the Mosaic law; the design of which was not to unfold a complete system of moral and religious, and much less of political truth, but to lay down such rules as might best conduce to the important ends before mentioned. St. Paul's observation, that "the law made nothing perfect," is true in a political, as well as a religious view. It is true even in a moral view; otherwise, why did our blessed Saviour make alterations in the morality of Moses, as, it is plain, he did in relation to revenge, divorce, and other cases which might be enumerated? "The law is good," says the apostle, "if a man use it lawfully:" but this certainly is not done by those who pervert it to justify an infringement of "charity," which is the very "end of the law."

If the Jewish penal code be obligatory upon us, why do we not adopt it in all its branches, and punish theft by quadruple restitution, and require "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth?" for this *lex talionis* rests on the same divine authority with that which punishes murder by death. If these laws be binding upon us, they must be wholly so. And accordingly the morality of the Mosaic system, which is universally allowed to be obligatory, we adopt in all its parts, except where amended in the new testament.

"But," it is said, "the sanguinary laws of the Jews are a precedent and a justification of ours." And were our circumstances the same, the argument would be conclusive. But the principle of them is not more justifiable, as applied to us, than the command of Moses, that all, who hoped for acceptance to their prayers, should worship thrice a year at Jerusalem, because God there vouchsafed his more immediate presence. Both customs rested upon circumstances, which were temporary, and peculiar to the Jews.

"But capital punishments must be consistent with justice and morality: otherwise God would not have enjoined them." To this, I observe, that though the laws of virtue be eternal and immu-

table, and never to be infringed by man; yet we cannot deny, that the Almighty has the power of dispensing with his own laws; or, to speak more properly, that he may, for wise reasons, known to himself alone, require and justify actions in some of his creatures, which in others, who are in different circumstances, would not only be unjustifiable, but highly criminal. Without this supposition, it would be difficult to account for the plurality of wives among the patriarchs—Jacob's defrauding his elder brother, Esau—the extermination of the Amorites from the land of promise—and many other achievements in sacred history, expressly sanctioned by divine authority. We ought ever to beware of charging God foolishly; and may fully trust, that he will, in the end, justify all his ways to man: but we must likewise beware of founding our conduct on such particular dispensations. At this rate we might justify polygamy, fraud, and murder.

It has, indeed, been said, that the gospel authorises this custom—O thou mild genius of christianity! how does the cruelty of man seek to hide its loathsomeness in thy bosom! Alas! could his corrupted eye take in the full blaze of thy benign beams, what a horrid spectre would a sanguinary statute appear! How ought we to blush, that thou hast, for seventeen centuries, sweetly sounded in our ear the song of mercy and love, and yet we retain public denunciations of vengeance!

No one will pretend to adduce, from the new testament, any positive injunction of inflicting death for crimes. It is only alleged, that, as it does not expressly abolish the penal law of the Jews—and as there are several instances of inspired men submitting to the sanguinary laws of the Romans, and enjoining submission upon their disciples, therefore such laws must be approved by the Holy Ghost. But the divine author of christianity gives the proper answer to this, when he says, "my kingdom is not of this world." It was no part of his gracious plan, to enact a system of human jurisprudence, or to

point out the defects of human governments. He refused to judge in temporal matters; and his answer, "render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's," seems rather intended as an evasion than as a precept. His aim was not to reform men by amending their politics, but by ruling in their hearts; well knowing, that, if the fountain were sweetened, the streams would of consequence be pure. That he and his disciples should submit to unjust laws, was part of their meek and peaceable religion; but those, who, professing the same religion, enact such laws, imitate, not them, but their heathen governors. And if the commands of submission to the civil laws, in the apostolic epistles, implied a justification of these laws, the apostles would be the most strenuous assertors of passive obedience that ever lived; for upon this principle, we might, from their writings, vindicate Nero, Borgia, and the bloody rulers of the inquisition.

It is by the spirit of christianity, that we are to be governed, where the letter fails: and with this the infliction of capital punishments is utterly incompatible. We have no express abolition of slavery in the new testament. Nay, I scruple not to assert, that it contains as much the appearance of authority for this, as for the other. And if mankind once justified this iniquitous custom upon scripture grounds, which, to every enlightened mind, now appear vain and illusory; let us beware, lest, forsaking the spirit, and viewing with microscopic eye a few minute points of the letter, we prop a fabric of sanguinary jurisprudence, which must soon melt away before the strong beams of religious truth, and leave us objects of pity and derision to succeeding generations.

But the argument, on which our adversaries chiefly rely, is the one drawn from policy. "Capital punishments," they say, "are necessary to the peace and welfare of society." This plea, it must be confessed, has antiquity on its side: for Milton tells us, that when Satan was meditating the ruin of our first parents, he,

“with necessity—

“The tyrant’s plea—excus’d his devilish deeds.”

But the necessity, in this case, is like that which the drunkard feels, of an intoxicating draught, to rouse his spirits: it is of our own creating; and proves our own tormentor.

It has been said, that nothing but the fear of death can prevent the multiplication of crimes. Now, if this were true, the necessary conclusion would be, that, as the effect must ever be in proportion to the cause, vice must hide its head, as the number of executions increases; a conclusion which the voice of uninterrupted experience contradicts. Where do we see the demon of immorality rage with greater fury than in those countries where the bloody scourge is frequently handled, and gibbets groan with daily loads? Here it is, her front is emboldened to attempt the villainous deed: here she leads on her numerous train, to rapine, at the very foot of the fatal tree. Witness the frequent acts of theft committed at public executions in London, where the laws punish with death the stealing of the smallest sums. Let it not be said, that this multiplicity of crimes is owing to the corruption of the people; and would be more numerous, were there no public executions; for it is certain, that in other cities, where the inhabitants are equally corrupted, no increase of immorality has followed upon a milder system of laws. And in some countries, where capital punishments have been entirely abolished, crimes have been remarkably fewer.

And indeed, where the principles are erroneous, nothing but error can follow. The plan of building morality upon the gallows, implies this capital mistake, that the human mind has no principle of action, but fear. Fear seems to have been the specific of all legislators, from Draco to the present times. The natural notion of justice, a far more general and more powerful support of virtue, is but little appealed to. Penal laws consult political expediency more than morality. Nay, by annexing the same

punishment to theft and parricide, they tend to confound the different degrees of guilt, and blunt the moral sense. These remarks would shew, *a priori*, the inefficacy of our sanguinary laws for the prevention of crimes. But we are not left to depend on such abstract deductions: experience has long ago decided the question.

(To be continued.)



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

Character of the Marylanders.

THE empire of reason and philosophy is of slow growth; from the eleventh century, when the feudal governments began to fix the boundaries of the kingdoms of Europe, to the seventeenth—superstition, bigotry, and ignorance, have produced the great events in the annals of that quarter of the world. Empire has vibrated between the civil, and ecclesiastical arm; and at times predominated in both. The discovery of America opened a door to liberty and peace; the persecuted did not fail to avail themselves of the asylum: and while Europe streamed with the blood of martyrs, America nourished the divine principles of charity, and toleration:—such is our origin!

Towards the close of the reign of Charles I. the presbyterians could ill brook the countenance, and even favours lavished by the court on the Roman catholics. “The damnable heresy of their tenets,” to use their own language, marked them out as the objects of intolerance and vengeance. The laws in force against them, were executed with all the rigour, which marks those turbulent times. Disgusted with a country, where a difference in sentiments, was a violation of law—two hundred reputable families, under the guidance and patronage of lord Baltimore, embarked for that tract of country which stretches from Patowmac river to the south boundary of Pennsylvania. By address and liberal and tolerant principles, they not only gain-

ed on the affections of the Indians, but allured many of different religious persuasions, into their infant colony. Owing to the benevolence and tolerance of their principles, they experienced none of that disorder which for a long time retarded the growth of the New England colonies. Where amenity of situation, salubrity of air, or fertility of soil, attracted, they made interest with the natives, and purchased lands; unconfined by prior improvements, it was as easy to lay off large as small tracts; and in general, the rivers, creeks, and bays, served as boundaries between the first proprietors. Plantations so extensive, and which reached beyond the ken of the eye, required many hands to cultivate them; hence the introduction of a slave trade, and in consequence, that train of complicated wickedness, which takes from the loveliness of an American character, and plucks the best laurel from the garland of military achievement.

Like her neighbours, Maryland has not only afforded an asylum for the persecuted of every nation, but a shelter to miscreants, who had forfeited the protection of the laws of their own country: such desperate characters being unable to purchase lands,—became servants, tenants, and dependents, on the proprietors of the soil; and introduced a disparity of character, not much unlike that between lord and tenant in England. These introductory remarks were necessary, as from them we are to collect the prominent features, which distinguish the inhabitants of this state from their neighbours.

Nature, prior to the titles of noble, and plebeian, has assigned men very different stations in society; a superiority of genius or address has given some an obvious advantage over others: but the great foundation of different ranks is an unequal distribution of property; where this is extreme, character, which grows out of it, must take its complexion accordingly; and the poor are in some measure necessarily the vassals of the rich. In this state, there being no gradation from extreme po-

verty to opulence, a middle class—the yeomanry of the northern states—the sinews of a republic—forms no part of its inhabitants. The influence of this on government must be evident; and whatever name we give it, the substance will be aristocratic: the lower class will always act as cyphers; and, unless connected with a figure, can be of no value in political calculation.

Dependence, while it circumscribes genius, extinguishes the spirit of enterprise: hence we seldom find the peasant of this state trying to better his situation; subsistence, which satisfies all the wants of an uncultivated mind, is the most he is able to procure; and when his appetite is satiated, he experiences the maximum of his enjoyments. The landholder, on the contrary, if he have not mingled with mankind, received a liberal education, and acquired a just taste, generally has an air of ostentation. Surrounded with slaves, and dependents, who look up to him as a being of a superior order, it is not to be wondered at, if he sometimes forget that he is human, and try to act up to the ideas they have formed of him. The repetition of an act soon forms a habit; and perhaps the idea formed of the hauteur of a Marylander, is not altogether unfounded. Nothing would be more unjust than to apply this observation universally: when we speak of character, which is infinitely varied, exceptions must be always supposed: and in saying, the Marylander generally has an air of ostentation, we would be understood, that this is the most prevalent description. Such is the influence of a just taste, a liberal education, and a mind enlightened by reason and philosophy, that wherever it predominates, whether in the Englishman, Frenchman, or American, the character is nearly similar, and answers all our ideas of excellence and perfection. The soil of Maryland is by no means unfavourable to the growth of such characters.

The landholder, being a man of extensive territorial property, has all the means of luxury; in a warm climate,

feeling has ever got the better of philosophy; and dissipated manners follow of course*. The economy of his plantation is given up to an overseer: he, being a mercenary, serves rather for plunder than the interest of his employer; and in general, the annual income, arising from the product of his lands, does not more than answer his annual expenses.

Free from the corrosions of care, his time, if not squandered in indolence, is sacrificed at the shrine of dissipation. But is there not something pleasurable and elegant in the retired library? Is there not a charm, in the perusal of history, or biography? To a refined taste there is; but this is by no means a prominent feature in our character.

Insulated from all the pleasing resources of literary improvement, he must feel a bias for more unrefined enjoyments: hence we find him fond of all the diversions of the chase, horseracing, and the cruel and vulgar sport of cock-fighting. Dazzled with the glitter of equipage, he sometimes goes into all the extravagance of European nobility, without any of their elegance. He rolls in the splendid carriage, which acquires additional lustre from the contrast it forms with its sable attendants, and the wild physiognomy of an uncultivated country, while his plantation lies a waste, and perhaps without a house, to shelter the blazing phaeton from the storm.

Born and educated among slaves, in his earliest youth he becomes familiarised to scenes of cruelty; he sees the scourge raised to smite its hapless victim, and ever after connects the slave and the scourge together. The language to the slave is imperious, and commonly aspersive of his complexion, and features: he soon acquires this style;

NOTE.

* The line, which separates Pennsylvania from Maryland, may be considered as the dividing line of the southern and northern states—a dissimilarity of manners, &c. &c. &c. is immediately perceptible,

and at a period, when we are wont to look for every thing lovely, we too often find an unfeeling and haughty disposition; this collects strength with increase of years: and however humanely and beneficently he may appear to foreigners, they will ever suspect the purity of that heart, which cannot feel even for an African.

In a country capable of furnishing all the ornaments, which taste can invent, we should naturally expect some monuments of fancy, and imagination. Gardens, vistas, the management of trees, and water, strike an elegant mind with exquisite pleasure. Lord Temple, though he enjoyed the honours of office, always languished for his gardens: but where the pleasures of company, dissipation, and the table predominate, the mind is exhausted in procuring the means of the pursuit; hence the Marylander generally contents himself with a most wretched situation, which, though destitute of every artificial embellishment, receives the most fanciful name. In visiting a Maryland Stow, you will pass over an uncultivated country, thro' gates; and if not stopped by water, (for there is no such thing as a bridge) at last arrive at a small dwelling: and yet the owner never appears to so much advantage, as within these confined walls: and what his house wants in external ornament, is amply made up in the richness and elegance of its furniture. If a generous plenty, on the festive board—if exquisite wines, flavoured with politeness, and hospitality—have any charms—the guest will forget the difficulties he had to encounter in making the visit.

In point of literature, Maryland would suffer much in a comparison with some of her neighbours. A paucity of schools and public seminaries of learning, has prevented that dispersion of knowledge so general in the northern states. This observation may be extended: there is not such encouragement and patronage bestowed on learning, and men of letters, in the southern states, as are consistent with morals or policy,

In some of the northern states, government has established schools in every town; and neglect of parents alone, can prevent their children from acquiring a plain, useful education: and we rarely meet with a man unable to read and write, and who has not such a knowledge of arithmetic, as, in the common occurrences of business, places him beyond imposition. In this state, the lower order of people has hardly emerged from the barbarism of its aborigines: hence we may easily account for that ferocity, which so completely fits them for the controul and oppression of the man of fortune.

Prior to the revolution, gentlemen of condition sent their sons to Europe for an education, where they acquired little more than the vices and follies of the country; the custom is now wearing out: they begin to see the absurdity of a person, who is to spend his days in America, first learning to be an Englishman, or a Frenchman.

The profession of the law in this state is honourable: gentlemen put their sons to it rather as introductory to the great offices of state, than as the means of future subsistence: hence the gown is more respectable than in the northern states: and, in consequence, there is less of that litigation, so subversive of the peace, order, and happiness of society.

In a country, the inhabitants of which are precipitated in dissipation, we may guess at the state of religion, and that order of men, whose office it is to inculcate and disseminate its principles: where the first is despised, the latter will seldom arise to a mediocrity in their functions; and in general the clerical order stands not in so exalted a rank as in some of the neighbouring states.



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

Remarks on a passage in Mr. Jefferson's notes on Virginia respecting bees.*

“THE honey bee is not a native of our continent. Maregrave, indeed, mentions a species of honey bee in Brazil; but this has no sting, and is

NOTE.

* Page 79 of the American, and page 121, of the English edition.

“therefore different from the one we have, which resembles, perfectly, that of Europe. The Indians concur with us in the tradition, that it was brought from Europe, but when, and by whom, we know not. The bees have generally extended themselves into the country, a little in advance of the white settlers. The Indians, therefore, call them the white man's fly; and consider their approach as indicating the approach of the settlements of the whites.”

THOUGH much deference is due to the assertion of so respectable a writer as Mr. Jefferson; yet I have been led to doubt, whether the opinion above recited, be well-founded; and the ground of my doubts shall be explained.

In the 5th vol. of Purchas's pilgrims, there is an account of the expedition of Ferdinando de Soto, in Florida: and it is there observed, that when he came to Chicha, which, by the description, was on one of the upper branches of the river Mobbille, he found, among the provisions of the natives, “a pot full of honie of bees.” This was in the summer of the year 1540; when there were no European settlements on the continent of America, excepting in Mexico or Peru.

The same author, in his fourth volume, gives an account of the revenues of the empire of Mexico, before the arrival of the Spaniards, as described in its annals, which were pictures drawn on cloth: and, among other things, he exhibits the figures of covered pots, with two handles, which are said to be pots of “bees honie;” of these pots, two hundred are depicted in one tribute-rolli, and one hundred in several others.

This account is confirmed by a late history of Mexico, written by the abbe Clavigero, a native of Vera Cruz, who, from a residence of thirty-six years in Mexico, and a minute enquiry into the natural history and antiquities of his country, must be supposed to be well informed and competent to give a just account. He tells us, that a part of every useful production of nature, or art, was paid in tribute to the kings of

Mexico: and, among other articles of revenue, he reckons "six hundred cups of honie," paid annually by the inhabitants of the southern parts of the empire. He says, also, that "though they extracted a great quantity of wax from the honeycombs, they either did not know how, or were not at the pains, to make lights of it." In his enumeration of the insects of Mexico, he reckons six different kinds of bees, which make honey, four of which have no stings; and of the other two, which have stings, one "agrees with the common bee of Europe, not only in size, shape, and colour, but also in its disposition and manners, and in the qualities of its honey and wax." Of those which have no stings, one species, found in Chiapa and Yucatan, "makes a fine clear honey, of an aromatic flavour, superior to that of all other kinds, with which we are acquainted."

From these authorities, it is evident, that honey bees were known in Mexico before the arrival of the Europeans; and that they had extended into Florida, before any part of the country, situated northward of the Gulf of Mexico, was inhabited by Europeans. The inference is, that they were not imported from Europe, by the Spaniards; for, however fond they might be of honey, as an article of food, or of wax, to make tapers for common use, or for the use of their churches: yet, as there were bees already in the country, there was no need of importing them.

Respecting the "tradition," that bees were brought from Europe into the northern plantations of America, I would remark, that the report of honey being found in plenty in Mexico, and of Soto's having found the same in Florida, had reached Europe, and been published there, before any emigrations were made to the northward; and if honey and wax had been deemed principal articles of human subsistence, or commerce, the sanguine spirit of the first adventurers would have led them rather to think of finding them in America, and carrying them to Europe, than of bringing the bees hither to make them.

As to the circumstances of the bees "extending themselves a little in advance of the white settlers," it cannot be considered as a conclusive argument in favour of their having been brought from Europe. It is well known, that where the land is cultivated, bees find greater plenty of food suited to their nature, than in the forest. The blossoms of fruit-trees, and of some kinds of grasses, and grain—particularly clover and buck-wheat—afford them a rich and plentiful repast; and they are seen, at those seasons when these blossoms are blown, in vast numbers in our fields and orchards. They therefore delight in the near neighbourhood of "the white settlers;" and are able to increase their tribes, as well as their stores of food, by availing themselves of the labour of man. May it not be from this circumstance, that the Indians have given them the name of the "white man's fly"—and that they "consider their approach (or their frequent appearance) as indicating the approach of the settlements of the whites?"

The first European settlement, northward of Florida, was made in Virginia, about seventy years after Soto's expedition; and it was not till the plantations were considerably advanced, that there would be a sufficiency of food to tempt the bees to appear in large numbers there. The settlement in New England was ten or twenty years posterior to that in Virginia; and the large intermediate country being uncultivated, or but a few plantations begun, for several years after, it was probably much longer before the bees found their way so far northward. In that space of time, it is not impossible that some emigrant, more curious and delicate in his taste, than the generality of his brethren, might bring a hive of bees from Europe; but if this fact could be ascertained, even by indubitable records, yet no conclusion could thence be drawn against the bee being a native of America: such a circumstance might have accelerated the propagation of bees in the northern parts of the continent: and this I presume is all the deduction which could be made from it.

FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

Memoirs of the life and character of the late Dr. Chauncy, of Boston.

HE was descended from Charles Chauncy, B. D. Greek professor in the university of Cambridge, in England, who, in the days of archbishop Laud, for the ease of his conscience, came over to New England; and was chosen president of Harvard college, in which station he continued seventeen years, till his death, which happened in 1671, Æt. 82. Isaac, the eldest of his sons, returned to England; and became pastor of a church in London. He had three children; the youngest, Charles, came to America; and settled as a merchant in Boston. This Charles was the father of Dr. Charles Chauncy, the subject of these memoirs, who was born in Boston, January 1, 1705; was graduated at Harvard college, 1721; was ordained colleague pastor of the first church in Boston, 1727; and received a degree of doctor in divinity, from the university of Edinburgh, 1742.

“His natural genius, and the situation in which he was placed by the providence of God, enabled him to search after truth with great success. The resolution which he formed to see for himself, and if possible to understand all the articles of his creed, and not teach for the doctrines of Christ the commandments of men, or the mysteries of the schools, put him on a course of long and severe studies—examining the sacred scriptures, and the sentiments of the ancient fathers; by which he was enabled to expose many errors which early prevailed, and have been unhappily interwoven with received schemes of doctrine. Those studies also enabled him to investigate many important things which had been covered with the dust of antiquity, if not artfully concealed, by the too zealous advocates for particular systems.

“Doctor Chauncy received the gospel in its simplicity; and as he believed the truths of christianity were designed for the benefit of people in common, and even people of the weakest capacities, so he constantly endeavoured to express

“himself in such a manner as to be easily understood. Such was his love of the truth, whenever he discovered it, and such the honest independence of mind, which he possessed to a great degree, that he frequently advanced sentiments which did not comport with generally-received opinions: he was therefore subjected to those temporary inconveniences which always attend on such as cannot fall in with all the common opinions. He placed the firmest confidence in the grace of the gospel, and entertained the highest expectations from the mediatorial undertaking of Jesus Christ.

“As he drew towards the close of life, and found himself unable to perform the public duties of his office, he expressed the strongest wishes to be farther serviceable to mankind; and therefore caused several works to be published which he had written many years before; hoping they might cast light on some very important doctrines of the christian religion.”

His treatise on the “benevolence of the Deity,” published in 1784, is a performance on which he bestowed particular attention. The design of it is to vindicate the divine character, by proving, that all the good, suitable to such a system as this, is apparently the tendency of nature and the divine administration.

In 1785, he published his “Five dissertations on the fall and its consequences;” of which work the compilers of the new Annual Register, for 1785, say, “the most pleasing feature of this work, is the author’s readiness to give up any favourite human explications of scripture, which seem to be inconsistent with its plain and obvious sense, or which are in any degree derogatory to the perfections of the Deity.”

The most laboured and, in his opinion, the most valuable of all his numerous productions, is a work, entitled, “The salvation of all men,” printed in 1785, without his name. This work was begun early in life; often reviewed; and completed about thirty years before its publication. It underwent severe ex-

amination by those whose critical and theological knowledge qualified them to judge of it. Many esteemed it a valuable acquisition to the religious world; and all bestowed their encomiums on the learning and ingenuity of the author.

Dr. Chauncy was a man of that piety, which does not sour the temper, or give a gloomy cast to the mind; his piety was the offspring of superior knowledge, constantly invigorated by his contemplation of the divine character. In the latter part of his life, he appeared, to those who were near him, to be almost wholly engaged in devotional exercises.

That he was kind and charitable, was well known to the children of distress. That he was honest and sincere, all who knew him, can testify. Dissimulation, of all things most foreign from his nature, was the object of his severest invective. His language was remarkably plain and pointed, when he spake against fraud either in public bodies of men, or individuals. Paper money, tender acts, and every species of knavery, were always spoken of by him with peculiar poignancy of language, both in his public discourses and private conversation. The candid knew how to excuse his vehemence, because they imputed it to a principle of sterling integrity.

His attachment to his country led him to enter warmly into those measures which appeared to be founded in justice, and dictated by wisdom; and to condemn with severity, those which he thought unjust or impolitic; and he never scrupled to tell his mind on these subjects, in any company, or to any persons, however high in office or authority.

As a preacher, he was plain, to a degree which has become unfashionable in the present age. He always studied perspicuity. Few ornaments are to be found in his discourses; but good sense, sound reasoning, a clear method, and a nervous style, enrich all, even his most hasty productions; so that the best understanding may find entertainment, and the lowest may be enlightened and improved. His discourses were easily

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remembered; and the truths, contained in them, were a valuable acquisition to the hearer.

He was also a faithful friend. By that attention, which is at all times grateful, but peculiarly so in a time of distress, he rendered himself amiable in the eyes of his flock. The widow and orphan loved him as their friend, their father, their prudent counsellor, and generous benefactor:

His diligent, useful life was extended to the utmost verge of human existence: and having endured much bodily pain and weakness with the most exemplary patience, he died on the 10th of February, 1787, in the 83d year of his age, and in the 60th year of his ministry.



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM;

Anecdote.

DURING the late war; when draughts were made from the militia, to recruit the continental army, a certain captain gave liberty to the men, who were draughted from his company, to make their objections, if they had any, against going into the service. Accordingly, one of them, who had an impediment in his speech, came up to the captain; and made his bow. "What is your objection?" said the captain. "I ca-a-ant go;"—answers the man, "because I st-st-stutter." "Stutter!" says the captain, "you do'nt go there to talk, but to fight." "Ay; but they'll p-p-put me upon g-g-guard; and a man may go ha-ha-half a mile, before I can say, 'wh-wh-who goes there?'" "Oh that is no objection, for they will place some other sentry with you, and he can challenge, if you can fire;" "well; b-b-but I may be ta-ta-taken and run through the g-g-guts; before I can cry qu-qu-quar-ter." This last plea prevailed, and the captain, out of humanity; (laughing heartily) dismissed him.



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM;

MESS. PRINTERS,

AMONG the modern improvements in humanity, we may justly reckon the abolition of the method of ter-

turing persons, accused of crimes, to make them confess their guilt. It seems astonishing, that such a mode was ever invented; or that it could be continued among nations who call themselves civilized, or who profess christianity. It may be worthy of consideration: and I would beg leave, through the medium of your publication, to enquire whence this absurd custom took its rise? How far did it extend among the Europeans? When is the last account of its use in Great Britain? Was it ever brought over to America? Any of your correspondents, by answering any or all the above questions, will much oblige his and your friend and servant,

CURIOSUS,



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

MESS. PRINTERS,

I Have purchased Belknap's history of New Hampshire, and was in hopes the remainder would have appeared before now. As the spirit of encouraging domestic literature, and domestic manufactures, is rapidly spreading, I hope the worthy author will prosecute his undertaking, and wish to know whether that be his intention or not?

From your very humble servant,
M. W.



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

MESS. PRINTERS,

I Beg leave, through the channel of your Museum, to propose the following query, to which I hope some of your ingenious and learned correspondents will favour me and the public with an answer. It is this:

If the blackness of the Africans and the East Indians within the torrid zone, be the effect, of climate—why are not the original natives of America, within the same latitude, equally black?



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

MESS. PRINTERS,

I N your December Museum, I read with particular pleasure, an elegy written by John Osborne, whose me-

moirs I read in a former number of your work. The whaling voyage, written by the same author, is a sublime performance, and if any of your correspondents could furnish you with it for publication, it would be highly pleasing to
A. B.



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

Law Case—Common Pleas, Philadelphia, December term, 1788.—Page 11.

Camp, vs. Lockwood.

2. **T**O the second objection Rawle answered, that it was not founded in the truth of the case. Names ought not to mislead us; for although his property in Connecticut had been confiscated, and an administrator appointed to collect it; yet nothing appears to prove that the plaintiff is not still alive to every legal purpose there as well as here, independent too of the treaty of peace.

3. But, in answer to the third objection, he insisted, that the treaty of peace removes not only the personal disability, if any such there was, but also the particular bar. Whether, indeed, it operates as a general reversal, or a general pardon, may be questionable; although the former is the more probable conjecture, since the provision made in favour of recovering property, sold as confiscated, would have been needless, if it was only considered in the light of a pardon. But, admitting it to be only a pardon, and that it has no effect against *bona fide* purchasers, he contended, that it was conclusively in favour of the plaintiff on the point of restitution as against the state; and *a fortiori*, in a case where his credits had not been reduced into possession. The fair construction of the treaty necessarily warrants this doctrine.

Ingersol, in reply—There are a variety of instances, in which this question will be agitated, if the plaintiff should now prevail; and the purses of individuals, as well as the coffers of the state, will be deeply affected by the decision. It must be remarked, that neither the defendant, nor Connecticut, ask the interposition of this court, but

the person who was the object of the law of that state; that the defendant does not intercept the money in its course to the public treasury; but prevents its being remitted to Nova Scotia; and that the contest, in fact, lies between an individual and a sister state.

He observed, that he did not controvert the general doctrine, advanced by the opposite council, that the law of nations, is the law of nature, applied to nations; and that one sovereign power cannot be bound by another: but he distinguished between the necessary, and the voluntary law of nations, which arises *ex comitate**; and insisted, that the laws of a nation actually enforced, are every where obligatory, unless they interfered with the independency of another legislature †; for common convenience renders it necessary to give a certain degree of force to the statutes of foreign nations ‡.

If nations, unconnected by any tie, thus indirectly give effect to the laws of each other, the principle, upon which it is done, must, with greater strength, prevail in the case of a political union, like that of the American states. It is true, that these states are said to be sovereign and independent: but they are evidently bound by a link, which must be taken into view, or we shall argue wrong in the abstract. Thus, it is declared by the articles of confederation, that a citizen of one state, is a citizen of every state; and that congress are not, as Mr. Adams has termed them, an assemblage of ambassadors; but a sovereign power, and capable of suing, like a corporation, without any express statute to enable them ||.

But the operation and effect of a sentence, or judgment, of a foreign court,

NOTES.

* Vat. pref. 12. Ibid. p. 6.

† 2 Hub. 26.

‡ 2 Ld. Kaims. Prin. Eq. 350. 360.

|| It was so decided in the supreme court of Pennsylvania in the case of *Republica vs. Sweers*.

cannot surely be more binding than the act of a foreign legislature; and these, *ex comitate et jure gentium*, are in many cases final*. If a debtor be discharged, where the debt was contracted, he is equally so in every other place: so that if Lockwood had been discharged by the state of Connecticut, this suit would not be maintainable against him, even in the king's bench of England †. The court of chancery held itself bound by the decision of a competent foreign jurisdiction, declaring an acceptance of a bill of exchange to be void ‡; and, because a debt had been discharged according to the *lex loci*, though in the depreciated paper money of North Carolina, Lord Thurlow, since the revolution, has refused a *ne exeat regno* ||. A similar principle has governed the supreme court, in the case of *Millar, vs. Hall*, and this court, in the cases of *Thompson, vs. Young*.

A distinction is likewise to be observed, between a foreign sentence authorizing—and a foreign sentence dismissing—a claim; for, if the proper tribunal dismisses a claim, the sentence is definitive ††. And in that description, the proceedings, as far as they affect Lockwood, must be included. The case, in *Carth. 373*, is certainly right, as a general rule: but it is liable to several exceptions; for, 1st. The law of one country may indirectly have effect in another, by the voluntary law of nations: 2d. If a right of action has been legally transferred in one jurisdiction, the rule, by which it is to operate, is the same in every other jurisdiction: and 3d. Where a debtor has been dismissed by the proper tribunal, he is dismissed every where else: and these exceptions take place in considering the question as between nations totally independent and unconnected. It is true, that the A-

NOTES.

* 1 Black. Rep. 258. 262. Vat. lib.

2. c. 7. sec. 84. p. 147.

† Co. B. L. 347.

‡ 2 Stra. 733.

|| Brown 376.

†† 2 Ld. Kaims. Prin. Eq. 275.

rican states have hitherto been held by a very slight confederacy: but what remedy is to be pursued? Shall we, if the knot be loose, make it still looser? If the union be weak, shall we increase the debility? Or, when a more perfect consolidation is essential to the national existence, shall we employ repulsion instead of attraction, and thus widen the inconvenient and ruinous distance between the different members of our political body? Neither reason, or experience, would justify such a construction: and the united states, though individually sovereign and independent, must admit, not only the voluntary law of nations, but a peculiar law resulting from their relative situation.

No cases can be more distinguishable than the present, and that, in which the rule for reviving rights and credits at the expiration of a war, occurs. There is no doubt, that, on the declaration of peace, a British subject could sue here: and we find, that although our government conceived that they might act as they thought proper with respect to the citizens of this state, yet the instalment laws were never intended to obstruct and protract the recovery of debts due to foreigners. If, therefore, Camp is to be considered in the honourable light of an open enemy, the argument for the defendant is unfounded: but when it is recollected, that he did not avow his sentiments, on the declaration of independence—and that, nevertheless, he remained in the enjoyment of his property under the laws of Connecticut, for some time afterwards—it is impossible to regard him in any other light than that of a subject; and subjects are the objects of the municipal law—not of the law of nations. In the case of *Respublica, vs. Chapman*, on an indictment for treason, the defendant was acquitted, because, in the opinion of the court, he was not a subject: if he had been a subject, he must have been attainted; and being so attainted, he could never have claimed any advantage from the law of nations, on the return of peace. Thus, with respect to Camp, he was a traitor; the proceedings, under the act

of Connecticut, produced a forfeiture and attainder; and the right of action was as conclusively vested in the state (and by the power of that state alone can it be divested) as if he had been taken and executed. The act, indeed, does not speak at all of an enemy, but of such persons as were resident in Connecticut, and had joined the British troops; for proceedings of this kind are never carried on against an open enemy. The profits of his property may be sequestered during the war, in order to prevent their being remitted; but no forfeiture can take place.

If then Camp was a subject of Connecticut, he derives no right from the treaty of peace; for, Great-Britain could not mean to interfere between that state and her own citizens. The description in the fourth article, cannot be extended to him: and though the sixth article certainly designates persons acting as he has done, yet it gives no further advantage than to protect his person from molestation, and to preclude any future confiscations of his property. The confiscation of the present debt, &c. was in the year 1779; and no farther proceedings are requisite to retain the right which the state thereby acquired. The marquis of Caermarthen's complaint of laws passed against the treaty, did not include laws of this description; for, although he must have known that similar ones existed in Pennsylvania, he admits that here there are no acts passed against the treaty. Purchasers under the state are considered by the treaty as holding a good title; because it provides for persons entering into a negotiation for the reconveyance of their forfeited estates from such purchasers.

In the case of *Respublica, vs. Gordon*†, the confiscation was complete before the treaty; and, therefore, tho' it would have been incompatible with it to have sustained any legal proceedings afterwards in the supreme court against the defendant, an act of the legislature became necessary to divest the right which the state had acquired by the previous confiscation.

The conduct of the British agents

can furnish no authority to us : but the reason for their refusing to make an allowance for debts, was the difficulty of ascertaining them, and not the presumption of their being recoverable after the peace. Nor does the act of Connecticut, repealing all laws against the treaty, affect the law in question, which is directed to an object of mere municipal regulation. The state had a right to do as it pleased with all the confiscated property ; and on any, or no consideration, to release all his debtors. Whether, indeed, they had recovered the whole, or a part, or whether they have compounded, or dismissed the debt, it could not enure to the benefit of Camp. He

cannot now be punished for past deprecations : but the property, vested in the state of Connecticut, cannot be re-vested without her authority.

If the treaty is to be considered as a reversal of outlawry, then a restitution would ensue ; but if it be taken in the light of a pardon, that does not divest any thing previously vested in a subject, nor even in the king who grants it, unless by express words*. The right of action in the present case, was clearly transferred to Connecticut, and neither expressly, or by implication, has she waved it.

(To be continued.)



SELECTED PROSE.

THE POLITICIAN.

NO. IX.

WHEN a system of national freedom hath been established by great exertions, it becomes an interesting enquiry how it shall be best preserved. The speculative philosopher, and the practical statesman have united their endeavours to answer this question.

A natural thirst for power in the human mind, with the emoluments springing from authority, tend to a general encroachment on the rights of human nature. Even patriots and honest men have their weaknesses, passions, and appetites ; and in little instances may be tyrants, while they wish for general freedom.

Many systems have been formed, which in theory appear almost perfect ; many checks have been devised ; still there are, and we must expect there will be, abuses of power, until the nature of man is delivered from its present imperfections. In every state, some person or persons must be representatives of the public, in whose hands the power of the whole is lodged, for general protection : and without this investiture of public authority, to restrain and punish, the wicked will be a scourge to all within their reach : and it is also possible, that the very persons, who are clothed with public power, may

become cruel and unjust. Without power in some national head, anarchy will be the state of man—every one will retaliate and abuse as his passions dictate ; which is the worst of tyrannies : with power, the rulers of a nation may do injury ; for man is frail—great men may misjudge—good men may fall.

To give any man unlimited power, is a greater temptation than ought to be placed before a frail being : at the same time, placing too many checks on rulers, is in effect dismembering the body ; and destroys its energy of action and of defence, both against foreign enemies and its own evil subjects. So far as we may judge from American experience, a nation of freemen, in modelling their government, are more apt to err in overlimiting, than in giving too great scope to the power of rulers. In both cases, the consequence is nearly the same ; for when the citizens find their constitutional government cannot protect and do justice, they will throw themselves into the hands of some bold usurper, who promises much to them, but intends only for himself : and in this way, very many free states have lost their liberties.

NOTE.

* 3 Bac. Abr. 810. 2 Vin. 401. pl. 4. p. 404.

The forming a constitution of government is a serious matter: the spirit of deliberation and concession, with which it hath been taken up by the citizens at large, and thus far carried into effect, is a new event in the history of mankind. The present constitution of the united states appears to embrace the essential principles both of freedom and energy in national operations; still very little dependence is to be made on this constitution, as a future safeguard to the American liberties.

I would by no means undervalue those systematic productions, which we call the constitutions of the several states, and of the whole: they express our present ideas of the rulers' power and duty, and the subjects' right: they are a written basis, on which national habits will be formed; and in this way will cherish sentiments of freedom, and retard the rise of oppression. On these your children will look, as maxims of their fathers' wisdom: but if they have no other protection, the lust of those who have opportunity, will undermine their privileges.

Every generation must assert its own liberties; and for this purpose the collective body of the people must be informed. A general diffusion of science, in every class of people, is the true cause of that new series of events which have taken place in the united states. In every other country, a great proportion of the people are unacquainted with letters. In several great and civilized kingdoms of Europe, it is comparatively but a few, who can read and write. The vast number of well-meaning and ignorant people become instruments of superior policy, to oppose every effort of national freedom: but in America, there is no order or great number of people, who can be made subservient to such ungenerous purposes. The late war was a war of the people: general information convinced them of its justice, and that their all was endangered; hence sprang their unanimity, exertion, and patience: and a traitor could in no point of the country find either asylum or aid.

The formation of our present government, by the deliberation of three millions of citizens, is the highest evidence, and the greatest effect, we have yet seen from general information.

The same causes, which have given you victory, and a constitution, combining the rights of man with the powers of government, will certainly be sufficient to preserve national liberty, and make your children as free as their fathers. A few enlightened citizens may be dangerous: let all be enlightened, and oppression must cease, by the influence of a ruling majority: for it can never be their interest, to indulge a system incompatible with the rights of freemen. Those institutions are the most effectual guards to public liberty, which diffuse the rudiments of literature among a people.

Let the most perfect constitution finite wisdom can devise, be adopted—if succeeding generations become ignorant—if a large part of the people be destitute of letters—their pious patrimony will be cheated from their hands; not, perhaps, by violence, but by a course of artful measures, against which ignorant men have no defence.

A man, declaiming for liberty, and suffering his children to grow up without education, acts most absurdly; and prepares them to be licentious, but not free.

The road to preferment is open to all; and the common citizen may see his children possess the first offices of state, if endowed with genius, honesty, and science: having such incentives to fidelity, the remiss parent is unpardonable. As the best preservative of national liberty, the public ought to patronize institutions to instruct the children of poor people: for, give them knowledge, and they will never be the instruments of injuring mankind. A few incautious expressions in our constitution, or a few salaries of office too great for the contracted feelings of those who do not know the worth of merit and integrity, can never injure the united states, while literature is generally diffused, and the plain citizen and planter reads and judges for himself.

The American legislature could not do an act more favourable to general humanity, liberty, and virtue, than to endow the universities, rising in almost every state, with such funds in the unlocated territory, as would enable them to furnish the best means of instruction, and at an easy rate, to the sons of those who have moderate wealth. Disseminate science thro' all grades of people, and it will for ever vindicate your rights, which are now well understood and firmly fixed. Science will do more than this: it will break the chains, and unbolt the prison doors of despotism. At the present moment, France is an instance of its influence. The wealthy subjects of that country are become enlightened, and thus determined to be free. O France! I love thee, and thy sons—when my nightly supplication forgets to ask a blessing on thy great exertions, and on thy councils, I shall lose my claim of being a christian. August empire! many of thy sons are among the learned who have enlightened mankind; how often have I drank improvement and pleasure from their pens! but I fear, I greatly fear, that the vast mass of thy subjects are not sufficiently informed in the nature of freedom, to receive from heaven and preserve so rich a gift.

Hartford, Nov. 1789.



NO. X.

To the American farmers and planters.

THE gentlemen, who possess and cultivate the soil, are in this country so numerous, and hold so great proportion of property, that they have a right to a decided influence in the measures of government. In addressing you, I speak to the people, whose will must ultimately determine the system of national police. An enlightened planter is a friend to manufactures, by which his raw materials are prepared for the use of man: he is a friend to commerce, which converts the surplus of his perishable produce into permanent wealth, and mingles the growth of every clime

on the board of hospitality: still the agricultural now is, and for a century to come must remain, the prevailing interest, both in riches and in influence.

The war of independence was yours: and therefore became a war of blows, too hard for the common enemy: our present form of government was first delineated by those who roll the tongue and drive the quill: it became a sacred reality by the seal of your suffrages: and the measures of the treasury department must be addressed to your good understanding and sense of national honour, to render them successful. Though the nature of your employment is such, as precludes the opportunity of collecting information—your judgment must sanction, and your firmness effectuate, the public decrees. The evils, resulting from a loss of public credit, may affect others first: on you they fall heaviest. Merchants, monied men, and those, who have great property afloat, are on the watch: they have leisure to collect every information: a correspondence by every post, and through half the world, advertises them of the evil: and their property, by some change in its situation, is secured: while you, without information, and unsuspecting, are ensnared.

Every possible imposition in public credit will operate thus: either the price of your produce will fall; or the articles you purchase, rise; or the deceitful medium centre in your hands. When the state of credit, in any country, is such as excites a war of artifice between its citizens, those must be eventual sufferers, whose employment confines them in the field, at a distance from the course of information. The first thing you ought to demand, is a stable system for the public debt, which may be done, by placing the whole, of every description, under one responsible board; the next is a circulating medium of fixed value. To accomplish this, I am sensible there must be some kind of direct taxation by the united states; for it is not probable that an impost and excise will equitably fund the whole debt. Direct taxation is now

practised with a heavy hand by the separate states: and why should the exercise of this power, by the general government, be more dangerous, when attended with such circumstances, than a part of the sum you now pay, will be sufficient? If a change of system will remove half the weight you have borne these fifteen years, be not duped to lose the opportunity, by the artful suggestions of some men, who expect to gain more by the old game, than by a new one. The members of the general government are your representatives—your friends—and the beings of your own creation: their existence and popularity are in your hands: and they have every motive to guard your interest: more cannot be said of the state legislatures. Still further to remove all suspicions that the writer is acting an insidious part, I will compare your present situation with what it might be made, by an interposition of the general government.

Every state in the empire is heavily in debt. In each state, there are different modes of imposing and collecting taxes: but in all, direct taxation of some kind is in use: in a few states arbitrary assessment is customary, which may be set down as the worst kind of imposition: in others every kind of property, specifically, is charged at certain rates, affixed in the tax laws. In New England, your houses and lands—your cattle of every description—even your sons, are taxed, before their labour can pay for their support; and your mechanics are arbitrarily assessed for the labour of their hands. The tax-laws have been varied annually, so that to understand the system of public demands, is next to impossible: these changes, in the tax-laws, have opened a succession of speculation, destructive and unintelligible to the unwary citizen. The general taxation of all your property imperceptibly advances the amount to a grievance. In Connecticut, there are one hundred tax-gatherers; and in the other states, a number, proportioned to their extent. The gentlemen, qualified to do this duty, must

be men of sagacity; and as such, will not forget themselves; nor can we wish, they should serve the public for nothing. An average emolument to themselves, of less than two hundred dollars per annum, would not tempt them to execute the duty: this emolument arises from a public reward, mileage, forbearance money, with an opportunity of speculating among the ignorant; and though it be not charged in the tax-bills, is eventually paid by the people. I blame not the collectors: their business requires industry and watching; and is attended with risk; for they must lose the taxes of those who abscond, after their warrants are received: but I accuse a system so expensive to the people. One hundred tax-gatherers, at two hundred dollars each, amount to twenty thousand dollars: this sum, though not charged in any account whatever, is annually paid by the people of Connecticut—an enormous burden, for the simple collection of taxes! and all this, on a plan, which, you have often been told, is mighty cheap, and full of economy and liberty. Let us talk no more of the high salaries given by the united states, when our own plan bears so much harder on the people. The employing too many men in any public business, that it may be done at a cheap rate, always proves a sponge in the event. With the great sums you have paid, and collected, in this expensive manner—with the general taxation of your whole property—you have not obtained the reputation of being just to your creditors. The evil still remains; and must remain, without a general reform of system.

Most of my remarks will apply to all the states: but as this publication first appears in Connecticut, I have taken it as an instance to exemplify the whole. Let not these truths excite faction: be calm—reverence government, and public justice—and you will be remedied. Compare with this picture a system I will propose.

Let your state debt be assumed by the united states. In addition to the impost and excise, give them a direct

tax. Let this tax be imposed on the single article of improved land. Three cents per acre, which is two pence currency of New England, very nearly, will be sufficient to establish the faith and justice of your country, and content the public creditors, if they are reasonable men. Let this be paid in the money of the merchant; for if there be a depreciated currency in circulation, you will eventually rue the consequences. Eight tax-gatherers will be sufficient to collect an excise and land-tax in Connecticut, which now employs one hundred. Make these men responsible; give them the salary of eight hundred dollars per ann. and suffer no kind of fee to be taken from the people. This will make a saving of nearly fourteen thousand dollars, in the article of collection, which is principally paid by the poorest citizens; and for which they have no credit in the public opinion. The planter, possessing one hundred acres, in fair cultivation, will have to pay annually sixteen shillings, New-England currency, for the whole amount of his taxes, and without any additional fee to collectors; and those who have less estate, in proportion. Every wise planter would compound with the public for this sum—I believe it would be sufficient: and I appeal to the honest cultivators of the earth, whether it be more than one-third of the sum they have been used to pay.

The writer of this paper, though unknown even to suspicion, and distant from fame, wishes to be thought an honest man. Such subjects as he is considering, are apt to excite a suspicion that some evil is designed: these suspicions may be fomented by the litigious; but, with the body of mankind, their origin is from a generous love of freedom, and a determination to vindicate their honest acquirements.

After so many delusions, and ill-concerted policies, the Americans would be stupid indeed, did they not watch every proposition of measures, as it rises. Next to personal liberty, the preservation of property is the most sacred object, which can be affected by government; and taxation is the great in-

strument, by which government acts on the properties of the people. The proposal of a land tax is a weighty subject: and a firm conviction, that it is the most direct way of emancipating you from a system, which you can never reduce to calculation, is the reason of my doing it. A citizen is unsafely situated, when the demands made on him by government, cannot be reduced to previous estimation: but can you do this under your several state systems? You cannot determine, from year to year, the manner, nor the proportion, nor the articles, in which you are to be taxed. You choose assemblymen once or twice a year; and, from a long habit, they consider it justifiable to make sudden alterations—they impose new sums, of which you have no intelligence, but by the warrant of a tax gatherer: thus circumstanced, no previous estimate, of what you must pay, can be made: this I consider as an evil, not of the gentlemen who serve you, but of the system you are pursuing. Warrants go out from the state treasurer against certain districts, for certain sums: subordinate officers make the tax bills against individuals: the law gives them a rule; but not one in ten of the people can tell whether this rule be honestly followed. If the multitude of your tax gatherers be not strictly honest, there will be some overcharges; and if discovered, it is easy to call them mistakes. It wounds the feelings of a good subject to wrangle, either with his lawgivers or collectors; and the thing passes. A simple charge on all lands, can be previously estimated: the planter knows the number of his improved acres: this, once ascertained, answers forever; he foresees and provides for the exact demand; and there is no possibility of fraud.

I already hear it objected: "the proposal is partial; for improved lands are of unequal value; and some one acre may be worth half a dozen others."

The same objection lies with greater force against your present system. The tax you now pay on lands, supposes them of equal value, only discriminating

the kind of cultivation. Your polls are equally assessed; one of these may be sagacious, healthy, and rich, and very profitable to the man who carries it; while another is void of all discernment, sickly, poor, and an expensive bill to the owner: your cattle are equally taxed; when it is known some one beast, either for sale or improvement, may be worth ten others in the flock: and this is the case with every article in your taxable estate, as it now stands.

No kind of property has a greater equality than the soil of the earth; the acres, naturally more productive, are few; and superior cultivation is the chief thing which gives them an advantage. Taxing high cultivation, in most instances, is but taxing the industry, which one man has beyond another: and in this view of the subject, comes nearer to injustice.

Improvements, in the art of husbandry, have made different kinds of soil much nearer in value and profit, than they were half a century past. Vast extents of earth, lately supposed of no value, by cropping them suitably, are made productive; and daily improvements in husbandry increase their equality: but if, after all, there be any soil so poor, it will not pay a small tax, it ought to be dismissed from cultivation, and planted with trees, to prevent that scarcity of timber and wood, which will soon become an intolerable evil to the poor, in the early-settled parts of this country.

To do fractional justice, in a matter of this nature, is impossible. That system is the best, which comes nearest to perfect justice—is most intelligible to the people—and may be executed with smallest expense. Suppose the comparative value of your lands were to be appraised—to do justice, the appraisement must be frequently repeated, and the expense will more than balance the gain. I dread a system, loaded with a prodigious number of subordinate officers: if you pay them a small sum, their numbers will make an immense amount. If you do not pay them, they will by some artifice pay themselves,

from the hard earnings of the people: and when public measures pass through an infinitude of managers, you cannot make them responsible: and the citizens, under the appearance of protection, are pillaged at discretion. Remember the late war! It was the humour of the people to multiply managers: you had public officers through subordinate grades, innumerable as the leaves of summer, down to captains of a dozen oxen, flourishing with the national cockade in their hats—with all this apparatus, your armies suffered every distress, through want of the provisions then rotting in store. An absolute monarch is politic in increasing the number of inferior officers: for the additional expense creates an influence, by which he governs the people: but a republic needs not this policy. A republican government must be grounded on economy—on the affections and confidence of the people—on general knowledge and happiness: and it ought, therefore, to avoid a scheme of measures, that is either intricate or expensive.

Another objection to the land tax, as proposed, will be this—"that the inhabitants of the great towns, escape the payment of a sum proportioned to their ability."

The objection appears with weight: let it be candidly considered. The man of honesty and honour, will not wish to avoid his part of the burden, whether town or country be his residence. Were a tax on lands the only means of a national revenue, the proposal might work injustice: but by the joint operation of a national impost, excise, and land tax, the objection will be obviated. Suppose two persons of equal interest, one a citizen in some great town, the other a planter in the country: the nature of a city life will lead to the greater consumption of such articles, as are charged with impost and excise; so that the city inhabitant pays double or treble the sum paid by the other.

The inhabitants of a great town must purchase all their food and clothing: and it is not a love of luxury, but necessity, that obliges them to do this: by

which means they consume a four-fold share of taxable articles : and duties on commerce must always have this effect : for every man pays in the proportion that he consumes the dutied articles. The wealth of great towns is generally over-rated : they present you with a few instances of great riches, and a thousand, of extreme indigence and wretchedness. Were the property of large cities to be equalized among their inhabitants, a share would not be more than an average with the country inhabitants: The parade of business—the show of mercantile property, much of which is owned in the back country, and collected for sale—the luxury and idleness of a few—with the general hilarity among a concourse of people—are circumstances, when the unacquainted planter beholds them, which lead him to suppose, that the people in great cities might pay a proportion, much greater than they do, without intolerable wretchedness. On this statement of facts, let a land tax be brought into joint operation with a national impost and excise. I think the objection is obviated.

Hartford, Dec. 1789.



NO. X *.

THE laws, which govern the decay and renovation of the human race, seem a natural subject of enquiry, to those who make part in its fugitive succession. What increases, upholds, or diminishes our numbers, is no less a feeling speculation to the state, than to the individual. The passions, which respect the sexes and their offspring, seem nearly alike every where : yet, in different countries, there is a sensible variety in the proportion of deaths and births among mankind. There are principles, then, still more imperious, with regard to the reproduction and increase of the human race, than even these impetuous passions.

NOTE.

* This essay is taken from the 'Repository,' a periodical publication, lately printed in London,

There seems, however, to have been a general silence on this subject throughout antiquity. Some later writers, indeed, have conceived, that there is a fixed rate of increase, respecting mankind, if not in all, yet in particular countries. This rule, being accompanied with no reasonings which shew its foundation, nor with the suggestion of any causes, which may occasion it to vary, can only have been deduced from a supposed uniformity of facts in its favour ; and can have few practical applications.

Modern politicians, however, who have witnessed the swift multiplication of the American colonists, have at length produced a complete theory of population, which applies to all cases ; and shews the exact power of governments, respecting the numerosity of their subjects. But as the public at large, of all descriptions, have, in general, imperfect apprehensions of the doctrine in question—and as many important objects are dependent upon it—I have thought it useful to discuss it, under three distinct heads. They are as follow : 1st. Of the primary principles of population : 2dly, Of the growth of new nations, with examples : and 3dly, Of the incidents, that may occur to old nations, respecting population.

The first of these heads, alone, will be noticed in the present paper. Instead of pretending to entire originality upon this subject, I shall expressly introduce various passages, extracted from such authors, as have written upon it with most force and perspicuity ; and accompany them, only where necessary, with my own remarks. I shall thus have the pleasure of doing justice to eminent men, as well as to my object ; and save the reader some trouble, by selecting and arranging every thing within my knowledge, that has been well written, respecting it. I shall begin by citing the authority of sir James Stewart, who remarks, respecting the primary principles of population, as follows :

“ The fundamental principle of the multiplication of all animals, and con-

frequently of man, is generation ; the next is food : generation gives existence ; food preserves it.

“In all countries, found inhabited, if the state of animals be enquired into, the number of them will be found in proportion to the quantity of food, produced by the earth, regularly throughout the year, for their subsistence.” “No more can live than can be fed : and as all augmentations of food must come at last to a stop, so soon as this happens, a people increase no more : that is to say, the proportion of those who die, annually increases. This insensibly deters from propagation : because we are rational creatures. But still there are some, who, though rational, are not provident : these marry and produce : this I call vicious propagation.

“Hence I distinguish propagation into two branches ; to wit, multiplication, which goes on among those who can feed what they breed : and mere procreation, which takes place among those who can not maintain their offspring.” “Children, produced from parents who are able to maintain them, and bring them up to a way of getting bread for themselves, do really multiply, and serve a state. Those, born of parents, whose subsistence is precarious, or which is proportioned only to their own physical necessity, have a precarious existence ; and will undoubtedly begin life, by being beggars. Many such will perish for want of food ; but many more, for want of ease. Their mendicity will be accompanied by that of their parents ; and the whole will go to ruin ; according to that admirable expression of marechal Vauban, in his *Dixme Royale* : *La mendicite**, says he, est un mal, qui bientot tue son homme.”

NOTE.

* The chief constituents of the disease of beggary, are summed up in the following catalogue. Bad air, bad lodging, and clothing ; bad and irregular diet ; irregular labour, the influence of severe seasons, loose manners, public justice, a disquiet mind, want of provident economy and of judgment, want

“In every country, where food is limited to a certain quantity, the inhabitants must be subsisted in a regular progression ; descending from plenty, and ample subsistence, to the last periods of want, and sometimes starving for hunger. Although examples of this last extremity are not common in some countries, yet I believe they are more so, than is generally imagined ; and the other stages of want are productive of many diseases, and of a decay, which extinguishes the faculty of generation, or which weakens it, so as to produce children less vigorous and healthy.” “If in that weakly state, nature should withhold a part of her usual plenty, the whole multitude will be affected by it : a disease may take place, and sweep off a far greater number than is proportioned to the deficiency of the season.” “Abusive procreation, therefore, produces a political disease, which mortality cures, at the expense of much misery ; as forest trees, which are not pruned, dress themselves and become vigorous, at the expense of numbers which die all around.†” Thus far sir James Stewart‡.

“Wherever,” says Montesquieu, “a place is found, in which two persons can live commodiously, there they enter into marriage. Nature has a suf-

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of care and cleanliness, want of medical assistance, and disorders too common among the unmarried.

† “We see,” says this author in another place, “how beneficent—I might have said, how prodigal—nature is in bestowing life. Several kinds of animals, especially insects, multiply by thousands : yet the species does not appear annually to increase. Nobody can pretend, that particular individuals, of any species, have a privilege to live, and that others die, from a difference in their nature. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude, that what destroys such vast numbers of those produced, must be, among other causes, the want of food.”

‡ See sir James Stewart’s enquiry into the principles of political economy. B. 1. passim.

ficient propensity to it, when unrestrained by the difficulty of subsistence. A rising people increase and multiply extremely; this is because with them it would be a great inconveniency, to live in celibacy; and none, to have many children. The contrary of which is the case, when a nation is formed*.”

Mr. Hume†, on the subject of population, very properly remarks, that wherever a desire and power of generation lie dormant, there we have proofs of restraints operating upon population. Our species, says this writer, would more than double itself every generation, if all, who wished, could marry, and, he ought to have added, could maintain their offspring. But though Mr. Hume, like Montesquieu, forgets the nature of abusive procreation, he is equally aware of the fast multiplication of new nations.

Instead of pursuing these principles farther at present, it may be of advantage to pause, in order to make a few remarks.

Warm climates, from what has been said, and contrary to vulgar opinion, do not appear to contribute to population, otherwise than secondarily. Thus, fuel, clothing, and dwellings, proper for guarding against cold, require considerably less attention in warm, than in cold countries, and necessarily occasion less expense of territory. Warm countries also possess various other advantages, with respect to food, that are still more important to population. Thus, for instance, these productive climates boast a vegetation, that is not only peculiarly rapid, but that is constant and unceasing; since each year contains a double summer, and affords a double crop of abundance. The land also yields its fruits in these regions, with less culture than elsewhere. There is likewise another great superiority attending the inhabitants of these parts, which is, that of using a vegetable rather than an animal

diet: since the produce of the earth goes much farther when eaten in its original vegetable form, than when consumed through the medium of animals; which devour much more nutriment during their lives, than they yield to man at their death, when slaughtered for his food. So that men, by living with so much more economy, and possessing so much more plenty, in warm than in cold climates, will naturally be found there in greater numbers on the same extent of territory, other things being equal. It is for a similar reason, that cold countries, which depend upon forests for their fuel, are likely to be less populous, within the same space, than countries, in the same latitude, which possess coal mines: for coal mines may be considered as equivalent to subterraneous forests, and as preventing a considerable waste of soil. In like manner, ingenious inventions for saving fuel, and for distributing warmth, are a help to population, and more especially so, as they are, at the same time, friendly to industry.

Particular local circumstances often have an influence upon population. I cannot, however, find, that fisheries have any operation in this respect, except as they furnish plentiful means of subsistence: and in this view, it is impossible, that they should in general exceed agriculture. Man is too hardy and universal an animal, to depend for his multiplication, upon the nature of his aliments. But whatever occupation calls for the hand of man, in preference to cattle, certainly tends to augment the number of a people. Thus, a vine country, though from various circumstances it is seldom rich, yet it is comparatively populous, from its employing many men and few cattle: inasmuch that the culture of the vine may be called a field-manufacture. Upon the same principle, canals, and other water-conveyances, which lessen the demand for beasts of burden, are favourable to population. Other things being equal, says the famous marquis de Mirabeau, whenever an additional horse is introduced into a state, it displaces or kills four sub-

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* Spirit of Laws.

† Essay on the populousness of ancient nations.

jects; which is certainly an argument against horses, kept for luxury, as well as an argument in favour even of the use of machinery, in preference to horses. Hence it is, that in China they have much inland navigation, and few horses or other beasts of burden: the support and increase of population, in China, being one of the principal concerns of its government.

Artificial regulations, respecting population, are of little use. Marshal Saxe, in his treatise upon the propagation of the human species, (which, according to his own remark, is contained in the very volume, in which he treats of the method of destroying it), proposes to regulate marriages: and for this purpose to alter our religion, and give law to the most delicate of all caprices. This is in the true spirit of a projector, whose means are generally violent, in proportion as they deviate from nature, and want efficacy. It is also in the true spirit of a soldier: though its author was unmindful in it of one of the first principles of that profession, when he wished to collect numbers, without attending to the means of subsisting them. "It is not, however," says sir James Stewart, "from want of marrying, that people do not increase, but from want of subsistence: nothing is so easy as to marry; nothing so natural; especially among the lower sort." Augustus Cæsar, who (by the *jus trium liberorum*) wished to give a bounty upon the rearing of children, seems to have been equally ignorant of the great principles of population with marshal Saxe. Laws which reward the parents of a family, tend to distribute the burden of the support of the family upon the other parts of a nation; but unless the means of subsisting the nation are augmented, the nation cannot on the whole increase by this or any other contrivance. It is true, that the necessity of maintaining a family, occasions a certain degree both of exertion and economy in the heads of it, and thence in others; but this circumstance has its bounds; and so, consequently, has the population that is supposed to depend upon it. A few

cases may call for laws like that just alluded to of Augustus; such as that of a country, which has much vacant land, with no impediment to its cultivation, or which has sustained an occasional loss of people, or makes a large and constant exportation of its inhabitants: but, in general, population so invariably follows, where subsistence occurs, and it makes such unhappy efforts to exceed the measure of subsistence, that the first object of a politician should be, how to multiply subsistence, and not how to force numbers. The state of the poor, in all countries, shews how much disposed mankind are to marriage. The want of consideration in the poor, prevents their adhering to that celibacy, which the better orders of people generally impose upon themselves, whenever the means of subsisting a family are wanting. They marry for their own gratification; and produce an issue, that is to die from distress, or to depend upon the aid of others for its support; and hence one principal cause of the burden of the English poor laws.

"If every thing else be equal," says Mr. Hume, "it seems natural to expect, that wherever there are most happiness and the wisest institutions, there also will be most people. Every wise, just, and mild government, by rendering the condition of its subjects easy and secure, will always abound most in people, as well as in commodities and riches." The comparative number and produce of marriages in any country therefore being given, we may conjecture the actual ease of its subsistence, and in some measure its happiness, and even its freedom from disease; and vice versa. We may presume also, that states, that are confined, as to their subsistence, are (*cæteris paribus*) more disposed to incontinency, and to the vices of beggary, than countries differently circumstanced; partial luxury and general plenty having very opposite tendencies.

It is no objection to the laws, here assigned to population, that population is checked in various countries, where the means of subsistence are at hand. "Experience," says sir James Stewart,

“every where shews the possible existence of a country, the population of which is stopped for want of food, though abundantly able to produce more.” For example, none will deny that the proper cultivation of the parks, commons, and other waste lands, in England, would multiply the people; yet who will pretend to blame the poor for not establishing farms upon them, when the laws of property so decisively forbid it? We must, therefore, carefully distinguish between subsistence that exists, and subsistence that might exist; between subsistence actual and possible. In short, nothing can be more true, than that whatever gives food, gives people.

[In this place the writer gives an abstract of dr. Franklin’s essay on popu-

lation; but as that essay is given entire, in the 5th Vol. of the Museum, page 109, the abstract is omitted.]

We may be content at present with having established the fact, that subsistence is that which ultimately determines the degree of population in every country. It is an enquiry foreign to this place, what are the principles that regulate subsistence: it is enough to have alluded to them. We may conclude then, that every state has in it a certain number of places; or, if I may use that expression, of niches for subjects; and the multiplication of subjects depends either upon the increase of these niches, or upon the encouragement of such economy as shall enable more subjects to subsist in the same room.



THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR.

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“*Triflers not e’en in trifles can excel.*”

THERE is no better way to estimate the understanding of a man, than by hearing him converse on what he has discovered in his travels. Many men, who adventure abroad, never get rid of their prejudices: and whatever falls within their notice, is viewed under such an eye of prepossession, that it eludes a fair examination. A traveller, of this cast, may add to the number of his ideas: but he does not diminish his errors, nor really add to his stock of truth. It had been better for him, upon the whole, to have tarried at home: for he would then have spent less money, and acquired fewer habits of vexing his friends, by his pertness, or deluding them by his mistakes. If he attempt to relate any incident, he generally forgets the most material circumstances; and always gives it a false colouring, or draws from it wrong inferences. We can, however, bear with the mere errors that are imposed on us by a traveller; because as we have not the power of detecting the fallacy, we feel no disposition to complain of the deception.

But there is a description of travellers,

whose conversation soon becomes irksome, if not intolerable. I allude to those frivolous characters, whose minds are only occupied upon trifles; and who, wherever they go, or whatever they see, can never acquire or communicate the least degree of useful information. The habitual levity of deportment, these triflers discover, soon renders their mirth insipid, and their observations uninteresting. There is no force of talents to invigorate their remarks. If they affect to shew wit, no person perceives the edge of it: and if they relate anecdotes, it is impossible to find the pith of their story. In short, a man of this trifling turn must continue of that character, whether he travel or stay at home. He can never arrive at excellence even in those habits, which peculiarly belong to him. The truth is, the more expert any one is, in displaying frivolous accomplishments, the less excellent does he appear. We can never associate any ideas of merit with qualifications, that produce no advantage, and indicate no capacity. However ostentatious a man may be, if he have not solid attainments, he is soon penetrated: and his companions determine at once, that he does not trifle for the sake of being pleasant, but because he does not know how to

be serious, and can never be wise. Men of good sense and gravity sometimes relax their usual tone of demeanor; and can amuse themselves with trifles, without being contemptible. It can be perceived, that the part they have taken, is assumed only for the moment. But noted triflers so flagrantly deviate from dignity of manners, that no person will mistrust, they act from a character they have taken up, but from one, they cannot lay aside.

My young acquaintance, Garrulus, has lately returned from his education and his travels. His friends imagine he has made great improvements: but he is much more indebted to their partiality, than to his own acquirements, for the estimation in which he is viewed. It was easily supposed, that so pert a boy must, if well-educated, make a smart man. He early discovered symptoms of vanity: and these were mistaken for indications of genius. Full of flattering hopes, his parents conceived the idea, that he must be sent to Europe for an education. He has completed it; and once more resides in his native country. I will not pretend to say, what he would have been, had he continued at home: but he has, by no means, lost his pertness, or his vanity, by going abroad. Garrulus well remembers the numbers of years he has consumed at schools and universities; and has not yet forgotten the names of the authors he was compelled to read. It diverts children and servants, to hear him recount the tricks and frolics of his academical life: and I believe this is the only amusement, his education is calculated to afford. The reader will expect to be entertained with an account of the travels of this aspiring youth. But here I find myself unable to gratify such an expectation. Though I am frequently in company with him, I have yet to learn, whether he has gained one useful idea, from travelling two years, through the most celebrated countries in Europe. He has often boasted to me, that he dined with six young noblemen, at an hotel in France; complained that he found bad inns in Italy; and

declared, that he eat salted cabbage in Germany. But he seems to dwell with peculiar delight, in relating how rapidly the stages drive through England, and how complaisantly he was treated at houses of entertainment. He mentions such circumstances with an air of triumph; because he alleges, that, in these respects, the English are, beyond comparison, superior to his own countrymen.

Nothing fills him with more rapture, than to be able to point out any particular, in which the Americans have not arrived at equal perfection with the Europeans. It happens, fortunately for us, that Garrulus has extended his observations to nothing, of so much importance in itself, as to render it a point worth contending, in which country it holds pre-eminence.

These trifling characters, however, find easy admission into the best circles of company, the world affords. This may seem the more extraordinary, as a person of this stamp so soon becomes tedious in private conversation, where only a social interview is intended. We can easily find a solution to this difficulty. A talkative, impertinent person may be called a *bon compagnon* by all men, though no man view him with any respect or friendship. There is a convenience in having such an associate. We feel free and unembarrassed in his presence; can learn from him the news and fashions of the day; and send messages by him to any part of the town. But there is yet a greater advantage, one finds in such an acquaintance: it is well known, that in mixed companies, few people have a turn for general conversation, and unless some person is present, who has a good share of impudent prattle, there will be too much dulness and reserve. Every modest man of the party feels relieved, when any of his companions will take his share of the conversation. In this way, men of bold assuming manners, however ignorant they may be, endear themselves, as companions, to all denominations of society. I have observed, that in most clubs or parties, sensible men are fond of admitting some persons

of levity, merely to make diversion for the rest of the company.

It is to be regretted, that some worthy youths are beguiled into an opinion, that impudence is desirable, because it meets with attention. They draw this conclusion, from the notice that is taken of such characters as I have been describing. Could it be discerned, from what motives, men of a forward, ostentatious deportment are received into company—or could it be known in what light they are generally estimated, they would no longer be regarded as objects of envy, or as patterns for imitation. Every young man should conclude, with respect to himself, that, if his talents and accomplishments be not so conspicuous as to attract esteem and admiration, unsolicited, he can never acquire any real influence of character by pertness and self-importance. It is true, he may gain a numerous acquaintance; but he will find few friends: people will entertain him kindly, but they will place in him no confidence; they will trust him with no property. Upon the whole, his life will be neither honourable to himself, nor serviceable to society.

New York, December 2, 1789.

NUMBER IX.

I HAVE often admired at the condensation that women of intrinsic elegance shew, in submitting to an excess of fashions, which only diminish such charms as have a real existence in nature. Simple neatness gives a beautiful person far more pleasing attractions, than any ornaments, which fancy or artifice can invent. The most, therefore, that a fine woman should aim at, is to avoid singularity. If in her dress, she assume any unusual glare, her appearance may dazzle the eyes of beholders more, but it will affect their hearts less. The forms of etiquette are designed to bring persons, who associate together, on some degree of equality, for the time being. It hides the deformities of one, and veils the excellencies of another.

In a circle of ladies highly dressed, it is not easy to form particular attach-

ments. Those causes, that excite admiration, seldom engage the tender sentiments of the heart. For this reason, a woman often has many admirers, who has not a single lover. A towering fanciful head-dress, and other glaring decorations, may be an advantage to a girl, whose size and figure are not naturally favourable; but they have a contrary effect on one who wears the graces of native elegance. In short, a woman of inherent beauty commits an imprudent act, whenever she makes her dress so conspicuous, as to be looked at, more than herself. It is rather a discredit to a charming girl, that her most dangerous rival should come from a milliner's shop.

The etiquette of courts, like that of dress, is calculated to obscure the real character. Those, who assemble at the levees of princes, all appear under a mask. There are no circumstances, that indicate the peculiar qualities of men, on these occasions. If a blockhead commit no mistake, he passes for a fashionable man; and meets with attention from philosophers. If the most solid merit be unattended with a knowledge of etiquette, it will pass, in such a situation, as a thing of no value. Those rules, which knaves have in all ages invented for the sake of deceiving and managing fools, have obtained a currency among the wisest and best of men. It is necessary that it should be so.

New York, September 16, 1789.

NUMBER X.

IT cannot be supposed, that women have naturally more pride of character, or more personal vanity, than men. Both alike have their passions and propensities, in nature. The different modes of male and female education create a difference in opinions and manners, which is merely artificial. Vanity, when it is well managed, is perhaps one of the most useful qualities, that either sex possesses. It is so elastic a spring of action, as generally stimulates very vigorously to the attainment of the object it has in view. The hero glories in his martial achievements

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—the rich man in his riches—the strong man in the strength of his arms. But the effects of vanity are no where so conspicuously, or so usefully displayed, as in regulating the female character and conduct. It is therefore peculiarly essential, that it should be cultivated in women; because the customs of society expose the actions of a female to a scrutiny rigorously exact. She must be restrained from error by motives singularly strong and lively, or her deportment will scarcely bear such rigour of inspection.

The flattery, bestowed on the ladies, by all civilized people, operates upon their vanity, in such a degree, as to guard them against the temptations, by which they are on all sides assailed. Fondness for personal decorations, and a taste for elegance, highly cultivated, form an almost impregnable barrier against the allurements of vice, or the arts of pernicious seduction. It must be confessed, however, this passion may be misapplied; and, through the address of artful men, may become a snare, rather than a protection, to the unwary female. But the usual effect of it is different: and it much oftener protects virtue, than betrays it.

Those, who set the highest value upon character, will be the most cautious to avoid those stains that defile it. The complimentary language, in which ladies are frequently addressed, increases the ardour of their pride. Of course, they are less easily beguiled into actions that will expose them to a loss of reputation, than they would be, had they less elevated ideas of the worth of character. The part assigned to females in the management of domestic concerns, makes it requisite that they should observe the strictest purity of manners. Thus it appears, that flattery is attended with real utility, whatever may be the motive that gives rise to it. Indeed, when it becomes a general custom, to gratify ladies with polite and flattering expressions, men acquire habits of politeness, as a matter of course; and use such a civility, when they are prompted by no other motives, than merely to ap-

pear civil and well-bred. The misapplication of flattery, in some instances, should not be urged as an argument against the general advantages it produces. It saves fifty characters, where it destroys one.

Pride is a passion, which, with proper management, may controul many of the excesses of other passions. A proud man will scarcely become a knavish one: and he must lose part of his pride, before he can become a drunkard. With women, it has still greater efficacy. The self-denials they so cheerfully bear—in many instances, where men give themselves indulgence—are owing very much to those lively sentiments of pride, which become a predominating motive of action. Those, who direct the education of females, should give great attention to the manner in which flattery is paid to them. They should learn to prize such virtues and accomplishments as are in themselves most valuable. The inconvenience, that some women have derived from being too much flattered, proceeds from an improper choice of the qualifications that have been made the objects of commendation. When care is taken to inspire them with just sentiments of character, their veneration for it can never be too much increased by compliments and praises.

New York, November 1789.

NUMBER XI.

THE desire of being distinguished, is so strong, that some men had rather be ridiculed, than not be noticed at all. Those, who set themselves up as a gazing stock to the rabble, and excite a species of admiration by affecting some frivolous distinction from other people, are under the influence of the meanest kind of ambition. Nothing can sooner destroy the real respectability of a man, than an affectation of singularity in opinions or customs, which are in themselves indifferent. But I do not know a more ridiculous shape, that ambition and vanity can assume, than when they prompt people to depart from common fashion in their dress and style of living. There are obvious advantages, from having some uniformity established in the

customs, which relate to our common transactions in life. Those, therefore, who depart from them, may, in some measure, be considered as disturbers of the tranquility of other people.

Some persons are too apt to refine in their ideas of following the dictates of sound judgment. They will say, that no wise man will trouble himself to pursue any custom, however public it may be, unless some reason can specially be offered in its favour. This rule should be reversed: and in all indifferent matters, one should follow the fashion, unless some special reason can be alleged against it.

To differ from the rest of mankind, in any immaterial thing, may indicate more pride or ill humour than others possess: but it is no mark of superior

understanding. There must be a degree of indiscretion in every instance of singularity, that does not originate in duty or convenience. I even question, whether a man is not under obligations to fall in with, or, at any rate, not to oppose, the established customs of society, unless he believe them unreasonable or inconvenient. This probably will never be the case: for I doubt whether the prevailing taste and feelings of the community may be looked upon as altogether arbitrary and capricious. When any custom predominates, for a considerable length of time, it is a tolerable evidence, that there is some foundation in reason for its existence; though perhaps the real advantages of it may not be perceived or acknowledged.

New York, July 3, 1789.



M I S C E L L A N I E S.

Essay on the influence of religion, in civil society. By the rev. Thomas Reese, A. M. pastor of the presbyterian church at Salem, S. C.—page 33.

NUMBER III.

THERE can be no precise and fixed rule laid down, for the regulation of men's conduct with respect to duties of imperfect obligation.

Of all the imperfect rights, gratitude approaches nearest to those, which are of complete obligation. None, of all those duties which cannot be properly exacted by law, admits of such accurate and determinate rules: but although the crime of ingratitude may be more easily ascertained, than any other of the same class, the slightest consideration will convince us, that no law can be framed, for the punishment of it, which will not be loose, vague, and liable to a thousand exceptions. And if this be the case with ingratitude, much more with the others. We may therefore conclude, without hesitation, that human laws cannot enforce the duties of imperfect obligation. Now, although the violation of these duties may not so directly tend to the dissolution of society, nor bring on such rapid destruction, as the neglect of those, which are called perfect

rights, it is clear, that it must gradually sap the foundations of government, and destroy that union and concord so necessary to its well-being. If then civil laws, by their proper power, cannot provide for the observance of the duties which are of such great moment to society, it must be acknowledged a great deficiency. Thus it appears, that civil society totally wants one of those functions, which have been always reckoned its two grand pillars; and can apply the other only in a very limited degree. An eminent writer hath asserted, "that civil society, by its own proper power, cannot provide for above one-third of the moral duties." I have not made the calculation; but believe he is near the truth. And we may add, that it can provide for these few but very imperfectly. Let us now enquire how religion supplies these deficiencies.

One of the most natural and obvious notions of the Deity, is, that he abhors vice and delights in virtue; will punish the one, and reward the other. They, who firmly believe, and properly attend to, this important religious truth, must, without doubt, be greatly influenced by it. When they call to mind, that they are accountable creatures; and

must be happy or miserable hereafter, according as they behave themselves here, this will doubtless be a powerful motive to shun vice, and pursue virtue. Religion holds up to all her sincere votaries, a reward, than which nothing can be greater, more noble, and better suited to influence the mind. The prospect of an happiness, the most exalted in its nature, the most exquisite in degree, and eternal in duration, must strongly allure those, to whom the desire of happiness is natural. Such, in the opinion of some of the wisest and best of the heathens, is that felicity, which awaits the virtuous man after death. This is the reward which religion promises, and which the good man expects to enjoy, as the recompense of his virtue and piety.

Without determining, whether the hope of reward, or the dread of punishment, most influences the actions of men, in general, we may safely affirm, that, on minds of a particular cast, the former works much more powerfully than the latter. Men of great and haughty souls—of elevated and daring spirits—revolt against every thing that wears the appearance of compulsion. They scorn to be overawed, by the fear of punishment; and consider it as a motive fit only to operate upon little minds, and timorous spirits. The dread of civil laws, and even the terrors of religion, can have but little effect upon such men: but they may be easily wrought upon, by the prospect of a reward, suited to the greatness of their minds. The religionist, though he may not be prompted to yield obedience to the wise and salutary laws of his country, by the hope of a reward from his fellow-citizens, expects ample retribution, from him who knows the sincerity and uprightness of his conduct. He looks for no reward from man; but expects it from him who is the rewarder of all those who walk in the paths of virtue. As the laws, in every well-constituted and wisely-governed state, will, as far as they reach, ever coincide with the eternal laws of the Deity, he will pay a religious regard to them, not only as ratified by the authority of government,

but as bearing the stamp, and being the sovereign mandates of the supreme lord of all*. Deeply impressed with this awful sanction of the Deity—powerfully influenced by the hope of that reward, which is the consequence of obedience to his laws—he will practise justice in all its various branches. This important virtue is the proper object of laws, both human and divine; and absolutely necessary, not only to the welfare, but also to the very existence, of civil government. Even a society of robbers, according to a trite observation, cannot subsist without some degree of it. Whatever, therefore, hath a tendency to lead men to the practice of this cardinal virtue, must be peculiarly advantageous to civil society. Now, certainly, the man who acts under the influence of religious motives and principles—who considers the laws of justice as the laws of God, who, he believes, will reward him for obedience, and punish him for disobedience—is more likely to practise justice, than one who is influenced only by human authority, and the terror of human laws, which he can often evade, and so escape unpunished. It is easy to determine which of these will be most faithful to his trust, most honest and upright in his dealings, most careful to shun every thing that may be injurious to his neighbour, in person, character, or property.

NOTE.

* “ Human laws are measures in respect of men, whose actions they must direct, how-be-it such measures they are, as have also their higher rules to be measured by, which rules are two, the law of God, and the law of nature: so that laws human must be made according to the general laws of nature, and without contradiction to any positive law of scripture; otherwise they are ill made.” *Hooker*.

This was also the opinion of Mr. Locke, who quotes this very passage of Hooker, in his treatise on government. If some of our laws were brought to this test, I think they would be found not exactly agreeable to these two rules—and therefore not good.

But further : religion will not only lead those, who are influenced by it, to the exercise of justice, in its various branches ; but will induce them to the exact performance of all those duties of imperfect obligation, which human laws cannot enforce. The civil magistrate takes no notice of these ; and can neither reward the performance, nor punish the neglect of them ; but the laws of God extend to them ; and religion as strongly exacts them as the duties of perfect obligation. The religious man considers them as truly binding, as the most obvious dictates of justice. He as much expects to be rewarded for the one, as the other. This will lead him to pay the most sacred regard to the duties of gratitude, humanity, hospitality, charity—in a word, to all those kind and beneficent offices, which are so essentially necessary to the welfare of the community : though they are not, and indeed cannot be, the proper objects of human laws. We think it unnecessary to enlarge upon the duties just now mentioned, by shewing how much the careful performance of them tends to strengthen and confirm the social union. The slightest consideration will immediately convince us, of what vast importance they are to society, and how much they promote peace, love, harmony, and consequently felicity, in the social state. We need only conceive what would be the consequence of the total neglect of these duties, to be fully convinced of their utility. What a shocking and deplorable scene of malice, hatred, strife, cruelty, misery, and distraction, opens upon the mind, on the bare supposition ! And yet civil society, as hath been observed, cannot enforce these duties, the practice of which is so necessary to its happiness, and the neglect of which endangers its very existence. If then, religion enforce these duties, and lead men to the performance of them, it will certainly follow, that it is useful to the state. Thus religion, like a powerful ally, comes in to the aid of civil government ; and, by establishing the sanction of reward, which it wholly wants, supplies its defects.

NUMBER IV.

IN order more fully to demonstrate how religion supplies the defects of civil society, let it be observed, that it not only furnishes the sanction of reward, which it so much needs, but also superadds a new sanction of punishment, which co-operates with, and gives additional energy to human laws. The reader will please to remember, that we have already shewn, that civil society can apply the sanction of punishment, only in a very low and limited degree.

Some crimes are secret, and cannot be punished by civil laws ; because they lie wholly beyond their reach. Others are of such a nature, that the severe punishment of them opens an avenue to those of a more atrocious nature. But this is not the case with the sanction of punishment, which religion establishes. It applies to all crimes whatsoever, let their nature or circumstances be what they may. Men may escape the punishment, which civil society decrees, by concealing their crimes : but they cannot thus elude that, which religion holds out, to all those who violate her laws. Those, who believe that God governs the world in wisdom and righteousness, and that his providence extends to all his creatures, must also believe, that he is omniscient, and, of consequence, perfectly acquainted with all their actions and intentions. All who have a firm persuasion and proper impression of this great religious truth, will be sensible, how vain it is to attempt to cover their crimes from him, whose all-seeing eye penetrates the inmost recesses of their hearts. Religion teaches, that all the transgressions of the wicked, though they may escape the observation of men, lie open to the Deity, whose “ eyes are like a flame of fire ;” and who will, in due time, inflict that punishment which they justly deserve. As the prospect of impunity invites men to evil—so the certainty of punishment tends to restrain them from it, especially if the punishment be unspeakably great and dreadful. And such, both christians and heathens are agreed, will be the punishment of

vice in a future life. If, then, the dread of a punishment, certain, terrible, and everlasting, can have any influence on the minds of men, religion must be a powerful restraint, not only from open, but secret crimes. Where crimes are secret, or of such a nature as not to be cognizable by human judicatures, the sanction of civil laws ceases to operate; and is no longer of any service to restrain from transgression. Here religion comes in most opportunely to the assistance of civil society, by impressing the idea of a future state, an omniscient tribunal, and a punishment, which the guilty cannot possibly avoid: On the other hand, where the crime is open, and liable to be punished by human laws, the sanction of religion falls in with, and strengthens that of human laws, by holding out a punishment much more certain, as well as more formidable, than man can inflict:

Men may be guilty of the blackest ingratitude, and, in general, totally neglect the duties of imperfect obligation, without incurring the least danger from the civil powers. But although civil government ordains no penalties in this case, religion does; and thus furnishes a remedy for that material defect. The man, who lives under the belief and impression of religion, looks upon himself accountable at the bar of the omniscient, for the neglect of those duties. Though he be under no terror from the laws of men, he fears that future vengeance, which awaits the guilty beyond the grave.

But it may be objected against the above reasoning—that religion is not so useful and necessary as hath been represented; that though civil society labours under great deficiencies, there are other ways by which they may be supplied. It may be said, that the regard, which men have to their own interest, their own temporal happiness and security, will naturally lead them to pay a strict regard to the laws of society, and also to perform those duties which laws cannot enforce, as well as to avoid those crimes which they cannot punish; that the happiness of every

individual in society is involved with, and depends upon, the happiness of the whole; that every one may see, that, without obedience to good and wholesome laws, government must be rent into pieces, and he himself share in the common ruin; and further, that the omission, even of those duties, which civil laws do not require, and the commission of those crimes, which they cannot punish, must be injurious to the welfare of the state, and consequently to his own happiness; therefore a regard to his own interest, and temporal prosperity, must induce him to perform those duties, and shun those crimes.

To all which; we beg leave to reply:—that it may be readily granted, without any disadvantage to the argument, that the considerations mentioned, will have their weight with a few in every society; but, it would betray no small ignorance of human nature to suppose, that those things have any considerable influence on the bulk of mankind. They think but little of such matters. They are not disposed to attend to such far-fetched deductions, nor to refine even thus far. Such kind of reasonings, though obvious enough to those who have attended to the nature and influence of civil society, to them appears not a little intricate and perplexed. There is not, perhaps, a people on the face of the earth, more enlightened in the nature of civil government, than the Americans: and yet I suppose it may be modestly affirmed, that by far the greater part of them reflect but little, how society procures those blessings which they enjoy, because they are not immediately and directly the consequence of it. The gross of the common people are too much occupied about other matters, to examine remote consequences, or trace their present happy and flourishing circumstances to so distant a source, as civil society. They generally attribute these to their own prudence, industry, and address, without looking any further. For the most part, they are pursuing their own private and separate interest, little solicitous about the public good, though they

may at the same time be promoting it. They seldom reflect, that they are a part of a whole, with which they are obliged to stand or fall; or consider, that their happiness depends upon that of the community, of which they are members. Men, who are immured in their studies, and conversant chiefly with books, may wonder how people can be ignorant of these things: but let them travel through our country, and converse with those of the lower rank, who make the bulk in every government, and they will find great numbers, and those not the worst citizens, much like the simple Hibernian, who, when he was informed the ship was sinking, made this reply: "what do I care? I am only a passenger." In order, therefore, that the gross of the people may discharge their duty as good citizens, some more obvious and immediate motive is necessary to supply the imperfection of civil laws—some principle of action, which comes more directly home to them, and affects them more immediately, as individuals. Such is that of religion, which teaches, that the virtuous shall be rewarded, and the vicious punished, in a future state. This leading principle, which seems in a great measure natural to the mind of man, will have a much greater influence on the generality of mankind, and do more to supply the defects of civil society, than all the reasonings in the world, which, though they may be just, are but little attended to by most men.

The whole of what is urged in the objection, under the notion of motive, may be resolved into the principle of self-love; which, when duly modified, properly directed, and wisely regulated, is, no doubt, favourable to civil government. But who does not see, that the love of self, is almost always inordinate, in the pursuit of present good, and frequently, by a blind and furious impulse to present gratification, breaks through all the fences of law, and leads men to all manner of violence and injustice? Indeed, to counteract and restrain the excess of this passion, and correct the evils, which arise from it,

is the very design of the civil compact. Government attempts to effect these purposes, by laying hold on this same principle—the strongest in human nature—and endeavouring to prevent its ill effects, by giving it an opposite direction. This it can do but very imperfectly by its own proper power; and therefore stands in need of aid, from some other quarter. Here religion affords the necessary assistance; for by inculcating a future retribution—and thus exciting the hopes and the fears of men—the opposes self-love to self-love. My meaning is, that she opposes the love of self—as desiring future good, and shunning future evil—to the love of self, considered as pursuing the unlawful gratification of present irregular appetite. The language of civil laws is, "if you transgress, through an inordinate love of self, you shall be punished:" which very threatening is an application to the selfish principle, self-love always leading men to avoid that, which they reckon in its nature evil. The language of religion is "if you carefully observe the wise and salutary laws of your country, and faithfully discharge the duties of a good citizen, you shall have an ample reward: but if, hurried away by the impulse of selfish passions, you violate the laws, and invade the rights of your fellow-citizens, the most dreadful punishment awaits you." It is easy to see how far the language of both coincides. They only differ in this, that the one reaches further than the other. The one denounces punishment; but promises no reward: the other not only promises a reward, but threatens a more dreadful punishment. Civil laws lay hold, more especially, on men's fears; religion both on their hopes and their fears. Both address themselves to the selfish passions: both oppose self-love to self-love, in the sense already explained.

But grant all that is supposed in the objection, it will by no means overthrow our argument. We have no where asserted, that there are no other principles in human nature, besides religion, which tend in any degree to remedy the imper-

perfections of society; but only, that religion is the most proper and natural remedy. Whatever may anywise serve as a foundation of moral obligation—if, indeed, there can be any such foundation, distinct from the will of the supreme—as the moral sense, the essential difference of things—these, as far as they lead men to approve and practise virtue, and shun vice, tend to promote the happiness of society. If a principle of honour and shame, a regard to character, and dread of contempt and disgrace, induce men to virtuous actions, and restrain them from the contrary, they must be considered as contributing, in some degree, to supply the defects of civil laws. I am, however, persuaded, that, upon a careful examination, these will be found not to have all that influence some may imagine. They are not a little precarious; and depend much upon time, place, education, custom, and fashion. What is reckoned honourable at one time and place, is not reckoned so at another. Custom and fashion, which exercise a kind of despotism over us, in matters of less consequence, introduce very considerable changes, even in moral sentiments and conduct. That rigid virtue and austerity of manners, which so strongly marked the rise of the Roman republic, would have appeared ridiculous and contemptible, when that empire began to decline. That style of manners, which was reckoned honourable, and procured the highest veneration, in Cromwel's time, was the object of scorn and derision, under the voluptuous reign of the second Charles. Custom hath reconciled many of the Carolinians and Georgians to a treatment of their slaves, which a Pennsylvanian looks upon with horror. It is a custom among some savage nations, to expose infants: and the practice prevailed amongst the Athenians, and several other Grecian states, though civilized in a very high degree. And to increase our wonder, it was defended and inculcated by their greatest philosophers. We look upon this custom with the utmost abhorrence: we consider it as the highest pitch of barbarity, and the most shocking violation

of the laws of nature and humanity: but among them, it was no way disgraceful, and past without blame or censure. After all, from the instances given above, we must not conclude, as some have done, that there is no other difference in moral actions and sentiments, than that which arises from education, custom, or opinion. The foundations of morality are more deep and stable, than to be overthrown so easily as such men imagine. There are some actions and characters, to which no education or custom whatever can reconcile men. Custom can never bring us to approve of ingratitude and treachery; and to esteem them equally honourable and worthy of praise with gratitude and fidelity. Because men in some particular instances, through the influence of custom or education, act contrarily to what we reckon the plain rules of morality, it will not follow that these rules have no other foundation. This would prove too much: for by the same method of arguing, we might prove, that there is no such thing as a principle of reason in men; because in millions of instances, custom and education lead them to act contrarily to its plain dictates. Let the moral sense, the essential difference, the principles of honour and shame, have all the weight which can with any show of reason be allowed them, enough will still be left for religion. With all the assistance which these can afford, human laws will be found but a weak fence against the violence and injustice of men.

(To be continued.)



Letter from dr. Franklin to the late dr. Mather, of Boston.

REV. SIR,

I RECEIVED your kind letter, with your excellent advice to the people of the united states, which I read with great pleasure; and hope it will be duly regarded. Such writings, though they may be lightly passed over by many readers, yet, if they make a deep impression on one active mind in a hundred, the effects may be considerable.

Permit me to mention one little instance, which, though it relates to myself, will not be quite uninteresting to you. When I was a boy, I met with a book entitled, "Essays to do good," which, I think, was written by your father. It had been so little regarded by a former possessor, that several leaves of it were torn out: but the remainder gave me such a turn of thinking, as to have an influence on my conduct through life: for I have always set a greater value on the character of a doer of good, than any other kind of reputation: and if I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes the advantage of it to that book.

You mention your being in your 78th year—I am in my 79th. We are grown old together. It is now more than 60 years since I left Boston: but I remember, well, both your father and grandfather, having heard them both in the pulpit, and seen them in their houses. The last time I saw your father was in the beginning of 1724, when I visited him, after my first trip to Pennsylvania. He received me in his library; and on my taking leave, shewed me a shorter way out of the house, through a narrow passage, which was crossed by a beam over head. We were still talking as I withdrew, he accompanying me behind, and I turning partly towards him, when he said, hastily, 'stoop, stoop!' I did not understand him, till I felt my head hit against the beam. He was a man who never missed any occasion of giving instruction: and upon this he said to me: "You are young; and have the world before you: stoop as you go through it; and you will miss many hard thumps." This advice, thus beat into my heart, has frequently been of use to me: and I often think of it, when I see pride mortified, and misfortunes brought upon people by their carrying their heads too high.

I long much to see again my native place; and once hoped to lay my bones there. I left it in 1723. I visited it in 1733, 1743, 1753, and 1763. In 1773 I was in England—In 1775, I had a sight of it; but could not enter it being

in possession of the enemy. I did hope to have been there in 1783; but could not obtain my dismissal from this employment here: and now, I fear, I shall never have that happiness. My best wishes, however, attend my dear country, "*esto perpetua.*" It is now blest with an excellent constitution: may it last forever!

This powerful monarchy continues its friendship for the united states. It is a friendship of the utmost importance to our security; and should be carefully cultivated. Britain has not yet well digested the loss of its dominion over us; and has still, at times, some flattering hopes of recovering it. Accidents may increase those hopes; and encourage dangerous attempts. A breach between us and France, would infallibly bring the English again upon our backs: and yet we have some wild heads among our countrymen who are endeavouring to weaken that connexion.

Let us preserve our reputation by performing our engagements; our credit, by fulfilling our contracts; and our friends, by gratitude and kindness: for we know not how soon we may again have occasion for all of them.

With great and sincere esteem,

I have the honor to be,

Reverend sir,

Your most obedient and

Most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Passy, May 12, 1784.



Against privateering: or reasons in support of new proposed articles, in treaties of commerce, which may be formed by the united states of America. By dr. Franklin.

BY the original law of nations, war and extirpation were the punishment of injury: humanizing by degrees, it admitted slavery, instead of death: a farther step was the exchange of prisoners, instead of slavery: another, to respect more the property of private persons under conquest, and be content with acquired dominion. Why should not this law of nations go on improv-

ing? Ages have intervened, between its several steps: but as knowledge of late increases rapidly, why should not those steps be quickened? Why should it not be agreed to, as the future law of nations, that in any war hereafter, the following descriptions of men should be undisturbed—have the protection of both sides—and be permitted to follow their employments in security, viz.

1. Cultivators of the earth, because they labour for the subsistence of mankind.

2. Fishermen, for the same reason.

3. Merchants and traders, in unarmed ships—who accommodate different nations by communicating and exchanging the necessaries and conveniences of life.

4. Artists and mechanics, inhabiting and working in open towns: it is hardly necessary to add, that the hospitals of enemies should be unmolested: they ought to be assisted. It is for the interest of humanity in general, that the occasions of war, and the inducements to it, should be diminished. If rapine be abolished, one of the encouragements to war is taken away; and peace therefore more likely to continue and be lasting.

The practice of robbing merchants on the high seas—a remnant of the ancient piracy, though it may be accidentally beneficial to particular persons—is far from being profitable to all engaged in it, or to the nation that authorises it: in the beginning of a war, some rich ships, not upon their guard, are surprised and taken. This encourages the first adventurers to fit out more armed vessels; and many others to do the same. But the enemy at the same time become more careful; arm their merchant-ships better; and render them not so easy to be taken; they go also more under the protection of convoys. Thus, while the privateers, to take them, are multiplied, the vessels, subject to be taken, and the chances of profit, are diminished: so that many cruises are made, wherein the expenses overgo the gains—and as it is the case in other lotteries, though particulars have got prizes, the mass of

adventurers are losers; the whole expense of fitting out all the privateers during a war, being much greater than the whole amount of goods taken.

Then there is the national loss of all the labour of so many men, during the time they have been employed in robbing—who, besides, spend what they get in riot, drunkenness, and debauchery—lose their habits of industry—are rarely fit for any sober business after a peace—and serve only to increase the number of highwaymen and house-breakers. Even the undertakers, who have been fortunate, are by sudden wealth led into expensive living, the habit of which continues, when the means of supporting it cease, and finally ruins them. A just punishment for their having wantonly and unfeelingly ruined many honest, innocent traders and their families, whose substance was employed in serving the common interest of mankind.

B. F.



On charity schools.

CHARITY schools owe their rise, undoubtedly, to those innate principles of benevolence which the Deity hath impressed upon the human heart. But charity, in these instances, may with propriety be said to begin at home; and commonly ends there too. Indeed, from the nature of these institutions, it must always be found, that they are not competent to the design. Particular denominations and societies form these plans for the exclusive advantage of the poor of their own persuasion; but with the aid, derived from the contributions of the charitable of other denominations, was it ever known that all the poor children, without exception, of the society which is designed to be particularly benefited, were, or could be accommodated by them? What is the consequence? A charge of partiality: and this idea cannot be erased from the mind of a parent, who, standing exactly on the same ground with his favoured neighbour, cannot get his child admitted. Charity schools, where the object extends to clothing poor children, prove

a very expensive mode of conferring our bounty, without producing the good intended, in any degree commensurate to the charge. A charity school, for fifty or sixty children, upon this plan, will cost probably seven or eight hundred pounds per annum: a sum that would support two schools, in which from one hundred and fifty to two hundred children might be equally well taught. The expense of clothing, being the heaviest charge, is the most useless, and might be saved: as it is immaterial how children are clad, provided they are clean: for uniformity in clothes does not facilitate their progress in learning: and "he, that hears the young ravens, when they cry," does, in the course of his providence, enable the poorest of our citizens, to provide such covering for their offspring, as would be sufficient for them to attend school in. In addition to the incompetency of the funds to support charity schools, and the utter impossibility of giving general, much less universal satisfaction, there is, in the minds of the free citizens of these states, a principle of conscientious independency, which revolts from the idea of being under obligations to charity, for the education of their children, as fully as it does to be indebted to it for the blessings of freedom and civil society. That charity schools cannot be competent to the object of making universal provision for the education of the poor, is exemplified in the city of London; where there are the most extensive institutions of this kind, that are to be found upon the face of the globe. Let us advert to facts. At the late procession of the king to St. Paul's, it is said there were six thousand charity scholars mustered: doubtless the whole that could be collected—for we well know that absence is not dispensed with on such occasions. Six thousand appears a large number: but how many times six thousand must remain to be brought up in ignorance among a million of inhabitants, when only six thousand are provided for—and a great proportion of these, not the poorest? for English authors will inform us, that the poor

are not always benefited by those institutions originally designed for the poor. In the small state of Connecticut, there are no charity schools: but there are upwards of five hundred free public schools. The dignity of human nature—the rights of property—and a due sense of the blessings of government and civil liberty, are no where better understood, or more extensively enjoyed, than in that highly favoured land of equality and freedom. CIVIS.



Extract of a letter to the hon. William Samuel Johnson, L. L. D. president of Columbia college in New-York, from the hon. Hugh Williamson, M. D. and L. L. D. dated 24th Sept. 1789—
p. 35.

YOU will observe, sir, that I wish to see a professor of practical philosophy, established in the several American universities—a professor, who shall teach what are the essential and constituent parts of each particular body, as well as the general laws, by which separate bodies operate upon one another. He should then proceed to explain the chymical principles of the leading operations in farming, and in the several mechanic arts. The principles of any business being understood, every man labours, with more confidence and satisfaction, and with a greater chance of success and improvement. The various methods of manuring land, and preserving grain—the most difficult and critical operations of the brewer, the tanner, the smith, and fundry other mechanics, depend on certain chymical principles, which being fully understood, the artist walks on safe ground. He is enabled to vary the process, and make useful improvements. Surely, in such a country, where arts are in their infancy—where many of the natives have given proofs of great mechanical genius—where a spirit of philosophical enquiry prevails—and the mind in few cases is fascinated or fettered by ancient usage, or custom immemorial—in such a country, every thing is to be expected from a course of lectures on practical philosophy.

You do not conceive, that I would recommend such a course of philosophical study to every farmer, and mechanic : I have nothing less in view ; but I would recommend it to every student, who, according to the present system, would expect to get a bachelor's degree. Of the youth, who are educated in colleges, you observe a considerable portion, who are not disposed to follow one or another of the liberal arts ; perhaps it never was their object. They cease to be professional scholars, at the time they quit the school ; and employ themselves through the remainder of life, on their farms, or they become interested in promoting some useful manufacture. In either case, they may avail themselves of the knowledge they have acquired at school : and the improvements they shall make in agriculture, or the mechanic arts, will soon be communicated to those who had not the same means of information. Perhaps my expectations are too sanguine : but I conceive, that by the help of such professorships, agriculture, and the mechanic arts, would soon arrive at greater perfection in America, than they have done in Europe. However this may be, numerous advantages and much satisfaction must assuredly arise from the general study of chymistry and natural history.

You perceive, that my ideas, concerning the education of youth, are extremely different from those which are commonly received. I would rescue four or five years from the tyranny of Greek and Latin—that part of the time might be spent in examining the works of nature. Instead of devoting such a portion of the prime of life to acquiring different languages—a kind of knowledge that does not exercise the understanding—does not require any reasoning powers—and may consist with general ignorance and stupidity—I would have the mind exercised by frequent reasoning ; entertained by the pleasing discovery of facts ; and enlightened by the knowledge of things. Can there be any doubts concerning the advantage of such a change ! A general acquaintance

with the figure and face of the earth, and the civil history of its inhabitants—a knowledge of plants and fossils, birds, beasts, and fishes—an acquaintance with the constituent parts of bodies, and the subordination of useful arts—these should be considered as subjects of the student's pursuit ; and be substituted for an acquaintance with Greek and Latin.

At the first institution of such a lecture, some difficulties might possibly arise in finding suitable professors. Men of science, and the most extensive reading, have generally been engaged in other studies. Some degree of genius, and much application, will at first be required in preparing a complete course of lectures : but the chief difficulty will soon be removed. In a few years, the subjects will become familiar : and there will be no lack of competent professors.

Your candour will excuse these remarks, though they are offered by one who has attended much less than yourself to the subject. Having chanced, however, to form opinions different from those which are commonly received, he submits them to your examination. Whether you are disposed to retain the dead languages, to give them up entirely, or to have them taught only to a particular class of students—whatever you may think best to be done on this head—perhaps you may resolve, that natural history, and the philosophy which is subservient to useful arts, ought to be cultivated with particular attention. If any change in the general system of education can be made to advantage, no time should be lost in beginning the work. We had better adopt the measure ourselves, than recommend it to posterity : they will be more like to imitate our example, than attend to our advice. The difficulties, that must occur in executing such a plan, would have pointed it out as a proper object for the national government, if the charge of a public seminary had been expressly committed to their care. This, you know, was the wish of some gentlemen. As matters are circumstanced, improvements, if they are to be made, for many years must originate in the

feminaries of particular states. I have no information concerning the funds of Columbia College in the city of New-York; and have not the pleasure to know many of its trustees: but if they have in general the same liberality of sentiment that some individuals of them possess—and if the funds of the college be at all commensurate to the genius and extensive learning of its president—I shall expect great improvements from that source.



Short account of the climate, &c. of South-Carolina, in a letter from J. Budd to a friend, dated July 28, 1787.

THE state of South Carolina lies between the 32d and 35th degrees of north latitude. Charleston, the capital of the state, lies in the same latitude with Jerusalem—a climate that produced so quick vegetation, that made it a land of plenty, ‘a land that flowed with milk and honey.’

It was in this blessed climate, God Almighty placed his chosen people, between the torrid and frigid zones, that they might not be burnt up by the constant heats of the former, nor pinched by the excessive cold of the latter. I believe he chose that climate for them, because there was not one more agreeable on the face of the earth. The lower part of Carolina, for 60 or 70 miles from the sea, is extremely level. The upland is sandy; and is covered with large pine, oak, and hickory timber; when cultivated, it produces good Indian corn, indigo, rye, oats, peas, potatoes, fine vegetables of every kind, and plenty of grass for cattle: it is intersected with a number of large rivers, creeks, and small rivulets; and abounds with large swamps, that reward the labour of the planters, with fine crops of rice. The immense profit the planters make by raising this last article, prevent their ditching and draining the land, or it would bring fine hemp, flax, and oats. This part of the country, a little distance from the sea, is very unhealthy, owing to the stagnated water in the

swamps, and large reservoirs of water kept up with dams by the planters, to water their rice, in the proper season.

The middle country, thirty, forty, or fifty miles farther back, in different parts, is like the lower: but in many places, particularly on Savannah river, there are extensive tracts of good wheat land, with rich swamps, bordering on pine lands, which will be a fine range for cattle, and an inexhaustible source of timber for the inhabitants, as the timber will grow as fast as it is possible for them to cut it: several fine mills have been erected near the Three Runs, where the lumber is taken by water from the mills to Savannah, and shipped to the West-Indies. This part of the country enjoys the advantages of a good soil, a healthy climate, and a fine range for cattle.

Farther from the ocean, the lands are much higher, and the soil equal to any in the world: it produces fine crops of wheat, cotton, hemp, tobacco, &c. &c. and in much greater quantities than any lands in the northern states. I have been credibly informed, that 70 or 80 bushels of corn have been raised on an acre; and that 50 bushels in some places are a middling crop. Uninterrupted health reigns in this part of the state, as much as in any part of the inhabited world: here temperance and exercise will almost ensure long life; and every necessary, conveniency, and luxury the heart of man can wish to enjoy, may be had here.

One great advantage this country has over the northern states, is, that the men are not obliged to work for the beasts, the winter being so mild, that the cattle are fat in the woods all the year: this prevents a great deal of hard labour, which must be done in the hottest season, in the northern states. Where there is a large range, a man may increase his stock to what number he pleases: some men have marked fifteen hundred head of calves in a year. The climate is not hotter in the months of June, July, and August, in the lower part of this state, than it is in the lower part of New Jersey; nor is it

hotter in the upper part, than it is in the high eastern part of that state. The spring and fall are exceedingly agreeable: and in the coldest season of the year, our gardens furnish us with fresh vegetables. Every kind of fruit that Britain, or the northern states produce, may be raised in South Carolina; also good oranges, limes, lemons, figs, and grapes. Wine has been made equal to any in the world for strength and flavour; and will, in time, be an article of exportation. The land produces good cotton, some of which has been exported to the northern states. Great quantities of raw silk, made at a Swiss settlement, Purisourg, have been exported to London, which brought a high price; and yielded a handsome profit to the cultivators. They have already discovered, in many places, large bodies of good iron ore, of which excellent bar-iron, castings, &c. have been made: and in many places, lead, tin, and copper ore have been found; but not yet worked to much advantage: silver and gold are to be procured in great plenty, by tilling the earth, manufactories, trade, &c.

Three acts of the legislature have lately been passed, to clear out Santee, Catawba, Ashley, Cooper, and Edisto rivers; this will open an inland navigation to the extremities of the state, and a number of hands are now employed in the work: this will be of immense service to the planters; and in a few years will double the exports of this place. The exports from Charleston, since the peace, have amounted to half a million sterling, one year with another; and by the appearance of the present crop, will amount to near twice that sum this year.

We have great plenty of European, East, and West-India goods, and some good mechanics. Much more might be said with the strictest truth, in commendation of this state: but those, who are chilled with the northwest winds—deprived of seeing the face of the earth, by the ice and snow, for six months in the year—and obliged to work hard in the hot broiling sun in the summer, to pro-

vide for the winter, may think I have already said too much.

But it is now time to turn the picture, and give you an account of the inconveniencies of this country—We have wolves, bears, panthers, wild cats, and rattle-snakes: and men, that are worse than all the rest, are as plenty here as in any of the northern states: those venomous reptiles and bloody beasts of prey, seldom attack a man, when they come in this way. But we have something that destroys more of the human species than all I have mentioned—it will attack you at your work—and on your pillow—in your most jovial hours—and in your hours of devotion: this monster is well known in all the united states, by the name of Laziness.

Most of the inhabitants of the northern states, who come to South Carolina, find the climate extremely agreeable, the first six or eight years, in which time, by their industry, they acquire larger fortunes than they ever expected to be possessed of; and begin to live in ease and affluence: they then discover that it is too hot for a white man to work, even in the winter: they first lay aside all useful labour; and divert themselves with fishing, hunting*, and riding on horseback, or in carriages; visit their neighbours; and drink plentifully of wine, punch, or strong grog, to keep out the heat. But in a while, all kinds of exercise become too fatiguing: and they live at their ease and wallow in luxury; till death, out of pity to their families and acquaintance, removes the nuisance.

Thus, sir, I have given you a faithful description of this country—If I have erred in any thing, it is owing to my being misinformed, and not for want of my making the best enquiry in my power, for the fifteen years I have resided in this state.

I am your humble servant,
J. BUDD.

NOTE.

* There is great plenty of exceeding good fish of various kinds: deer, turkey, and all kinds of wild fowl abound in every part of South-Carolina.

Sketch of the life of the late Nathaniel Greene, major-general of the forces of the united states of America. By M. Carey.—P. 41.

IN Virginia, general Greene received some reinforcements, and had the promise of more—on which he returned again into North Carolina, where, on their arrival, he hoped to be able to act on the offensive. He encamped in the vicinity of lord Cornwallis's army. By a variety of the best concerted manœuvres, he so judiciously supported the arrangement of his troops, by the secrecy and promptitude of his motions, that, during three weeks, while the enemy remained near him, he prevented them from taking any advantage of their superiority; and even cut off all opportunity of their receiving succours from the royalists.

About the beginning of March, he effected a junction with a continental regiment, and two considerable bodies of Virginia and Carolina militia. He then determined on attacking the British commander without loss of time, "being persuaded," as he declared in his subsequent dispatches, "that, if he was successful, it would prove ruinous to the enemy; and if otherwise, that it would be but a partial evil to him." On the 14th, he arrived at Guilford court-house, the British then lying at twelve miles distance.

His army consisted of about four thousand five hundred men, of whom near two thirds were North Carolina and Virginia militia. The British were about two thousand four hundred—all regular troops, and the greater part inured to toil and service in their long expedition under lord Cornwallis, who, on the morning of the 15th, being apprized of general Greene's intentions, marched to meet him. The latter disposed his army in three lines; the militia of North Carolina were in front; the second line was composed of those of Virginia; and the third, which was the flower of the army, was formed of continental troops, near fifteen hundred in number. They were flanked on both sides by cavalry and riflemen, and were

posted on a rising ground, a mile and a half from Guilford court-house.

The engagement commenced, at half an hour after one o'clock, by a brisk cannonade: after which, the British advanced in three columns; and attacked the first line, composed, as has been observed, of North Carolina militia. These, who, probably, had never been in action before, were panic-struck at the approach of the enemy: and many of them ran away without firing a gun, or being fired upon, and even before the British had come nearer than one hundred and forty yards to them. Part of them, however, fired: but they then followed the example of their comrades. Their officers made every possible effort to rally them: but neither the advantages of their position, nor any other consideration, could induce them to maintain their ground. This shameful cowardice had a great effect upon the issue of the battle. The next line, however, behaved much better. They fought with great bravery: and after they were thrown into disorder, rallied, returned to the charge, and kept up a heavy fire for a long time: but were at length broken, and driven on the third line, when the engagement became general, very severe, and very bloody. At length, superiority of discipline carried the day from superiority of numbers. The conflict endured an hour and a half; and was terminated by general Greene's ordering a retreat, when he perceived, that the enemy were on the point of encircling his troops.

This was a hard-fought action. Lord Cornwallis stated his losses in killed, wounded, and missing, at five hundred and thirty-two, among whom were several officers of considerable rank. To those, who are used to consider the thousands killed on the plains of Germany, very frequently without producing any visible consequence on the fate of a war, the number here mentioned must appear insignificant. But this battle was, nevertheless, decisive in its consequences. Lord Cornwallis was, three days after, obliged to make a retrograde motion; and to return to Wilmington, si-

tuated two hundred miles from the place of action. He was even under the necessity of abandoning a considerable number of those who were most dangerously wounded.

The loss of the Americans was about four hundred killed and wounded. However, this was not so severely felt as the desertion of a considerable number of militia, who fled homewards, and came no more near the army.

Some time after the battle of Guilford, General Greene determined to return to South Carolina, to endeavour to expel the British from that state. His first object was to attempt the reduction of Camden, where lord Rawdon was posted, with about nine hundred men. The strength of this place, which was covered on the south and east sides by a river and creek—and, to the westward and northward, by six redoubts—rendered it impracticable to carry it by storm, with the small army general Greene had, consisting of about seven hundred continentals. He therefore encamped at about a mile from the town, in order to prevent supplies from being brought in, and to take advantage of such favourable circumstances as might occur.

Lord Rawdon's situation was extremely delicate. Colonel Watson, whom he had some time before detached, for the protection of the eastern frontiers, and to whom he had, on intelligence of general Greene's intentions, sent orders to return to Camden, was so effectually watched by general Marian, that it was impossible for him to obey. His lordship's supplies were, moreover, very precarious: and should general Greene's reinforcements arrive, he might be so closely invested, as to be at length obliged to surrender. In this dilemma, the best expedient, that suggested itself, was a bold attack: for which purpose, he armed every person with him, capable of carrying a musquet, not excepting his musicians and drummers. He sallied out on the twenty-fifth of April; and attacked general Greene in his camp. The defence was obstinate: and for some part of the engagement, the advantage appeared to be in favour

of America. Lieutenant colonel Washington, who commanded the cavalry, had at one time not less than two hundred British prisoners. However, by the misconduct of one of the American regiments, victory was snatched from general Greene, who was compelled to retreat. He lost in the action about two hundred killed, wounded, and prisoners. Rawdon lost about two hundred and fifty-eight.

There was a great similarity between the consequences of the affair at Guilford, and those of this action. In the former, lord Cornwallis was successful; but was afterwards obliged to retreat two hundred miles from the scene of action, and for a time abandoned the grand object of penetrating to the northward. In the latter, lord Rawdon had the honour of the field; but was shortly after reduced to the necessity of abandoning his post, and leaving behind him a number of sick and wounded.

The evacuation of Camden, with the vigilance of general Greene, and the several officers he employed, gave a new complexion to affairs in South Carolina, where the British ascendancy declined more rapidly than it had been established. The numerous forts, garrisoned by the enemy, fell, one after the other, into the hands of the Americans. Orangeburg, Motte, Watson, Georgetown, Granby, and all the others, fort Ninety-six excepted, were surrendered; and a very considerable number of prisoners of war, with military stores and artillery, were found in them.

On the 22d of May, general Greene sat down before Ninety-six, with the main part of his little army. The siege was carried on for a considerable time with great spirit: and the place was defended with equal bravery. At length, the works were so far reduced, that a surrender must have been made in a few days, when a reinforcement, of three regiments, from Europe, arrived at Charleston, which enabled lord Rawdon to proceed to relieve this important post. The superiority of the enemy's force reduced general Greene to the alternative of abandoning the siege altogether, or,

previous to their arrival, of attempting the fort by storm. The latter was more agreeable to his enterprising spirit: and an attack was made, on the morning of the 19th of June. He was repulsed, with the loss of one hundred and fifty men. He raised the siege, and retreated over the Saluda.

Dr. Ramsay, to whom the writer of this sketch is indebted, for most of the facts herein contained, speaking of the state of affairs about this period, says,—“truly distressing was the situation of the American army: when in the grasp of victory, to be obliged to expose themselves to a hazardous assault, and afterwards to abandon the siege: when they were nearly masters of the whole country, to be compelled to retreat to its extremity: after subduing the greatest part of the force sent against them, to be under the necessity of encountering still greater reinforcements, when their remote situation precluded them from the hope of receiving a single recruit—in this gloomy situation, there were not wanting persons who advised general Greene to leave the state, and retire with his remaining forces to Virginia. To arguments and suggestions of this kind he nobly replied—‘I will recover the country, or die in the attempt.’ This distinguished officer, whose genius was most vigorous in those extremities, when feeble minds abandon themselves to despair, adopted the only resource, now left him, of avoiding an engagement, until the British force should be divided.”

(*To be continued.*)



Story of Constantia.—From Hayley's *essay on old maids*.

CONSTANTIA was the daughter of a merchant, who, being left a widower at an early period of life, with two beautiful little girls, bestowed upon them a very fashionable and expensive education. It happened, that, when Constantia had just attained the age of twenty-one, her sister, who was a year older, received, and delighted in the addresses of a man, considered as her equal in rank and fortune—a man who was

not, indeed, devoid of affection to his mistress, yet distinguished by a superior attention to her dower. This prudent lover informed the old gentleman, that he was a warm admirer of his eldest daughter, and that he was also happy in having gained the lady's good opinion: but that it was impossible for him to marry, unless he received, at the time of his marriage, a particular sum, which he specified. The worthy merchant was disconcerted by this declaration, as he had amused himself with the prospect of a promising match for his child. He replied, however, with calmness and integrity: he paid some general compliments to his guest: he said, he should be happy to settle a very good girl with a man of character, whom she seemed to approve: but he was under a painful necessity of rejecting the proposal, because it was impossible for him to comply with the terms required, without a material injury to his younger daughter. The cautious suitor took a formal leave, and departed. The honest father, in a private conference with his eldest child, gave her a full and ingenuous account of his conduct. She applauded the justice of his decision; but felt her own loss so severely, that the house soon became a scene of general distress. Constantia, finding her sister in tears, would not leave her, without knowing the cause of her affliction. As soon as she had discovered it, she flew to her father: she thanked him for his parental attention to her interest; but, with the most eager and generous entreaties, conjured him not to let a mistaken kindness to her, prove the source of their general unhappiness. She declared, with all the liberal ardour and sincerity of a young affectionate mind, that she valued fortune only as it might enable her to promote the comfort of those she loved; and that, whatever her own future destiny might be, the delight of having secured the felicity of her sister, would be infinitely more valuable to her than any portion whatever. She enlarged on the delicacy of her sister's health, and the danger of thwarting her present settled affection. In short, she

pleaded for the suspended marriage, with such genuine and pathetic eloquence, that her father embraced her with tears of delight and admiration: but the more he admired her generosity, the more he thought himself obliged to refuse her request. He abhorred the idea of making such a noble-minded girl, what she was desirous, indeed, of making herself, an absolute sacrifice to the establishment of her sister; and he flattered himself, that the affection of his eldest girl, which the kind zeal of Constantia had represented to him in so serious a light, would be easily obliterated by time and reflexion. In this hope, however, he was greatly deceived: the poor girl, indeed, attempted, at first, to display a resolution, which she was unable to support: her heart was disappointed, and her health began to suffer. Constantia was almost distracted at the idea of proving the death of a sister whom she tenderly loved: and she renewed her adjurations to her father, with such irresistible importunity, that, touched with the peculiar situation of his two amiable children, and elated with some new prospects of commercial emolument, he resolved, at last, to comply with the generous entreaty of Constantia, though at some little hazard of leaving her exposed to indigence.

The prudent lover was recalled: his return soon restored the declining health of his mistress: all difficulties were adjusted by a pecuniary compliance with his demands: the day of marriage was fixed: and Constantia, after sacrificing every shilling of her settled portion, attended her sister to church, with a heart more filled with exultation and delight, than that of the bride herself, who had risen from a state of dejection and despair to the possession of the man she loved. But the pleasure that the generous Constantia derived from an event which she had so nobly promoted, was very soon converted into concern and anxiety. In a visit of some weeks, to the house of the new-married couple, she soon discovered, that her brother-in-law, though entitled to the character of an honest and well-meaning man, was

very far from possessing the rare and invaluable talent of conferring happiness on the objects of his regard. Though he had, on their first acquaintance, appeared a man of a cultivated understanding, and an elegant address, yet, under his own roof, he indulged himself in a peevish irritability of temper, and a passion for domestic argument, peculiarly painful to the quick feelings of Constantia, who, from the exquisite sensibility of her frame, possessed an uncommon delicacy both of mind and manners. She observed, however, with great satisfaction, and with no less surprise, that her sister was not equally hurt by this fretful infirmity of her husband. Happily for her own comfort, that lady was one of those good, loving women, whose soft yet steady affection, like a drop of melted wax, has the property of sticking to any substance on which it accidentally falls. She often adopted, it is true, the quick and querulous style of her husband: nay, their domestic debates have run so high, that poor Constantia has sometimes dreaded, and sometimes almost wished, an absolute separation; but her lively terrors on this subject were gradually diminished by observing, that although they frequently skirmished, after supper, in a very angry tone, yet, at the breakfast table the next morning, they seldom failed to resume a becoming tenderness of language. These sudden and frequent transitions from war to peace, and from peace to war, may possibly be very entertaining to the belligerent parties themselves: but I believe they always hurt a benevolent spectator. Constantia shortened her visit. She departed, indeed, disappointed and chagrined: but she generously concealed her sensations; and cherished a pleasing hope, that she might hereafter return to the house, with more satisfaction, either from an improvement in the temper of its master, or, at least, from opportunities of amusing herself with the expected children of her sister; but, alas! in this her second hope, the warm-hearted Constantia was more cruelly disappointed. Her sister was, in due time, delivered of a child: but it prov-

ed a very sickly infant; and soon expired. The afflicted mother languished for a considerable time, in a very infirm state of health; and, after frequent miscarriages, sunk herself into the grave. The widower, having past the customary period in all the decencies of mourning, took the earliest opportunity of consoling himself for his loss, by the acquisition of a more opulent bride; and, as men of his prudent disposition have but little satisfaction in the sight of a person from whom they have received great obligations, which they do not mean to repay, he thought it proper to drop all intercourse with Constantia. She had a spirit too noble to be mortified by such neglect. Indeed, as she believed, in the fondness of her recent affliction, that her sister might have still been living, had she been happily united to a man of a more amiable temper, she rejoiced that his ungrateful conduct relieved her from a painful necessity of practising hypocritical civilities towards a relation, whom in her heart she despised. By the death of her sister she was very deeply afflicted; and this affliction was soon followed by superior calamities.

The affairs of her father began to assume a very alarming appearance. His health and spirits deserted him, on the approaching wreck of his fortune. Terrified with the prospect of bankruptcy, and wounded to the soul by the idea of the desolate condition, in which he might leave his only surviving child, he reproached himself incessantly for the want of parental justice, in having complied with the entreaties of the too-generous Constantia. That incomparable young woman, by the most signal union of tenderness and fortitude, endeavoured to alleviate all the sufferings of her father. To give a more chearful cast to his mind, she exerted all the vigour and all the vivacity of her own; she regulated all his domestic expenses with an assiduous but a tranquil economy; and discovered a peculiar pleasure in denying to herself many usual expensive articles, both of dress and diversion. The honest pride and delight, which he took in the contempla-

tion of her endearing character, enabled the good old man to triumph, for some time, over sickness, terror, and misfortune. By the assistance of Constantia, he struggled through several years of commercial perplexity: at last, however, the fatal hour arrived, which he had to grievously apprehended: he became a bankrupt, and resolved to retire to a distant country, with a faint hope of repairing his ruined fortune, by the aid of connexions which he had formed there. He could not support the thought of carrying Constantia among foreigners, in so indigent a condition; and he therefore determined to leave her under the protection of her aunt, Mrs. Braggard, a widow lady, who, possessing a comfortable jointure, and a notable spirit of economy, was enabled to make a very considerable figure in a country town. Mrs. Braggard was one of those good women, who, by paying the most punctual visits to a cathedral, imagine they acquire an unquestionable right, not only to speak aloud their own exemplary virtues, but to make as free as they please with the conduct and character of every person, both within and without the circle of their acquaintance. Having enjoyed from her youth a very hale constitution, and not having injured it by any foolish tender excesses, either of love or sorrow, she was, at the age of fifty-four, completely equal to all the business and bustle of the female world. As she wisely believed activity to be a great source both of health and amusement, she was always extremely active in her own affairs, and sometimes in those of others.

She considered the key of her store-room as her sceptre of dominion: and, not willing to delegate her authority to any minister whatever, she was very far from wanting the society of her niece, as an assistant in the management of her house; yet she was very ready to receive the unfortunate Constantia under her roof, for the sake of the pleasure which would certainly arise to her, not indeed from the uncommon charms of Constantia's conversation, but from repeating herself, to every creature who visited at

her house, 'what a great friend she was to that poor girl.'

Painful as such repetitions must be to a mind of quick sensibility, Constantia supported them with a modest resignation. There were circumstances in her present situation that galled her much more. Mrs. Braggard had an utter contempt, or rather a constitutional antipathy, for literature and music—the darling amusements of Constantia, and indeed the only occupations by which she hoped to soothe her agitated spirits, under the pressure of her various afflictions. Her father, with a very tender solicitude, had secured to her a favourite harpsichord, and a small but choice collection of books. These, however, instead of proving the sources of consolatory amusement, as he had kindly imagined, only served to increase the vexations of the poor Constantia; as she seldom attempted either to sing or to read, without hearing a prolix invective from her aunt, against musical and learned ladies.

Mrs. Braggard seemed to think, that all useful knowledge, and all rational delight, are centered in a social game of cards: and Constantia, who, from principles of gratitude and good nature, wished to accommodate herself to the humour of every person, from whom she received obligation, assiduously endeavoured to promote the diversion of her aunt: but having little or no pleasure in cards, and being sometimes unable, from uneasiness of mind, to command her attention, she was generally a loser: a circumstance which produced a very bitter oration from the attentive old lady, who declared that inattention of this kind was inexcusable in a girl, when the money she played for, was supplied by a friend. At the keenness, or rather the brutality, of this reproach, the poor insulted Constantia burst into tears; and a painful dialogue ensued, in which she felt all the wretchedness of depending on the ostentatious charity of a relation, whose heart and soul had not the least affinity with her own. The conversation ended in a compromise, by which Constantia obtained the permission of renouncing cards

forever, on the condition, which she herself proposed, of never touching her harpsichord again; as the sound of that instrument was as unpleasant to Mrs. Braggard, as the sight of the card-table was to her unfortunate niece.

Constantia passed a considerable time in this state of unmerited mortification, wretched in her own situation, and anxious to the most painful degree, concerning the fate of her father. Perceiving there were no hopes of his return, she wrote him a most tender and pathetic letter, enumerating all her afflictions, and imploring his consent to her taking leave of her aunt, and endeavouring to acquire a more peaceable maintenance for herself, by teaching the rudiments of music to young ladies—an employment to which her talents were perfectly equal. To this filial petition, she received a very extraordinary, and a very painful answer, which accident led me to peruse, a few years after the death of the unhappy father who wrote it.

It happened, that a friend requested me to point out some accomplished woman, in humble circumstances, and about the middle season of life, who might be willing to live as a companion with a lady of great fortune and excellent character, who had the misfortune to lose the use of her eyes. Upon this application, I immediately thought of Constantia. My acquaintance with her had commenced before the marriage of her sister; and the uncommon spirit of generosity, which she exerted on that occasion, made me very ambitious of cultivating a lasting friendship with so noble a mind—but living at a considerable distance from each other, our intimacy had for several years been supported only by a regular correspondence. At the time of my friend's application, Constantia's letters had informed me, that her father was dead, and that she had no prospect of escaping from a mode of life, which I knew was utterly incompatible with her ease and comfort. I concluded, therefore, that I should find her most ready to embrace the proposal which I had to communicate; and I resolved to pay her a visit in person, for the pleasure of being

myself the bearer of such welcome intelligence. Many years had elapsed since we met, and they were years that were not calculated to improve either the person or the manners of my unfortunate friend. To say truth, I perceived a striking alteration in both. It would be impossible, I believe, for the most accomplished of women to exist in such society, as that to which Constantia had been condemned, without losing a considerable portion of her external graces. My friend appeared to me like a fine statue, that had been long exposed to all the injuries of bad weather: the beautiful polish was gone, but that superior excellence remained, which could not be affected by the influence of the sky. I was, indeed, at first, greatly struck by a new and unexpected coarseness in her language and address; but I soon perceived, that although her manners had suffered, she still retained all the spirited tenderness, and all the elegance of her mind. She magnified the unlooked-for obligation of my visit, with that cordial excess of gratitude, with which the amiable unhappy are inclined to consider the petty kindnesses of a friend—I wished indeed to assist her; and believed that chance had enabled me to do so: but there were obstacles to prevent it, of which I had no apprehension. The first reply that Constantia made to my proposal, for her new settlement in life, was a silent but expressive shower of tears. To these, however, I gave a wrong interpretation: for, knowing all the misery of her present situation, I imagined they were tears of joy, drawn from her by the sudden prospect of an unexpected escape from a state of the most mortifying dependence. She soon undeceived me, and, putting into my hand two letters, which she had taken from a little pocket-book, “Here,” she said, “is the source of my tears, and the reason why nothing remains for me, but to bless you for your kind intention, without receiving any advantage from your design of befriending so unfortunate a wretch.” Constantia continued to weep: and I eagerly searched into this mysterious-source of her distress. I found the first letter in my hand contained her pe-

tion to her father, which I have mentioned already; the second was his reply to her request, a reply which it was impossible to read, without sharing the sufferings both of the parent and the child. This unhappy father, ruined both in his fortune and his health, had been for some time tormented by an imaginary terror, the most painful that can possibly enter into a parental bosom; he had conceived that in consequence of his having sacrificed the interest of his younger daughter to the establishment of her sister, the destitute Constantia would be at length reduced to a state of absolute indigence and prostitution. Under the pressure of this idea, which amounted almost to frenzy, he had replied to her request. His letter was wild, incoherent, and long: but the purport of it was, that if she ever quitted her present residence, while she herself was unmarried, and her aunt alive, she would expose herself to the curse of an offended father: and his malediction was indeed, in this case, denounced against her in terms the most vehement that the language of contending passions could possibly supply. Having rapidly perused this letter, I endeavoured to console my poor weeping friend, by representing it as the wild effusion of a very worthy but misguided man, whose undervalued calamities had impaired his reason. “My father,” replied Constantia, “is now at rest in his grave: and you, perhaps, may think it superstitious in me to pay so much regard to this distressing letter: but he never in his life laid any command upon me, which was not suggested by his affection: and, wretched as I am, I cannot be disobedient even to his ashes.” Constantia, though she shed many tears as she spoke, yet spoke in the tone of a determined martyr. I repeated every argument that reason and friendship could suggest, to shake a resolution so pernicious to herself: but I could make no impression on her mind: she had determined to adhere strictly to the letter, as well as the spirit, of her father’s interdiction: and, as I perceived that she had an honest pride in her filial piety, I could no longer think of opposing it. Instead, therefore, of

recommending to her a new system of life, I endeavoured to reconcile her mind to her present situation. "Perhaps," replied Constantia, "no female orphan, who has been preserved by providence, from absolute want, from infamy and guilt, ought to repine at her condition: and when I consider the more deplorable wretchedness of some unhappy beings of my own sex, whose misery, perhaps, has arisen more from accident, than from voluntary error, I am inclined to reproach my own heart for those murmurs, which sometimes, I confess to you, escape from it in solitude: yet, if I were to give you a genuine account of all that I endure, you, I know, would kindly assure me, that the discontent, which I strive in vain to subdue, has not amounted to a crime." She then entered into a detail of many domestic scenes, and gave me so strong a picture of a life destitute of all social comfort, and harrassed by such an infinitude of dispiriting vexations, that I expressed a very sincere admiration of the meek and modest fortitude which she had displayed in supporting it so long. "I have, indeed, suffered a great deal," said Constantia, with a deep sigh; "but the worst is not over; I am afraid that I shall lose all sense of humanity: I can take no interest in any thing: and, to confess a very painful truth to you, I do not feel as I ought to do, the undeserved attention and friendship which I am at this moment receiving from you." I would have tried to rally her out of these gloomy phantasies: but she interrupted me, by exclaiming, with a stern yet low voice, "Indeed it is true; and I can only explain my sensations to you, by saying, that I feel as if my heart was turning into stone." This forcible expression, and the corresponding cast of countenance with which she uttered it, rendered me, for some moments, unable to reply: it struck me, indeed, as a lamentable truth, to which different parts of her much-altered frame bore a strong though silent testimony. In her face, which was once remarkable for a fine complexion, and the most animated look of intelligent good na-

ture, there now appeared a fallow paleness, and, though not a sour, yet a settled dejection; her hands also had the same bloodless appearance, retaining neither the warmth nor the colour of living flesh: yet Constantia was at this time perfectly free from every nominal distemper.

The entrance of Mrs. Braggard gave a new turn to our conversation, but without affording us relief. That good lady endeavoured to entertain me with particular attention: but there was such a strange mixture of vulgar dignity and indelicate facetiousness in her discourse, that she was very far from succeeding in her design. She asked me, if I were not greatly struck by the change that a few years had made in the countenance of her niece, hinting, in very coarse terms of awkward jocularly, that the loss of her complexion was to be imputed to her single life; and adding, with an affected air of kindness, that, as she had some very rich relations in Jamaica, she believed she should be tempted to carry the poor girl to the West Indies, to try all the chances of new acquaintance in a warmer climate. I perceived the pale cheek of Constantia begin to redden at this language of her aunt. As the expressions of that good lady grew more and more painful to her ingenuous pride, the unfortunate Constantia, who found it impossible to suppress her tears, now quitted the room: but she returned to us again in a few minutes, with an air of composed sorrow, and of meek endurance.

I soon ended my mortifying visit, and left the town in which Constantia resided, with a disposition to quarrel with fortune for her injustice and cruelty to my amiable friend. It seemed to me as if nature had designed, that an affectionate activity and a joyous benevolence should be the vital springs in Constantia's existence: but that chance having thrown her into a situation, which afforded no nourishment to the lovely qualities of her heart and mind, she was perishing like a flower in an unfriendly soil.

My imagination was wounded by the image of her destiny: but the generous Constantia, seeing the impression, which

her sufferings had made upon me, wrote me a letter of consolation. She arraigned herself, with an amiable degree of injustice, for having painted to me, in colours much too strong, the unpleasant qualities of her aunt, and the disquietude of her own condition: she flattered me with the idea that my visit, and advice to her, had given a more cheerful cast to her mind: and she encouraged me to hope; that time would make her a perfect philosopher. In the course of a few years, I received several letters from my friend, and all in this comfortable strain. At length she sent me the following billet:

“My dear friend,

“I am preparing to set out, in a few days, for a distant country: and, before my departure, I wish to trouble you with an interesting commission: if possible, indulge me with an opportunity of imparting it to you in person, where I now am. As it will be the last time I can expect the satisfaction of seeing you in this world, I am persuaded you will comply with this anxious request of

“Your much obliged,

“and very grateful

CONSTANTIA.”

In perusing this note, I concluded that Mrs. Braggard was going to execute the project she had mentioned; and was really preparing to carry her niece to Jamaica: yet, on reflexion, if that were the case, Constantia might, I thought, have contrived to see me with more convenience in her passage. However, I obeyed her summons as expeditiously as I could. In a few minutes after my arrival in the town where she resided, I was informed, by the landlord of the inn at which I stopped, that the life of my poor friend was supposed to be in danger. This information at once explained to me the mystery of her billet. I hastened to the house of Mrs. Braggard, and, in the midst of my concern and anxiety for my suffering friend, I felt some comfort on finding, that in our interview, we should not be tormented by the presence of her unfeeling aunt: as that lady had been

tempted to leave her declining charge, to attend the wedding of a more fortunate relation, and was still detained, by scenes of nuptial festivity, in a distant county. When I entered the apartment of Constantia, I perceived in her eyes a ray of joyous animation; though her frame was so emaciated, and she laboured under such a general debility, that she was unable to stand a moment without assistance.

Having dismissed her attendant, she seemed to collect all the little portion of strength that remained in her decaying frame, to address me in the following manner:

“Be not concerned, my dear friend, at an event, which, though you might not, perhaps, expect it so soon, your friendship will, I hope, on reflexion, consider with a sincere, though melancholy satisfaction. You have often been so good as to listen to my complaints; forgive me, therefore, for calling you to be a witness to that calm and devout comfort, with which I now look on the approaching end of all my unhappiness! You have heard me say, that I thought there was a peculiar cruelty in the lot that heaven had assigned to me; but I now feel, that I too hastily arraigned the dispensations of providence. Had I been surrounded with the delights of a happy domestic life, I could not, I believe, have beheld the near approaches of death in that clear and consolatory light in which they now appear to me. My past murmurs are, I trust, forgiven; and I now pay the most willing obedience to the decrees of the Almighty. The country, to which I am departing, is, I hope and believe, the country where I shall be again united to the lost objects of my tenderest affection. I have but little business to adjust on earth—may I entreat the favour of you,” continued Constantia, with some hesitation, “to be my executor?—my property,” added she, with a tender, yet ghastly smile, “being all contained in this narrow chamber, will not give you much embarrassment; and I shall die with peculiar peace of mind, if you will kindly assure me, I shall be buried by the side

of my dear unhappy father." The tender thoughts that overwhelmed her, in mentioning her unfortunate parent, now rendered her utterance almost indistinct; yet she endeavoured to enter on some private family reasons for applying to me on this subject. I thought it most kind to interrupt her, by a general assurance of my constant desire to obey, at all times, every injunction of her's; and, observing to her, that her distemper appeared to be nothing but mere weakness of body, I expressed a hope of seeing her restored. But, looking steadfastly upon me, she said, after a pause of some moments, "be not so unkind as to wish me to recover; for, 'in the world, I only fill up a place which may be better supplied when I have made it empty.'" The calm and pathetic voice, with which she pronounced these affecting words of Shakespeare, pierced me to the soul. I was unable to reply, and I felt an involuntary tear on my cheek. My poor friend perceived it, and immediately exclaimed, in a more affectionate tone, "you are a good, but weak mortal; I must dismiss you from a scene, which I hoped you would have supported with more philosophy. Indeed, I begin also to feel, that it is too much for us both; if I find myself a little stronger to-morrow, I will see

you again; but if I refuse you admittance to my chamber, you must not be offended: and now you must leave me; do not attempt to say, adieu, but give me your hand, and God bless you!" Pressing her cold emaciated fingers to my lips, I left her apartment, as she ordered me, in silent haste, apprehending, from the changes in her countenance, that she was in danger of fainting. The next morning she sent me a short billet, in a trembling hand, begging me to excuse her not seeing me again, as it arose from motives of kindness—and in the evening she expired.

Such was the end of this excellent, unfortunate being, in the forty-second year of her age. The calamities of her life, instead of giving any asperity to her temper, had softened and refined it. Farewell!—thou gentle and benevolent spirit! If, in thy present scene of happier existence, thou art conscious of sublunary occurrences, disdain not this imperfect memorial of thy sufferings and thy virtues! and, if the pages I am now writing, should fall into the hand of any indigent and dejected maiden, whose ill fortune may be similar to thine, may they soothe and diminish the disquietude of her life, and prepare her to meet the close of it with piety and composure!



T O C O R R E S P O N D E N T S .

THE injured husband—lines on the death of miss Duff—winter, addressed to miss—, —ode to peace—the tapers—historical sketch of the rise and progress of medicine—verses written by a young lady who had agreed to make up a protestant numery—translation of an ode of Horace—description of the climate of the West Indies—account of the ceremony used by sailors in passing the tropic, &c. are under consideration.

We have been in expectation of the promised communication of Amicus.

The oration of dr. Rogers—the address of the rev. William Smith—essay on the management of sheep, and various other pieces, intended for the present museum, have been unavoidably postponed.

The ode sent as original, "by a subscriber and friend," as he terms himself, may be seen in the Gentleman's Magazine for July 1788. This is a poor attempt at deception. Had it been sent as an extract, its merit would have insured it a place.

While we gratefully acknowledge our obligation to the friendship which induced Z. B. to transcribe so many pieces for our museum, we must for the present decline making use of them: as some of them, particularly that respecting a gardener, are very trite; and others uninteresting.



THE
A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,
 Or, UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE,
 For MARCH, 1790.



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Meteorological observations, made in Philadelphia, January 1790.

Days	Ther.	Barom	Wind.	Weather.
1	36	29.9	SW	very pleasant, full moon at 2 past 1 A. M.
2	34	30.4	SW	ditto.
3	34	30.4	SW	ditto.
4	40	30.3	SW	ditto.
5	35	30.3	NW	cloudy, clear, and cold,
6	20	30.5	NW	do. do. rain and snow in the night.
7	38	29.7	SW	hail, rain, and snow.
8	35	29.7	SW	flying clouds—moderate.
9	36	29.6	SW	do. pleasant.
10	21	30.1	NW	clear and very cold.
11	26	30.3	NE	snow—rain all night.
12	33	30.2	NW	cold.
13	34	30.3	NE	do. rain.
14	37	30.1	SW	hazy—pleasant.
15	32	30.3	NW	snow—new moon 15 before 3 A. M.
16	37	29.9	SW	rain.
17	36	30.0	NW	cold and raw.
18	32	30.1	NE	hard frost—cloudy, cold.
19	49	29.6	SW	foggy—from NW.
20	27	30.0	NW	cold.
21	22	30.3	NW	clear and cold.
22	27	30.1	NW	do. do. P. M. moderate.
23	28	30.0	SW	do. do.
24	38	29.7	NE	cloudy—damp air—rain.
25	25	31.1	NE	do. cold.
26	30	30.2	E	cloudy—rain in the night.
27	32	30.3	NW	snow—clear and cold.
28	24	29.9	NE	foggy—cold.
29	22	30.1	SW	clear—pleasant.
30	24	30.0	SW	clear and pleasant—full moon 30 before 2
31	26	30.4	SW	do. [P. M.]

Observations on the weather, &c. in January, 1790.

THE first four days were remarkably mild and pleasant, resembling more the weather of May, than January. The wind, during this time, was at SW. The thermometer was up to 40 on the 4th, which was its greatest height this month, and down to 20 on, the 6th, which was its lowest. The barometer was highest on the 6th, viz. 30.5. lowest on the 9th, viz. 29.6. On the 13th at Northampton, in Massachusetts, the former was at 12. below 0, while in this city, in the open air, it was 34. above 0. Upon the whole, the weather this month has been much milder than has been known for a number of years past. Even at Albany, in the state of New York, the North

River has not been obstructed with ice, which is an uncommon circumstance, indeed; as the winter generally sets in much sooner, and continues longer there than with us. It is remarkable, that in the first week of September last, a smart frost was observed a few miles from this city, and also at Richmond, in Virginia, at Albany, and at Springfield, in Massachusetts, which destroyed a number of vegetables: but accounts in the latter end of this month, have informed us of the unusual clemency of the weather in all those places. It was said, but with what degree of truth I cannot attest, that some hardy boys bathed in the Delaware on the 1st instant.

With respect to the diseases of this month, the scarlatina anginosa, or what

is commonly called the "Scarlet fever, with sore throat," was the only one that could be termed epidemic.

This disease had just made its appearance about the middle of September last; and continued operating every day till October; when the influenza was brought to this city from New York, which gradually banished it, as the latter became more general, and remained till December, when the scarlatina again shewed itself: and such was the prevalence of the contagion of this disease, that it blended itself in many cases with the influenza, such as nausea, sore throat, eruption, &c.—when an emetic given, often cured the disease.

The appearance of the scarlatina was various. In by far the greatest number of instances, it shewed itself by vomiting or purging of bile: children were generally afflicted with it. Some had only an eruption on different

parts of the body, or a sore throat. In all cases, an emetic of ipecacuanha, joined with a few grains of calomel, was given with great advantage: but where this failed of curing the disorder, recourse was had to calomel in pretty large doses, but proportioned to the age and constitution of the patient. The throat was gargled with a decoction of the bark, and the steam of myrrh in hot vinegar, if there were any ulcers, received into the fauces by means of a warm funnel or mudge's inhaler, with great relief. Blisters to the neck, or behind the ears, were likewise used with advantage, and the strength supported by Madeira wine. A gentle perspiration was likewise of service.

A few cases occurred of the inflammatory sore throat, which readily yielded to the antiphlogistic regimen, and method of treatment. Plurisies were also pretty common.

Meteorological observations made in Philadelphia, February 1790.

Days	Ther.	Barom	Wind.	Weather.
1	35	30.1	NW	cloudy—misty—P. M. rain.
2	38	30.0	NW	ditto.
3	18	30.5	NW	clear and cold—barom. 30.2, rain.
4	25	29.7	SW	rain—P. M. storm of hail, rain, and snow.
5	33	29.3	S	clear, and moderate—P. M. N.W.
6	16	30.3	NW	very cold.
7	17	30.5	SW	ditto.—river frozen over.
8	36	30.0	NW	ditto. P. M. barom. 30.3 snow at night.
9	16	30.3	NW	small snow, cold.
10	8	30.4	NW	clear and very cold.
11	10	30.4	NW	do. do.
12	10	30.7	NW	do. do.
13	21	30.7	NW	more moderate.
14	22	30.5	SW	snow, hail, and rain.
15	30	30.3	SW	misty.
16	37	29.8	SW	ditto—rain—thick fog.
17	37	29.7	W	ditto.—river open and navigable.
18	36	30.	SW	moderate, cloudy, P. M. rain.
19	37	29.7	SW	ditto, very pleasant.
20	38	29.8	SW	cloudy.
21	37	29.9	NE	ditto—misty.
22	36	30.0	NE	small rain.
23	38	30.1	W	cloudy. P. M. hail and rain.
24	41	29.1	SW	foggy—rain.
25	39	30.0	NE	clear and cool—fresh gale.
26	34	30.1	SW	do. do. pleasant.
27	29	29.9	SW	fresh gale—clear.
28	33	29.9	SW	clear.

Singular instance of the religious zeal of the Hindoos, taken from the relation of an American gentleman who was an eye witness.

THE austerities, practised by the natives of India, at the present day, are sufficient to countenance the most seemingly improbable relations, that have been given of what they will endure for the sake of their religion. Previous to their principal festivals, parties of the religious go about beating up for voluntiers, who place the point of honour in the firmness with which they will bear pain. Some will carry an iron spear pierced through their tongue, their cheeks, or other parts of their body; while others will cheerfully undergo the painful operation of the swing. I was present on one of these latter occasions at Calcutta. A post is erected, on which is an iron spindle, that receives a long pole, one end of which comes near the ground; the other is elevated seventy degrees. From the upper end descends a chain with a large hook, which is forced through the fleshy part of the champion's back, who, amidst the acclamations of his countrymen, is in an instant suspended to its utmost elevation; while a party having hold of the lower end of the pole, to which ropes are purposely fastened, make it fly round with the greatest velocity. While this is doing, the happy voluntier takes his turban, and deliberately unfolding it, waves it triumphantly over the heads of his applauding countrymen; among whom he scatters flowers, with which he takes care previously to provide himself. After this, he makes up his turban, replaces it on his head, and is taken down. I saw four go through this exercise, one of whom remained suspended upwards of seven minutes: and I had the curiosity to examine two of them, both when they were hooked, and when they were taken down, and was satisfied that there was no deception.

To the printers.

SIRS,

Your correspondent E. C. (page 17) has cast a most unwarrantable reflexion on the Roman catholic religion, as favourable to idleness. This is ill founded. The people of France are, I believe, more industrious than the English. They will at any rate stand comparison. The amazing prosperity of England has arisen from the sage policy pursued by her parliament, not from her religion. Y. Z.

February 1st 1789.



Imports into, and exports from, Philadelphia (from Nov. 1, 1786, to Oct. 31, 1787 inclusive) of sugar, wine, spirits, tea and coffee.

	Imported.	Exported.
Cwts. refined sugar,	21	
Cwts. muscovado,	49,920	3,829
Galls. Mad. wine,	81,657	13,625
Galls. of other wine,	369,088	71,110
Doz. bottled wine,	7,371	236
Gallons rum,	796,707	47,028
Galls. brandy, &c.	96,067	6,584
Pounds green tea,	21,977	5,635
Ditto black tea,	430,160	41,515
Cwt. of coffee,	8,990	356

Value of non-enumerated articles imported during the above period,

£.745,263 10s. 7d.



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

Remarks on treading-out wheat. By John Beale Bordley, esquire.—Page 65.

WITHOUT presuming to offer instruction to those who are well experienced in treading-out wheat, I submit to the inexperienced the method I now use, as being the best within my knowledge. My floor is quite open to the air, unincumbered with any fence near it: a barn, sixty feet square, the diagonal of which is eighty-five feet, is in the middle; around which the horses travel on a track or bed of sheaves, twenty-five feet broad: so that the diameter of the whole is one hundred and R

thirty-five feet. Previous to laying down the wheat, the present state of the air and probability of its continuing during the day, dry, or fair, or threatening a thunder gust, with rain, is considered. If the conclusion be to tread, then so much of the morning is suffered to pass away, that the dew may be off the stacks and floor. Two or three stacks are laid down. A line of sheaves is first laid flat, with the heads and butts in a line across the track of the floor: sheaves are laid down on these, with their heads resting athwart on that row, as on a bolster, ranging in the direction of the path and circle, the butts on the ground: other sheaves are laid on these, all ranging with the circular track, until the whole track be filled, and appear to be with nothing but heads of wheat sloping a little upwards. The thickness of the floor depends partly on the length of the straw, and closeness and high range of the sheaves, in the bed or track. On laying down each range across the track, a person cuts the bands with a knife. We wish the wind should come from the westward when we are treading wheat: from the eastward, it is generally, though not always, damp. We therefore prefer to place our stacks of grain on the easterly side of the floor. Although the north, the west, and the south do receive some, by stacking on the east side, the west is open to a drying air from that quarter. The horses, at first, walk on the bed of wheat three or four rounds: by which they are gentled, and from this they go into a steady trot, which they keep to the amount of eight or nine miles; and are then led off to be foddered, watered, and rested, while the trodden light straw, the whole breadth of the bed, is taken off, as deep as to where the sheaves still lie somewhat solid, and but partially bruised: this is called the first straw.

As soon as this straw is off, one third of the width of the bed is turned over on the other two thirds, from the inner side of the bed, which narrows the track of the next journey. The horses are again put on, and trot out their second journey, till the straw be again

light and clear of wheat, when it is taken off, as deep as to what lies more close. The horses are then again foddered, and allowed to rest, while the outer-edge of the bed is turned upon the middle of the track. The bed is then trodden in the third journey, till it appear to be enough. This straw being taken off, the whole remaining bed is turned up from the floor, and shaken out with forks, and handles of rakes. The horses tread this well, which finishes their journies; unless it be thought proper to run them a while on the chaff and wheat, the better to separate them. The whole straw being carried off, with the heads of rakes turned down, the wheat and chaff are very readily shoved into heaps on the floor—five or six in my great floor: and this finishes the day's work; in which most of the time is taken up in breaking the stacks—laying down the wheat—carrying off—turning—and shaking out the straw, and lastly collecting the chaff and grain into secure heaps on the floor, by shoving them up, and sweeping the floor, for securing the scattered grain into separate small parcels, or rather carrying them into a house, to be winnowed and cleaned the next day. The first journey is by far the longest and severest: the horses do not travel twenty-five miles; and that soberly, with frequent intervals for refreshment. The heaps, shoved and laid up, ought to be, with more care than slovenly people allow them, pointed like a sugar loaf—the sides even—avoiding hollows, and taking away all loose straw. Above all, do not suffer any sweepings to be added to the heaps. These heaps are secure against the heaviest rains. The day after rain, the edges next the floor ought to be thrown up on the heap with shovels.

It is best to clean and store the grain, without thus exposing it—yet, through necessity, I have had a great sugar loaf heap of trodden wheat in the chaff, which yielded near nine hundred bushels of clean wheat, exposed in the open air above two weeks, without damage, notwithstanding some heavy rains fell on it. Now that I have a barn at the

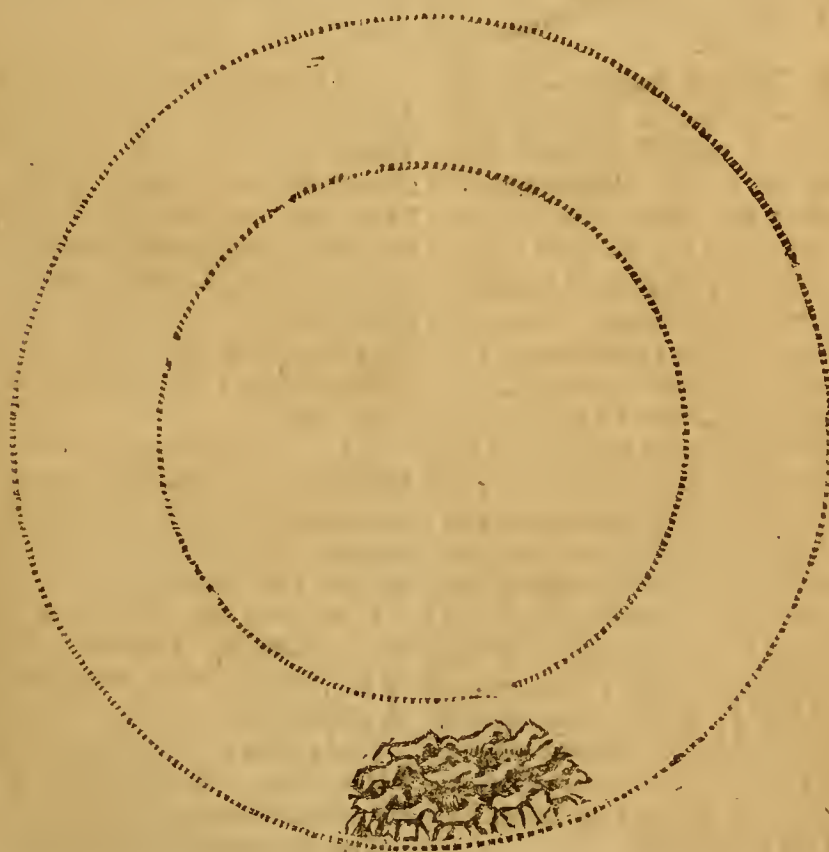
floor, we shove wheat and chaff together into it, and clean it at leisure. As long as the weather is dry and cool, it is best to continue treading till the whole be trodden out.

I know but three or four farms with houses in the centre of their treading-floors. Mr. Singleton's invention is quite new, and convenient: three rows of stout locust posts, deep in the ground, form three long divisions, each ten feet deep: the middle part receives the straw from the treading: the other two are for his cattle, which feed at pleasure on the straw, through rails let into the posts, and which are moveable. The pitch is eight feet; and the whole building, covered with thatch, is thirty feet wide, one hundred and twenty long, besides circular ends, agreeable to the shape of the floor, for holding chaff, &c. which altogether give about one hundred and forty feet. The track of the treading round the house being about sixteen feet broad, makes the circumference of the floor about four hundred and forty feet; of which two hun-

dred and forty are nearly in a straight course, and two hundred are circular, from a diameter of sixty feet. There is a good mode practised by some farmers, in having a barn close to the east, the south, or the north side of their treading-floor. Two instances I know, of treading under shelter: but the owners wish their wheat, in treading, to be exposed to the sun, which is important for readily getting out the grain.

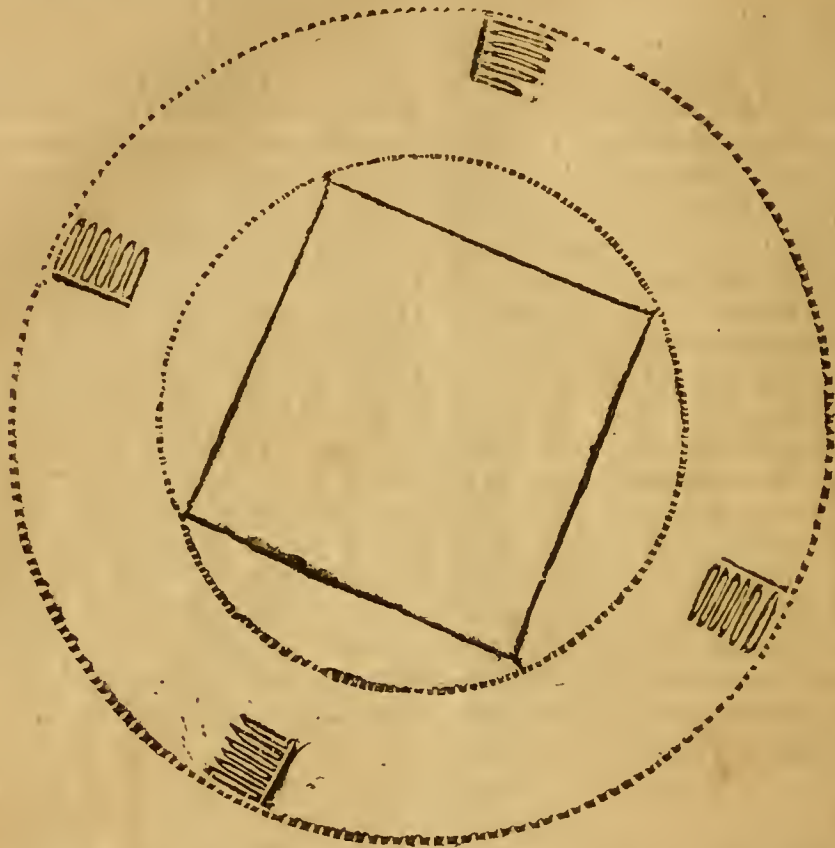
While I was writing the above, a neighbour viewing the treading of wheat on my large floor abovementioned, remarked that the method is admirably easy to the horses, and most of the time is spent in taking off and carrying away the straw. He thought it would be a saving, if the outer half of the bed should be trodden till enough; and then to shift the horses on the inner half of the bed, and whilst this is treading, the straw to be carried off from the outer half, first trodden. My two last floors of wheat were conducted in that method: and it proved a good one.

No. I.



No. I. The old way of driving horses promiscuously, with double fence, and people standing round the fence, driving them (in the present instance to the outer part of the bed.)

No. II.



No. II. The new method—barn in the middle—no fence at all: the horses led soberly in ranks, cool and airy. The dots here, are imaginary lines, only to shew the track and bed. The horses are trotting on the outer half of the bed: but Mr. Singleton's invention promises more conveniences: especially in stacking the straw, and feeding it away, without carrying it any distance.

No. III. Mr. Singleton's treading-floor and house or sheds in the middle of it. He has merit in this. It is bold beyond any thing in the way of treading wheat; and it is probable its principles will be preferred to all others hitherto known. The middle division and roof will hold the straw of 12 or 1500 bushels of wheat, readily thrown in from the floor, without carrying. It is fed away, without being carried. Litter is thrown on the yard from stacks. If the house were 34 or 36 feet wide, it would be better for depth of the cattle stalls,

The treading-floor, well littered with straw, becomes a part of the cattle yard. The ends of the house for chaff, are closed: the sides are open. If the track, on the sides, swelled out from the house, it would form an ellipsis which would ease the horses in turning, and be clear of the house.

No. IV. A barn and treading-floor, on the principles of the Singleton barn and floor.

1. 1. Are closed and floored; for threshing on, occasionally, or for storing wheat chaff, &c. They will each contain about the same quantity as a house 20 feet square.

2. 2. Stalls for cattle, 11 or 12 feet deep. These are 10 feet wide; but are to be divided, when there will be 32, of 5 feet width.

3. Space 11 or 12 feet wide, for holding straw. Hay may be in the loft, and over the rooms 1. 1.

The farmer may cart in his wheat,

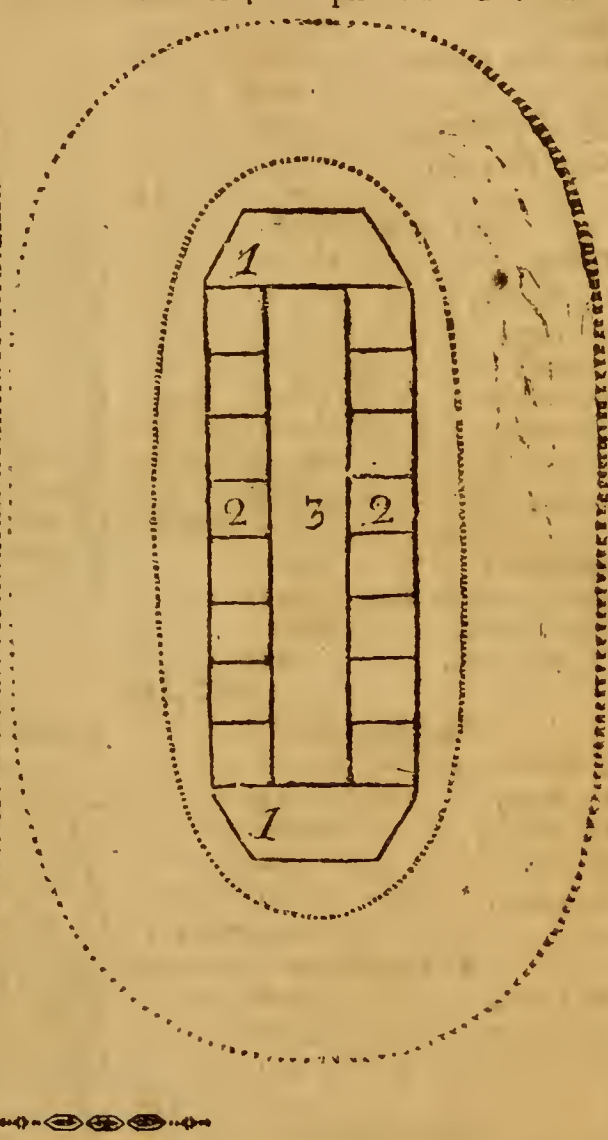
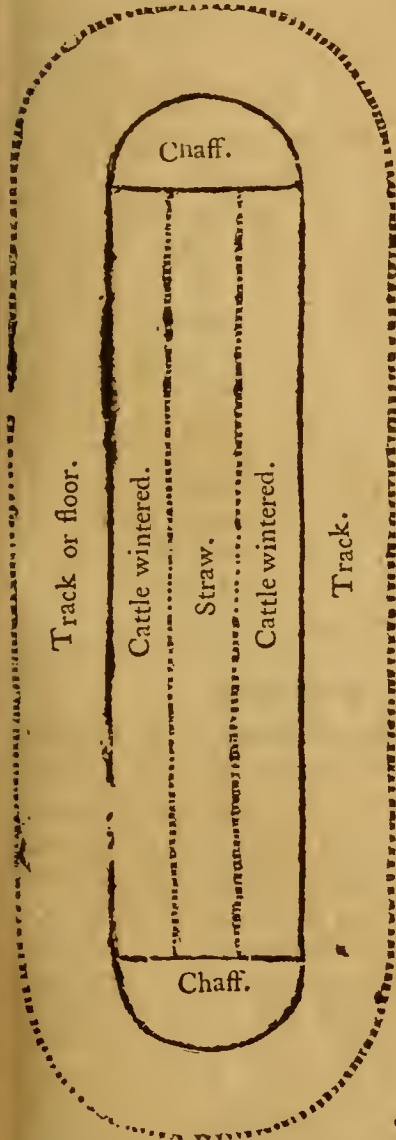
as it is reaped, and throw the sheaves into every other stall. Eight stalls will hold the quantity of a rick 80 feet by 12 feet: as it is trodden out, the straw is carried through the empty stalls, and readily thrown into the space 3; equal to a rick of straw 80 feet by 12 feet.

The cost of such a barn, would be about that of two fifty feet tobacco houses.

The dotted lines, are only to shew the track or bed of wheat in treading it out. There needs no fence, where the horses move in ranks, round the floor.

No. III.

Scale of 40 feet per inch. No. IV.



State of the exports of flour from the port of Philadelphia, in the year 1788.

To British ports.

Liverpool, bbls.	828	
Guernsey,	308	
Gibraltar,	5029	
Jamaica,	24,516	6,165
	<hr/>	
	31,860	

Brought forward,	31,860	6,165
Antigua,	7,344	
Barbadoes,	5,740	
Dominica,	4,746	
St. Christopher's,	4,106	
Grenada,	2,491	
St. Vincent,	2,217	
St. John,	1,024	
Montferrat,	464	
	<hr/>	
	53,775	

Brought forward,	53,775	6,165
Tortola,	399	
Bermuda,	726	
New Providence,	5,845	
Halifax,	3,151	
Port Rowley,	156	

	<hr/>	
	62,925	
Cleared for West Indies,	9,483	
<i>To French ports.</i>		

Bourdeaux,	2,075	
Havre de Grace,	300	
	<hr/>	
	2,375	

Isle of France,	400	
Cape Francois,	235	
	<hr/>	
	635	

To Spanish ports.

Cadiz,	37,699	
St. Andero,	12,512	
Coruana,	2,858	
Malaga,	1,800	
Barcelona,	1,719	
Alicant,	1,435	
Ferrol,	1,298	
Guion,	250	
	<hr/>	
	59,571	

Trinidad,	1,921	
Carthagena, S. Am.	300	
New Orleans,	4,580	
St. Augustine,	143	
	<hr/>	
	6,944	

To Dutch ports.

St. Eustatius,	14,824	
Curracoa,	1,771	
St. Martin,	1,024	
Surinam,	530	
Demarara,	190	
	<hr/>	
	18,339	

To Danish ports.

St. Croix,	9,948	
St. Thomas,	2,586	
St. Bartholomew,	420	
	<hr/>	
	12,954	

To Portuguese ports.

Teneriffe,	4,807	
Madeira,	2,823	
	<hr/>	
	7,630	

To Hamburg,	120	
To Stockholm,	12	

To ports in the united states.

Portsmouth, N. H.	305	
Boston,	15,299	
Newbury-port,	1,665	
	<hr/>	
	18,309	187,153

Salem, (N. E.)	1,040	
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Brought forward,	18,309	187,153
Rhode Island,	980	
New London,	64	
New York,	4,027	
New Jersey,	99	
Georgia,	669	
S. Carolina,	8,854	
N. Carolina,	305	
Virginia,	145	
	<hr/>	
	33,452	

Total barrels 220,605

The shipments in each month were as follow, viz.

In January,	none.
February,	4,373
March,	12,433
April,	23,215
May,	27,489
June,	20,838
July,	24,268
August,	15,514
September,	16,560
October,	24,723
November,	25,609
December,	25,583

220,605 barrels.



Remarks on the commerce of America with China.

THE inhabitants of America must have tea; the consumption of which will necessarily increase with the increasing population of our country. While, therefore, the nations of Europe are, for the most part, obliged to purchase this commodity with their ready money, it must be pleasing to an American, to know, that his country can have it upon more easy terms; and that the otherwise useless produce of its mountains and forests will, in a considerable degree, supply him with this elegant luxury. The advantages peculiar to America in this instance are striking; and the manner, in which her commerce has commenced, and is now going on with China, has not a little alarmed the Europeans. They have seen, one year, a single ship, one fifth part of whose funds did not consist of ready money; procure a cargo of the

same articles, and on equally good terms, as those of their own ships, purchased principally with specie. They have seen this ship again and others in addition. They have seen these ships depending, and that too with sufficient reason, on the productions of their own country, to supply them, with the merchandize of China; and though a small proportion of their funds consisted of specie, they have seen them all return with full and valuable cargoes. Such are the advantages which America derives from her ginseng.

With respect to the demand in China for the ginseng of America, the world has been much mistaken. Until the American flag appeared in that quarter, it was generally supposed that forty or fifty peculs, were equal to the annual consumption. Experience has proved the contrary. Upwards of four hundred and forty peculs were carried thither by the first American ship in 1784, which did not equal the quantity brought from Europe the same season, the greater part of which must have been previously sent thither by citizens of the united states. In 1786, more than one thousand eight hundred peculs were sold there, one half of which was carried in American vessels. Notwithstanding this increased quantity, the sales were not materially affected: and it is probable there will always be a sufficient demand for this article, to make it equally valuable.

On a consideration of the subject of ginseng, the enquiry seems naturally to arise—Whether it cannot be rendered more beneficial to the country, which produces it, than it is at present? How far the culture of this commodity is practicable—in what manner it may best be promoted—and whether it would be for the interest of America, to prevent the exportation of it in any but American bottoms, directly to China? may be objects not unworthy of national attention.

Besides the advantages which America may derive from her ginseng, in the commerce directly with China, others would also accrue by making the

voyage circuitous, which could be performed without loss of time. Iron and naval stores, the produce of our country, have found a ready sale at Batavia, besides other articles, which though not immediately produced here, have been received from other countries in exchange for them. A profit has sometimes been made on merchandize carried from Batavia to Canton. No doubt, similar advantages might result to the Americans in circuitous voyages to China, by the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and through the straits of Malacca.

On the whole, it must be a most satisfactory consideration to every American, when he finds, that his country can carry on its commerce with China under advantages, if not in many respects superior, yet in all cases equal, to those possessed by any other nation. The experience of nearly a century has convinced the Europeans of the utility of managing their commerce to the east by national companies and with large ships. How far it may be proper for America to imitate their example, and regulate the exportation of ginseng, must ultimately be determined by her own experience.



Statement of the shipping employed in the trade to Canton in China, for the six years last past, by a gentleman well informed on that subject.

In the beginning of 1784 there sailed from Canton and Macao, for Europe, 45 ships, of which 16 were English.

In 1785 the shipping at Canton was as follows,

English,	9	French,	4	Dutch,	5
Danes,	3	Portug.	4	American,	1
Besides country ships,	English 8,				
Danish	1.				

In 1786.

English,	18	French,	1	Danish,	3
Dutch,	4	Spanish,	4	Swedish,	4

American 1, under imperial colours, besides 10 English country ships.

In 1787.

English,	29	Danish,	2	Spanish,	2
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French, 1 Dutch, 5 Swedish, 1 Portuguese from Macao, 5, American 5, besides 23 English country ships.

This was the greatest number that ever had been known in any single year: and its effects on the commerce were such as might naturally be expected. Excepting bohea, every kind of tea was at least 25 per cent higher than in 1784: and other exports were proportionably dear.

The following is a list of ships and the ginseng brought in them, in 1788.

	Ginseng.		
	<i>Ships</i>	* <i>Peculs,</i>	<i>Catties</i>
English,	28	500	38
Dutch,	5	25	5
Swedes,	2	19	51
Danes,	2	9	48
French,	3	115	99
Prussian,	1	3	69
Tuscan,	1		
American,	1	52	18
		726	28

Since 1784, the trade has been constantly tending to the disadvantage of the Europeans. The imports, collectively taken, hardly defray the first cost: and the exports have increased in a ratio beyond all possible conjecture. By an average, at the most moderate computation, the price of every sort of tea (bohea only excepted) was advanced more than 40 per cent: and such was the demand for this article, that the Chinese hardly knew how much to ask for it.

In 1789 the list of shipping was as follows

English, 21 Danes, 2 Dutch, 4
Swedes, 2, French, 1 Spanish, 2
American, 4 Portuguese of Macao, 7
Country ships, bound to India, 24
English in the neighbourhood of Macao, 5

NOTE.

* According to Postlethwayt, the Chinese pecul is equal to 125lb. Dutch, or 136lb. 14oz. English. Others say the pecul is equal to 133 $\frac{1}{3}$ lb. avoirdupois. 100 catties make a pecul. The catty is equal to 1lb. 5 $\frac{1}{3}$ oz.

American brig Eleonora, 1

Teas were much more plenty than in the last season, and the finer sorts at a reduced price. There is however a fallacy in this reduction of price; for the Chinese finding the demand for fine teas annually increasing, have adulterated them in such a manner, as to render them inferior generally to what, in 1783 and 1784, were termed the best second quality.

The following may be nearly a just statement of the ginseng brought the last season to the Chinese market.

	<i>Peculs.</i>
By the 4 American ships,	1290
By the English comp. ship Talbot,	200
By the other English and foreign ships,	510
Total	2000



Singular custom of the Chinese, (worthy the imitation of all nations,) related by a gentleman who has been among them.

THEIR new year commences with the new moon, which happens nearest to the time, when the sun is in the 15th degree of Aquarius, and is a very important period; not only on account of the universal festivity, which lasts four or five days, during which no business is transacted; but as it is the day previous to which all *payments* must be completed. During the interval between the solstice and the new year, the creditor becomes very importunate: and if he be not satisfied, on the last night of the old year, he repairs to the debtor's house, takes his seat, and observes the most profound silence. As soon as midnight is passed, he rises, congratulates the debtor on the new year, and retires. The debtor has then *lost his face*, and no person will ever trust him afterward.

FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

MESS. PRINTERS,

The following tale of woe is taken from real life; the facts, as stated, were taken from the lips of the sufferer, by the correspondent, who now sends them to you—While they excite compassion, I hope, they may not be useless—If they lead any of your readers to the cultivation of patience and resignation, they will repay the trouble of communication. A. B.

HOW true is the observation, “that one half of the world knows not how the other half lives!” There is not a son of Adam, but imagines, that heaven has afflicted him with much needless sorrow; there is no one but complains of his lot, as much harder than that of others: we are deceived by appearances: we are the dupes of our senses: we look around, and in the countenances of others, we can discover nothing but cheerfulness. Every one, in public, wears the face of satisfaction, or serenity. No one, at all times, would wish to disclose the true feelings of his heart. When, therefore, we see others wear the appearance of gaiety, we are not of course to believe that all is fair within: perhaps some hidden thorn, which pierces the bosom, and inflicts the keenest anguish—some past, or some expected calamity—harrows up the soul: the sunshine of peace beams not on the mind: but dark glooms, which scarce any power, save that of omnipotence, could dissipate, hang over the imagination, and envelope it in the shades of despondency.

When assailed by great and accumulated evils, the feeble mind sinks under the burden, and resigns itself to despair; while the firm bosom bears up against the torrent with resolution; though at first inclined to despond, yet finding that affliction and ruin are not synonymous, it grasps some object of hope, and, thus supported for a while, it becomes familiarized to misfortune, and at length endures calamity with manly fortitude.

The human mind is prone to dive into the mysteries of futurity; strong is

the solicitude of human nature to ascertain approaching destiny: yet happy is it for man—that

“Heaven, from all eyes, should hide the book of fate—

“All but the page prescrib’d—the present state.”

Could we anticipate, with clearness and certainty, any future pleasure, imagination would devour it before its arrival, and leave nothing for actual enjoyment. Could we foresee every evil that awaits our progress through life, each one, like the naked sword which Dionysius the tyrant suspended by a single thread over the head of his guest, would constantly excite dread, and rob us of happiness.

These reflexions were forced upon me, by an occurrence, of which I was, lately, a witness—I had awakened early one morning, and, after having rambled through a pleasant garden, had taken my stand at the door of a house, situate on a great road—seldom has my bosom been more attuned to tender and sympathetic impressions, than at this time. I had just been taking a retrospect of past life, and been looking forward to future probabilities, when suddenly, on turning my eyes down the road, I discovered within a few paces, a man, bearing a wallet on his shoulder, and travelling on foot. He was coarsely but decently clad; his figure was good; his countenance wore the impression of a mild, but settled melancholy; his eyes were considerably sunk; his face was rather emaciated; the bloom of youth had forsaken his cheek, and the pallor of its hue was increased, by its contrast with a dark beard, whose growth no razor had interrupted for several days. His appearance interested my heart; “would to heaven,” thought I, “that, by some means, I could know your circumstances, good man; that you are poor, is obvious: but you are no common beggar.” I had time to make but few such reflexions; the man approached me fast. My eyes were fixed on him—When he came opposite to the door, in which I stood, I was a little surprised to find him stop—I thought it was to ask

an alms : but he disappointed me. Pulling off his hat, which till then concealed the scar of a deep wound, he asked for my father—I looked at him in a way which he might have construed into an intimation, that I believed he had mistaken the house—but he repeated his enquiry, adding the name of mr. —, and wished to know whether he had been able to finish some business of his, relative to arrears of pay, due to him from the public—“ You are a soldier, then, I find, my friend—and have been in the American service.”—“ Yes,” replied the war-worn veteran—“ an’ please your honour—I have served some hard campaigns in the cause of my country—many a cold and sleepless night have I passed—many a hard day’s journey have I travelled almost bare-foot—on frosty ground and over stones that were so sharp as often to cut my feet most cruelly—I listed early in the war, at Reading—my father was a reputable farmer, and what folks call a *good liver*. He could have given me something clever, had I staid at home : but I was told what desperate bad fellows the English were—how they wanted to take away our rights and liberties, and all them things—how they intended, if they could, to cut our throats—and make us pay taxes, as they pleased—and I was told as how it was honourable and proper for every man to fight for his country, like a true blue—besides they promised us a great deal of money and back lands, after the war was over—and I do hope yet, that congress will make good their promises. God bless them, I know they are willing to relieve us—if the people, who enjoy what we have been fighting for, were but as willing—(but I fear I am tiring your honour with my tale—You must excuse the talkativeness of an old soldier)”—“ Go on, my friend,” said I : “ your history I wish to hear.” “ Well then, as I was telling your honour—I was tempted to leave my father, and turn soldier—but many a time I have repented this streak since—When we have been sorely pinched for a little bread and meat—when we have been exposed, of a cold rainy night,

without half clothes enough to keep us warm—oh how I wished, that my poor wife and I could have been hous’d in some comfortable hut—(for you must know, sir—that I had, a few months before I listed, married as good a country lass, as ever turned a wheel)—her I left in Philadelphia as we passed through—as I found it would be too hard a life for her to be constantly in the camp—besides she was in a situation, that would not admit of her travelling far—so I left her in charge of a friend of my father; and marched on with the regiment. A few weeks after we had left the city, I heard she had brought me a fine boy, and was getting well—Indeed, poor thing ! if she had not got about soon, and taken in needle work and washing, I do not know what she would have done : for I left her only my bounty and blessing for her support : but as good luck would have it, she kept hearty, and was able, with what little I now and then sent her, to make out to provide for herself and little one, while I, poor dog, was often exposed to dreadful hardships.

“ I was at the battle of the Three Rivers—it was there I got the wound in my head : and I was taken prisoner into the bargain. Our men had been wading all day in a swamp up to our knees—and were pursuing our route, as we believed, in great safety—when suddenly we were attacked by the regulars and Indians. They rushed on furiously—drove their bayonets and tomahawks into us—and here (opening his collar, and uncovering his left shoulder)—they cut me sorely ; and would have killed me quite, I do believe, had not some of the English stepped up and saved me. They took many of our officers, among whom was general Thomson ; and carried us all prisoners to New-York. There I was confined in the horrible prison-ship, which destroyed so many of our brave fellows—thrust down into a vile hole, where the air was corrupted—where every kind of filth was permitted—our provisions scarce and bad—our drink the worst of water—and our bed the bare planks—ah how often did I

think of the happiness of those who had wisely staid at home—and enjoyed their crust of bread, and their mug of cider, with their families and friends !

“ But an exchange of prisoners at last took place ; and having received some charitable assistance, from our good commissary of prisoners, 'Squire B-d-n-t—I made shift to reach Philadelphia, and was happy to embrace my dear wife, and little boy—Indeed, sir, it would have made your heart glow with pleasure, to have witnessed this meeting—I never before knew how childish we are apt to be on such occasions.

“ When I entered the room where she was sitting, I found her employed in sewing. Her little son sat in a small chair, by her side. She was singing “ the banks of the Dee ” for his amusement : her hearth was neatly swept, and her fire burn'd briskly : it was about 7 o'clock in the evening when I came in. At first, she did not know me : my face had been much altered by sickness, and my clothes were very ragged. I called her by name. As soon as she heard my voice—she flew to my arms—and it was a great while before she could speak for sobbing. At length, however, her feelings grew temperate ; and we talked over, in a few words, all that had happened since we parted. My little son it required longer time to become acquainted with. He had begun to prattle ; and used to make me laugh often with his little attempts to talk. With this small family I lived very happily a short time : but it seemed heaven had further distress in store for us—my constitution being weakened and broken by my sickness and confinement in the prison-ship—a little work and cold restored my complaints. I was confined to my room ; and not being able to earn any money—my wife too being obliged to attend me—could earn but little—this was all spent for food and medicine—so our rent run behind : and our landlord, afraid to trust us, seized all our goods and furniture ; and sold them for what we owed him. Deprived thus of every thing, we knew not what to do. After proposing several

plans, and rejecting them, we at last resolved on going to the back country : we accordingly collected what little we had remaining, consisting of a few clothes—a little bedding—and a small sum of money that we received from some charitable folks. And so, sir, we set out very early in the spring, to settle in a remote, unknown country. It was cold—very cold and raw, when we started—but we were forced to leave town—Our poor little boy we were obliged to carry great part of the way : but often fatigued with the load, we were compelled to set him down, and make him walk—in short, sir, we reached our journey's end, after about two weeks' travelling. We got into a little hut, which we were to have rent free, for clearing such a proportion of ground. I soon set about my work—and have been since still rendering my situation more comfortable as I could—At present we are much better than we were at first. We have got in our crop of Indian corn, which, when parched, serves us for bread—I catch fish sometimes in summer, from a stream near us—and sometimes kill a buck or bear, which furnishes us with fresh meat occasionally. To be sure, by the blessing of God, we are not stinted in fire-wood, as we once were, while in the city ; but we have neither pot nor kettle to boil our meat in—nor a spoon to sup any thing with—yet although we are so poor, we sit around our fire in the winter, on stools we have made—and endeavour to make ourselves as happy as we can. To pass away time, I tell my wife over and over again all the dreadful sights I have seen, while in the army—of the battles in which I fought—and the wonderful dangers I escaped—my boy climbs on my knee—gazes in my face—and says, “ I will be a soldier too—and do as daddy has done.”

“ As I had nothing just now to do, at home, I thought I would come down, and try if I could not get a little pay of congress, which is due me. My wife and child I left with a neighbour, about ten miles from home, where I am sure they will have enough to eat and drink,

and good clean straw to lie on, till I return."

His story here ended—I left him a moment to enquire into his business—my father had not been able to procure him any compensation for his military services. I directed the servants to give him some refreshment, for the present—and to supply him with food enough to last him a day or two—my charity and blessing were added. On this we parted—he to pursue his journey—and I—the train of reflexions his misfortunes had suggested to my mind.

And is there a heart over which "sweet sensibility" presides, that could withhold commiseration, from such a son of misery as this—that could forbear feeling exquisitely, for a destitute family, whom the chastening hand of fate had thrust into the deepest pit of poverty and woe?

Let the silken sons of pride, while relaxing in ease, or rioting in luxuries, turn their eyes to such a spectacle, and learn to pity and relieve the wants of suffering indigence. Let such as, surrounded by every convenience that human life admits, are arraigning heaven for withholding some imaginary gratification, cast but a glance on worthy fellow creatures—brethren of the same common family with themselves—afflicted with real calamities till ready to sink into despair—and then consider how irrational it is in them to murmur at their lot. Merciful God! how mysterious often are thy ways! the impious worldling is not unfrequently glutted with wealth—till his satiated appetite loaths the "manna of heaven"—while the worthiest of our species are not so well accommodated as the "foxes"—or the birds "of the air," who have "holes" for security—and "nests" for repose—while the rational creatures are abandoned—and in want; and sometimes have scarce "where to lay their heads."

Pity and solace them—oh thou compassionate friend of mankind—Scatter through their minds, the rays of peace and joy: and in proportion as thou withholdest the smiles of fortune, give

them the sweeter smiles of thy forgiveness and thy favour. Let them recollect, that the comforts of life lie within a very narrow compass—but that the demands of vanity and ambition are without bounds.

"Man wants but little here below—
"Nor wants that little long."

To propound this aphorism is easy—but to realize it, extremely difficult. Happy, then, singularly happy are they, who, pressing it closely to their hearts, can render it influential on life—who can enjoy with gratitude the common favours of heaven, and not repine and grow unhappy, because the demands of capricious fancy or unbridled passion are denied.



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

*Law case—Common Pleas, Philadelphia,
Dec. T. 1788.—Page 81.*

Camp, vs. Lockwood.

AFTER considering the case and arguments, the president delivered the opinion of the court in the following words:

The question, in this case, is of importance, both on account of the principles to be established by the decision, and the many cases which may possibly be affected by it. It has been learnedly and ingeniously argued on both sides; but, though large ground has been taken, I think the whole may be reduced to a very moderate compass.

This is not a suit, brought by the state of Connecticut, or any person claiming property under its local laws, wherein a question can arise, whether effects, forfeited by the laws of that state, can be recovered here, by the administrators of the person, whose estate is confiscated. It is simply, whether the debt has been forfeited there, and actually vested in that state; and whether any thing has occurred which divests it; and whether, under the peculiar circumstances of our relative situation, with regard to each other, the courts of this state can take notice of

such confiscation and vesting, so as to preclude the plaintiff from recovering here, a debt due to him there, before that confiscation.

In order to pave the way for a decision of these questions, and to distinguish between the situation of this country, and those treated of by the learned writers on the laws of nature and nations, and the rights of distinct independent sovereignties, quoted by the counsel, it will be necessary to point out that peculiar, relative situation, which these states stand in, with regard to each other.

When a resistance was made to the execution of the laws of Great Britain, and an actual war took place between us and her, we were not thirteen independent states, but colonies and provinces, belonging to, and a part of, a great empire, comprehending both countries. The resistance was made in consequence of common grievances, suffered by all the provinces, from the head of that empire; and it was a struggle to untie the knot that bound us together, and to emancipate us from the dominion of our then mother country. In the prosecution of this plan, all were equally principals; and carried on the war as a common cause, and by common consent, without being tied together by any regularly-organized system of government. The first body that exercised any thing like a sovereign authority, was the congress of the then united colonies, who superintended the whole; and, by the like common consent, were invested with such general powers as were necessary for the prosecution of the war. We afterwards divided ourselves into several distinct governments, by the name of states; still leaving the general power in congress, which, being in a great measure undefined, was exercised, with regard to internal matters, by recommendations to the several governments, instead of laws; which, however, had generally the force of laws.

The articles of confederation were not acceded to by all the states, for some years. By these articles, each

state was to retain its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every right not expressly delegated to congress: but the free inhabitants of each state, were to be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of free citizens, in the several states. Before the articles of confederation were agreed to, congress had recommended to the several states, to confiscate, as soon as might be, and to make sale of all the real and personal estates therein, of their inhabitants, and other persons, who had forfeited the same, and the right to the protection of their respective states.

In consequence of this recommendation, the state of Connecticut, in the month of May, 1778, passed an act to confiscate the estates of persons inimical to the independence and liberties of the united states, within that state. By this law, all estates, real and personal, within the state, which belonged to any person, or persons, who had gone over and joined with the enemies of the united states, or had aided or assisted them, or should thereafter do so, were declared to be confiscated. The mode of proceeding against those who had been inhabitants, was directed to be by application to the county court, who were empowered to give judgment and sentence, that all the estate of such persons should be forfeited for the use of the state. The court was then directed to grant administration of the estates, as in case of intestates' estates—The administrators were to sell such estates, institute suits, recover and pay debts, and deliver over the surplus, if any, into the treasury of the state. The last clause in the act directs the mode of proceeding as to the estates of persons who never had an abode within the state.

In pursuance of this act, Abiathan Camp, who is stated to have been lately a resident of the town of Newhaven, in the month of September, 1779, was charged on the information of the select men, before the county court, with having joined the enemies of the united states, and put himself under the protection of the king of Great Britain.

He was thereupon adjudged guilty, and sentence passed, that all his estate, real and personal, should be forfeited to the use of the state. Certain parts of Camp's estate were, in consequence of this forfeiture, seized and sold: but no proceeding was had to recover against James Lockwood, the present defendant, the debt said to be due from him to the plaintiff, although the defendant was at that time, and for sometime afterwards, an inhabitant of Connecticut, and amenable for the same.

And here the question arises, whether the plaintiff himself can now recover it?

It is contended, on the part of the plaintiff, that the proceeding against him, was as an enemy, and not as a traitor; and that, therefore, the war being over, his right revives. The sentence against him was certainly not expressly for treason: and there is no judgment against him, that, in terms, subjects his person to punishment as a traitor. The act of assembly directs the proceeding to be had only against the estates of such persons as had joined the enemy: but it distinguishes between such as had been inhabitants of that state, and those who never had an abode within it, but had estates there. The present plaintiff was convicted as an offender of the former description, having been late a resident in the town of New-haven; and is plainly pointed out as a subject. Indeed, the fact is conceded, that he really was a citizen of the state, who joined the enemy long after the declaration of independence and the organization of our state governments. He cannot, therefore, be considered in the light of such a public enemy, whose rights are said by the writers on the law of nations, to revive after the termination of a war. The municipal law of the country operated upon him as a subject, and he could not be an object of the law of nations.

The objection to the courts of this state, as a sovereign independent state, interposing to prevent the recovery of a debt, on account of the confiscation of it in another independent state, is in

a great measure obviated by the statement I have before made, of the peculiar relation that these states stand in to one another. Though free and independent states, they appear not to be such distinct sovereignties as have no relation to each other but by general treaties and alliances; but are bound together by common interests, and are jointly represented and directed, as to national purposes, by one body as the head of the whole. The offence, which incurred the forfeiture, was not an offence against the state of Connecticut alone, but against all the states in the union: and the act, which directed the forfeiture, was made in consequence of the recommendation of congress, composed of the representatives of all the states; and was a case within the general powers vested in them, as conductors of a war, in which we were all equally principals. Our courts must, therefore, necessarily take notice of the confiscations made in a sister state on these grounds.

It remains, then, only to consider, whether this debt were vested in the state of Connecticut, and if it were, whether it be re-vested in the plaintiff by the treaty of peace?

All his estate, both real and personal, in that state, was confiscated. All things come within the description of confiscable personal estate, which a man has in his own right, whether they be in action or possession: this debt was due from a person then residing within the state of Connecticut, and was, consequently, confiscated as other debts due there: and the right of action, as well as the debt, was vested in the state.

The 4th article of the treaty of peace, which directs that creditors, on either side, shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of all *bona fide* debts, theretofore contracted, is most certainly confined to real British subjects, on the one side, and the citizens of America, on the other; and has been always so construed.

As to the restitution of estates, rights, and properties already confiscated, it is not required by the treaty to be done,

even as to real British subjects : it is agreed, indeed, by the fifth article, that congress shall recommend it to the several legislatures to provide for such a restitution : and as to those of another description, they have liberty given them by the treaty, to reside twelve months in the united states, to solicit a restitution and composition with the purchasers of their estates : and congress is to recommend to the states, that they be restored on refunding the money paid for them. But no acts for those purposes have been passed by the legislatures in consequence of any such recommendations. Indeed, the ample provision made for these people in England, seems to have been considered, by the government there, as an act of justice for not having been able to obtain a restitution for them by the treaty.

For these reasons, we are of opinion, that Abiathan Camp is not such a person as has a right to sue for and recover this debt, already vested by confiscation in the state of Connecticut.



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

An oration intended to have been spoken at a late commencement, on the unlawfulness and impolicy of public punishments, and the proper means of reforming criminals. By a citizen of Maryland.—P. 71.

BUT, admitting the efficacy of capital punishments for maintaining the order of government—it may be asked, how did civil rulers get possession of the power over our lives? “We gave them that power, upon entering into the political contract.” Indeed! This was giving them a power, which we ourselves never possessed : and the same arguments, which would prove that we could transfer it to others, would justify suicide. “But the execution of criminals is useful, as a terror to others, to prevent the multiplication of crimes, and guard the peace of society.” Is it, then, lawful to do evil, that good may come? “Woe unto him,” says the prophet, “that buildeth his house by unrighteousness.” Shall we,

then, build the house of our peace and security in the blood of our fellow-men?

But it will be asked, “has society, then, no defence? Is it never to resist evil, but to lie exposed to the ravages of every lawless member?” I answer, society, like an individual in the state of nature, has the right of self-defence, and nothing more. And could it be proved that society has no other possible means of protecting its members, than the death of criminals, I should give up the point. Should an individual in the state of nature attack another with an evident intent to murder; that other might lawfully kill him, if that were the only mean of self-defence; but were he able to disarm and bind him, where is the man who would not account the taking away of his life to be murder? Writers on jurisprudence have taken great pains to shew government’s natural right to revenge. But revenge is contrary to the law of reason, as well as of christianity; and can no more belong to societies than to individuals. A society cannot assume the right of avenging itself of its members, without setting itself above those universal laws which are obligatory upon all moral agents. For a magistrate to punish his subjects on pretence of just retaliation, is absurd and impious. It is snatching the thunderbolt of vengeance from the hand of the king of heaven, who hath declared, that it shall be wielded by himself alone.

It is said, “when a man, by committing murder, robs society of a member, it has a right to take away his life as a compensation.” This puts one in mind of the woodman, who, having dropt his axe-head into the water, got into a pet, and threw the handle after it. The argument proves just the contrary; that his life ought to be spared, and so employed as to make reparation to society. The proverb says “a living dog is better than a dead lion:” but our plan requires this old saying to be inverted.

“But have not the friends of the deceased a right to require government to take away the life of the murderer?” Inquire at the oracle of conscience. A murder is committed in the state of na-

ture. Some months after, the brother of the deceased meets with the murderer. Is he at liberty to seize him in cold blood, and plunge a dagger into his heart? Surely conscience cries out against such an act, as unavailing to the dead, and detestable in the perpetrator. Could a man with a safe conscience pray to heaven for punishment on the murderer of his friend? No: that prayer would, by the law of justice, as well as of christianity, seal his own condemnation. How, then, can it be lawful in a human judge to listen to a prayer which heaven would reject, and answer with the thunder of its vengeance?

Men's having voluntarily adopted a system of laws which punish certain crimes with death, has been often urged, as a sufficient plea for the execution of them. But this voluntary adoption is a mere political fiction, which never, perhaps, has in any instance been realized. But supposing it had, in the present case, still the act might have been erroneous. Man is born with certain rights and privileges, which he cannot lawfully transfer: they are the gift of his Creator, and can be resumed by him alone.

"Has government, then," it will be asked, "no power over any of the rights of its subjects?" Yes, over such as itself confers. And here let us attend to the distinction between natural and adventitious rights. The former—such as the right to life and liberty of conscience—belong to us as men. They are the gift of heaven, and therefore unalienable. The latter—such as a right to property and power—belong to us as subjects of government. To government we owe them: and by government we may be deprived of them, when we infringe its laws. This well-founded distinction shews the magistrate's title to assume power over some of our inferior rights, and as evidently condemns his usurping authority over our lives.

These arguments, to me, clearly evince, that the infliction of death, by human judicatories, is contrary to the law of improved nature, the law of christianity, and the dictates of sound policy; that

whatever countenance it may derive from the customs of uninformed savages—from the permission and appointment of God in the singular case of the Jews—or from the general practice of christian nations—such authority cannot stand the test of rational investigation. And accordingly we find that the clouds of prejudice, which have hitherto concealed from the human view the truth of this divine and benevolent doctrine, are gradually dispelled by the potent rays of religion and science: and nations begin to blush at the past scenes of their cruelty. In Russia, Germany, Sweden, and Tuscany, capital punishments are restrained and almost annihilated. In Great Britain, the criminal law has been made the subject of public discussion with the same benevolent view. Some of our sister states have manifested a similar disposition: and however unsuccessful their attempted alterations have been, they prove the principle, that capital punishments are contrary to the sense of mankind in an improved state, and that justice, humanity, and religion call aloud for their abolition.

To point out an error is often easier than to propose the amendment. But truth, like the Supreme Being, is every where present, however difficult it may be, in some cases, to find her out. When a traveller has lost his way, whatever embarrassment he may labour under amidst the diversity of paths, he can have no doubt that there is one direct line which leads to the end of his journey. To point out the strait road, in criminal jurisprudence, is difficult, because it has hitherto been untrodden. All I can aspire to, is to give a few hints which may shew that it is practicable, and excite the endeavours of those, whose abilities qualify them for the great work of opening and extending it.

Society, like an individual in the state of nature, has the right of self-defence, and nothing more. Its power, as it consists of the aggregate strength of all its members, is, in proportion to their numbers, greater than that of any individual. Suppose, then, an individual, in the state of nature, possessed of

immense strength, and governed by the mild voice of clemency and christianity. What would be his conduct towards those who injure him? Reason would direct him to employ his strength for self-defence; and mercy would lead him to do it in the way which would occasion the least possible pain to the offender, and to use every probable mean for his reformation.

Let every criminal, then, be considered as a person labouring under an infectious disorder. Mental disease is, indeed, the cause of all crimes: for to a sound mind, virtuous action is as natural and as necessary as breathing is to life. And as, in case of the invalid, every exertion for cure is due, which art, winged by pity, can furnish; so, in respect to the criminal, it is equally obligatory to study every possible mode of reformation, and to shew as great care of his life and recovery.

I would by no means insinuate, that the cases are, in every respect, similar. The criminal is guilty in a moral view; and becomes an object of greater loathsomeness than the leper, who groans under the pressure of all bodily diseases united. My meaning is, that with respect to us, the line of duty, in both cases, is the same. The guilt of the culprit we have no concern with: it is cognizable at another and a higher tribunal. Pity and assistance, regulated by a proper regard to self-defence, form the rule of our conduct in the one case, as well as in the other.

Every end of self-defence may be secured by imprisonment. This would put the criminal out of the reach of doing more injury to society. In prison, he might be employed in such labour as would not only defray the expenses

of his own maintenance, but also make reparation to the public for the injury it had sustained.

This would likewise answer every purpose of terror for the prevention of crimes. It is well known, that the loss of liberty is, with the generality of minds, an object of greater horror than death. To be shut up within the gloomy walls of a dungeon—to be exercised with hard labour and unknown pains—to groan in solitude, day after day—to be debarred forever from the light of the sun and the cheerful converse of men—this would strike the mind with more awe than all the engines of torture which ever tyranny and bloody persecution invented.

To condemn criminals to work in the public view, is a political solecism. It blunts the sense of shame in the culprits, and prepares them for every act of daring villainy. It hardens the minds of spectators; familiarizes them with misery; and thus sows the seeds of every vice.

With respect, then, to defence and the prevention of crimes, close imprisonment seems the most unexceptionable mode: and this answers to that care, which society ought to take to obviate infection from a pestilential disease.

But this is not all: the criminal may be reformed. Of the practicability of this, I have no doubt. Moral disorders have their remedies, as well as bodily; and the healing art, founded on proper principles, is certainly as capable of being reduced to a science, in the one case, as in the other. The soul and body, though very different substances, are plainly alike in this, that they are subject to culture, and may be altered and amended by proper modes of treatment. *(To be continued.)*



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

Exports from the port of Philadelphia, from March 1784 to October 1785.

	1784.	1785
Feet of boards, Planks and scantling,	3,545,508	1,802,064
Pieces of do.	28,446	15,715
Shingles,	9,195,119	3,694,945
Staves and heading,	4,013,808	2,632,366
Hoops,	95,845	89,620
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	1784.	1785.
Tons of logwood,	163	129
Pieces of do.	12	700
Tons braziletto,	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	70
Feet of mahogany,	3,227	4,819
Logs of do.	337	229
Planks of do.	19	
Pieces of do.	1,469	3,385
Tons of fustic,	31 $\frac{1}{4}$	44
Pieces of do.	24	
Logs of do.	59	
Tons of lignumvitæ,	31	67 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pieces of do.	437	260
Tons of ebony,	2	
Tons of box,	2	
Pieces of do.		278
Logs of walnut,	7	271
Feet of do.	320	
Pieces of do.	8	
Logs of cedar,	118	
Pieces of do.	500	103
Tons of dyewood,	36	
Tons of timber,	590	
Tons of saffraſas,		75
Oars,	2,841	846
Handſpikes,	794	2,181
Pipes of wine,	517	421
Hhds. of do.	373	110
Tierces,	102	39
Quarter caſks,	953	53
Hampers,	38	2
Caſes,	1,020	601
Pipes of brandy,	131	263
Hhds. of do.	13	113
Tierces of do.	28	25
Barrels of do.	13	40
Kegs of do.	226	337
Hhds. of rum,	2,837	909
Tierces of do.	225	85
Barrels of do.	40	42
Caſks of gin,	88	117
Ankers of do.	110	17
Hampers of do.	50	10
Caſes of do.	3,543	2,329
Hhds. of porter and beer,	127	38
Tierces of do.		59
Barrels of do.	191	84
Hhds. of cider and vinegar,	28	33
Barrels of do.	742	560
Hhds. of loaf ſugar,	136	59
Tierces of do.	272	2
Barrels of do.	84	36
Hhds. muſcovado ſugar,	897	323
Tierces of do.	125	17
Barrels of do.	2,320	523

	1784.	1785.
Boxes of do.	1,815	193
Chests of tea,	771	278
Half chests of tea,	9	13
Quarter chests,	61	9
Boxes,	193	9
Tierces of coffee,	6	24
Barrels of do.	231	96
Bags of do.	82	12
Boxes of chocolate,	51	84
Bls. of flour, middlings, and ship stuff,	207,937	166,530
Hhds. melasses	822	253
Tierces of do.	35	7
Barrels of bread,	20,895	24,316
Bags of do.	144	459
Kegs of do.	32,245	25,419
Hhds. of Indian corn,	1,908	3,341
Barrels of do.	1,025	202
Bushels of do.	51,689	107,890
Bushels of wheat,	28,289	23,640
Hhds. pease,	52	32
Barrels of do.	40	115
Hhds. Indian meal,	382	439
Barrels of do.	1,386	4,915
Barrels of rye meal,	54	168
Hhds. of oats.	466	269
Bushels of do.	2,185	2,285
Hhds. tobacco,	17,681	4,138
Casks flaxseed,	11,813	2,669
Casks ginseng,	232	37
Barrels of do.	105	12
Barrels of bees' wax,	273	34
Casks of indigo,	23	41
Bales of cotton,	48	13
Bundles of leather,	126	110
Barrels hair powder,	42	13
Barrels starch,	154	23
Hhds. of snuff,	31	9
Barrels of do.	215	115
Boxes of do.	73	13
Hhds. lime,	185	183
Casks pot ash,	65	104
Hhds. of tanners' bark,	112	168
Barrels naval stores,	19,883	20,097
Hhds. furs and skins,	56	155
Tierces of do.	16	5
Cases of do.	136	34
Bundles of do.		10
Tons of hemp,	47	5
Tons of oakum,	27	1
Bushels of coals,		1,620
Coils of cordage,	2,205	84
Tons do.	58 $\frac{1}{2}$	13
Pieces of do.		157

	1784.	1785.
Cables,	61	4
Anchors,	78	5
Boxes soap,	898	1,745
Boxes of candles,	836	581
Bales of pimento,	27	32
Tierces of do.	48	64
Barrels of do.	15	83
Barrels of cocoa,	120	14
Tierces rice,	1,951	4,347
Casks hams,	294	246
Hhds. of salt,	166	112
Barrels of do.	30	162
Bushels of do.	20,725	19,848
Barrels of oil,	242	178
Boxes of sweet oil,	83	131
Barrels beef and pork,	1,860	1,373
Tubs of do.	133	48
Hhds. fish,	149	288
Barrels of do.	4,495	3,188
Kegs of sturgeon,	88	267
Kegs of butter,	212	342
Barrels of lard,	18	29
Kegs of do.	293	281
Tierces of tallow,	26	6
Kegs of do.	252	
Boxes of lemons,	433	96
Barrels of potatoes and apples,	5,762	1,611
Barrels of onions,	337	99
Bushels of do.	200	6,791
Ropes of do.	61,858	44,686
Tierces of nuts,	46	76
Barrels of do.	42	3
Bags of do.	58	20
Casks sarsaparilla,	3	15
Barrels of do.		19
Tierces seneca root,	28	
Barrels of do.	8	
Barrels of ginger,	223	14
Bags of do.	73	524
Hhds. ironmongery,	102	2
Casks of do.	441	139
Boxes of do.	34	15
Bundles of do.	45	168
Kegs of do.	102	151
Pieces of do.	972	3,196
Bars of iron,	8,364	7,543
Tons of bar iron,	632	433
Pigs of iron,	372	11
Tons of pig iron,	146	23
Tons of steel,	12	20
Bundles do.	21	46
Faggots of do.	31	37
Bars of do.	409	16

	1784.	1785.
Boxes of do.	5	
Tubs of do.	50	
Sheets of copper,	18	68
Cakes of do.	534	
Copper stills,	46	87
Smiths' anvils,		18
Casks of paint,	23	3
Kegs of do.	554	83
Riding carriages,	72	73
Waggon,	2	6
Dutch fans,	59	
Dozens of Windsor chairs,	329	303
Shooks,	3,438	1,355
Bricks,	722,409	656,533
Rheams of paper,	2,997	590
Pounds of hams,	2,000	
Hhds. of bran and shorts,	316	40
Tierces of do.	110	10
Bushels of do.	16	50
Hhds of dye stuff,	124	
Tierces of do.	10	
Trunnels,	30,780	
Truss hoops,		9
Nests of tubs,		12
Pounds of whalebone,	2,700	
Bundles of do.	10	
Masts,	20	
Pipes merchandize, (contents unknown.)	35	1
Hhds. of do.	575	767
Casks of do.	1,172	624
Tierces of do.	192	218
Quarter casks of do.	143	5
Barrels of do.	983	518
Kegs of do.	1,402	447
Cases of do.	1,223	613
Bales of do.	1,927	657
Crates of do.	710	143
Trunks of do.	780	301
Chests of do.	425	102
Boxes of do.	3,426	1,559
Packages of do.	1,947	901
Hampers of do.	388	8
Baskets of do.	83	316
Bundles of do.	350	71
Bags of do.	689	326
Bolts of canvas,	202	58
Bolts of duck,	73	174
Carts,	3	
Drays,	1	
Barrels of barley,	600	

FREDERICK PHILE, naval officer.

Philadelphia, Nov. 28, 1785.

AMERICAN SPECTATOR.

NUMBER XII.

“ Self-love but serves the virtuous mind
 to wake,
 As the small pebble stirs the peaceful
 lake;
 The centre mov'd, a circle strait suc-
 ceeds,
 Another still, and still another spreads;
 Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will
 embrace;
 Its country next; and next all human
 race;
 More and more wide, th' o'erflowings
 of the mind
 Take ev'ry creature in, of ev'ry kind;
 Earth smiles around with boundless
 bounty blest,
 And heav'n beholds its image in its
 breast.”

THE words, local attachment, and partial prejudices, have had such a peal rung upon them, that they now form the most uncertain and confused sound imaginable: but so far as they are understood with any precision, they convey an idea that is almost universally reprobated—with how much reason will appear, when it is considered, that very few of the human race are without those attachments and prejudices; and if they generally were, the condition of humanity would be altered infinitely for the worse.

The truth is, those attachments are interwoven in the very texture of our natures, by the author of existence; and serve the most valuable and important purposes: to these we are indebted for the noblest exertions of the human mind, and they prove the spring of the finest enjoyments of life.

There are but few minds so capaciously formed, as to embrace the interests of a large community, in such manner as to enter into all their enjoyments and distresses, with those lively sensations, which sympathy excites for a friend, a family, or a neighbourhood. It is generally true, that in proportion to the expansion of what is called the philanthropic principle, in the same proportion it is faint and inoperative: and a person, totally destitute of local and

partial attachments, will want the *amor patriæ*, in the best sense of the words.

It is not intended, by these remarks, to advocate a contracted and selfish principle: they are not designed to sanction that local policy, which shuts up the best affections of the heart, and confines every benevolent wish, to the spot where we were born, or to the particular circle, with which we happen to be more immediately connected. They are designed to abate that ardour of spirit, which proscribes all partialities and predilections, however justifiable: for we deceive ourselves, by supposing that these attachments can be annihilated, or that it would serve any valuable purpose in life, if they could.

As in the general administration of human affairs, the best interest of society is promoted by every individual's pursuing, with steadiness and perseverance, his own particular advantage, in conformity to the laws—so the great objects of patriotism are most essentially advanced, by the attachments which are discovered by every person, to the state, the county, the town, the neighbourhood, the family, &c. with which he is more immediately connected—this is nature, reason, and common sense.

NUMBER XIII.

IF some persons be prevented from acquiring useful knowledge, by their intellectual incapacity: there are others, who, possessing talents, fail of important attainments, by wearing away their time in trivial studies. A person generally supposes he gives a satisfactory account of employing himself, when he can say, he has been engaged in reading. He may, however, deceive himself, as well as others, in this respect. It is not more common, or more disagreeable, to find men deficient in their ideas, from a neglect of books, than it is to observe them bloated with false or frivolous notions, by an injudicious choice of authors. An acquaintance of mine, who is celebrated for his literary taste and ingenuity, invited me, the other morning, to look at his library, which is said to be an excellent one. If novelty give a claim

to merit, my friend deserves great praise for his collection of books: for he certainly has filled his shelves with such performances, as scarcely any man but himself would ever think of purchasing. After expatiating upon a variety of authors I had never heard of, and a still greater number I had never read, he told me he had taken immense pains to ascertain every minute circumstance relative to the building of Noah's ark. No history, either sacred or profane, that threw any light upon that interesting subject, had escaped his notice. "It is," he said, "to be regretted, that the particulars, of that celebrated work of antiquity, are not more generally known." The vast delight he had found in his researches, he assured me, were not to be described. As I considered myself uselessly employed in hearing his descriptions, my readers will make the same remark, if this essay communicate a conversation so unimportant. My friend informed me of many other equally curious discoveries or attainments—and his pride seemed to consist in knowing, what none of his acquaintance knew, or had any inclination to know.

The design of reading, is not so much to increase the quantity of our knowledge, as the quality and utility of it. Men of leisure, who have patience of investigation, may, perhaps, employ themselves in useless enquiries, without producing any hurtful effects: indeed they may happen to strike upon some discovery from which benefit will result. But where such an ardour of curiosity prevails, as to induce people to researches, from which no practical advantage is derived, it disqualifies them for active pursuits in life.

It should be an established rule with every person who reads, to enquire of himself, when he lays aside his book, whether he have gained any ideas at all, and whether they be just and useful. To read, and yet to acquire no ideas, is, at any rate, a destruction of time: but the mere loss of time is not so pernicious, as to catch sentiments that are fallacious or trifling.

NUMBER XIV.

"When a man doth think of any thing that is past, he looketh down upon the ground; but when he thinketh of something that is to come, he looketh up towards the heavens."

THE lively image, we form of approaching pleasures, constitutes one of the most sublime sources of human felicity. There is scarcely a man in the universe, in the vigour of life, whose heart is not often exhilarated with the hopes of seeing better days. Nature has provided the charms of anticipation, to console us under the pressure of past misfortunes, and to stimulate us into new efforts. It exonerates part of the load we should otherwise bear from actual evils; and relieves the painful impressions, that are apt to be excited, upon a retrospective view of our affairs.

No man—however pure and elevated his principles—however prudent and fortunate his conduct—can look back on the different stages of his existence, without some sensations of disapprobation and sorrow. His reflexions can never produce such a degree of approbation and rapture, as to afford a permanent and infallible security against the assaults of a vexatious or a melancholy spirit. The reflexions, even of a good man, cannot alone insulate and transport into the soul. He must imagine, as well as reflect. A young man bows down his head, when he thinks of what is past; and elevates it, when he looks into future scenes. An old man ceases to feel pleasure in what is before him: he is dissatisfied with what is past: and his head is perpetually bowed down.

Old men, as well as others, may derive consolation from anticipating the happiness of a future state of existence. But it is the design of this discussion only to treat of anticipation, as a natural operation of the mind; and to suggest how far superior its pleasures generally are to those of reflexion. It would be well for men to attend more closely to the structure of their mental qualities; and to bring themselves into such habits of contemplation, as will render old

age less insupportable than most men find it.

The reflexions that follow a life devoted to the cause of honour and virtue, are no doubt a source of some felicity. It is worthy the pursuit of every person, if it had no other advantage than what results merely from reflecting on it. But the constitution of our nature is such that our lively, transporting pleasures, must proceed from anticipation. Old men gain, by an attachment to certain habits, part of what they lose in the diminished vigour of their anticipations. It is therefore of importance that all men should form such habits, as will not be unworthy a rational being in the last periods of his continuance on earth; and such as will probably best assimilate to that purer state of existence, of which, as the doctrines of our religion inform us, all good men will participate.



THE POLITICIAN.

NUMBER XI.

New York, October 21, 1789.

THERE prevails an opinion, even among sensible politicians, that men are only obedient to government from compulsion. If fear of punishment, say they, be removed, there will no longer be any obedience to the laws. Whether this consequence would follow to such a degree, that, upon the removal of penal laws, government would be dissolved, need not be brought into discussion. Certain, however, it is, that many useful virtuous citizens pass through life, without ever feeling any emotions of such a fear. Their obedience therefore is to be ascribed to other causes. Perhaps habit constitutes the most powerful one. Men are accustomed to perform duties without a repetition of the motives which first stimulated them; and they learn to sustain burdens and sacrifices without opposition or complaint. Obedience, resulting from such causes, has a preference over that, which is produced by penalties. It costs the government less, and is a demonstration, that the people love and regard the laws.

In a well-regulated community, it will be found that the orderly conduct of the citizens becomes a matter of general consent. It is understood and expected among the inhabitants, that certain rules of decorum, with respect to behaviour—and a steady, peaceable observance of the laws, should be deemed requisite in obtaining weight and popularity of character. When a government has been long established, such regulations will introduce themselves as a matter of course, and will contribute to relieve the magistrate from many painful acts of duty. But in the first organization of government, the friends of good order and virtue should discover a peculiar degree of care and vigilance. Otherwise, the people will early form habits of disobedience to the laws, and disrespect for the magistrates. I have before discussed points something like these, in some of my speculations*, which were principally confined to the subject of smuggling. In those essays I dwelt largely upon the advantage of associations; and pointed out how far they would prove efficacious, in giving the revenue laws a favourable introduction.

I am inclined to imagine that the people are now so opposed to the fraudulent practice of smuggling, that few individuals will dare risque the attempt. Indeed I should feel a strong degree of security that the revenue would be honestly collected, were not the ports of entry so numerous and scattered, as to increase the temptation to that practice, by lessening the difficulty and hazard. Those persons, who live in the vicinity of the little ports, will do well to reflect, that they hold their advantages only in a state of probation. If they discover an honest indignation against every attempt to defraud the revenue, and give equal demonstrations of integrity, with the inhabitants of larger ports, it is not improbable they may be long indulged with the present accommodating arrangements. These peo-

NOTE.

* See Vol. V. page 61, 130.

ple would likewise do well to reflect, that, it was with difficulty, congress were prevailed on to consent to the establishment of such various ports of entry; as it was predicted, that the product of the revenue would be endangered by the indulgence. If therefore the anticipations of those members, who objected to the plan, should prove true, it will no doubt induce congress to make alterations in the system, less adapted to the general convenience of the citizens. In whatever light the subject be viewed, there result the strongest arguments in favour of watching carefully over the revenue, that it may prove so productive, as not to defeat the purpose of the present lenient regulations.

The inhabitants of populous towns are more readily formed into habits of punctuality and honour, than those in smaller places, where credit and character are less essential to prosperity. It therefore happens, that the mean, dishonourable practice of smuggling finds more countenance in small than large ports. But the inhabitants in general, who derive no benefit from the illicit gains, should contemplate well the inconvenience to which they will be exposed, by acquiescing in so pernicious and disgraceful a practice. It promotes the interest of a few unworthy individuals at the expense of the honest, industrious part of the community. For, if the government find the sources of the revenue, already in operation, inadequate to the public expenditure, new channels of supply must be opened. The people, by conniving at frauds in the collection of the imposts, are giving themselves no relief, but are in fact increasing their own burdens.

Some men have such a false taste in morals, as to feel no remorse at practising knavery against the government. There is a seducing kind of fallacy in this idea. The reason it is not generally exploded, and public knaves treated with the same contempt and abhorrence as private, proceeds from the injury not being so striking and apparent. Men do not so readily discern the inconvenience, as to complain of the injustice. All

kinds of knavery, however, are a public dishonour and detriment; and all good men should make a common cause in preventing and punishing it in all shapes and degrees.

In the present state of our government, we cannot depend on the penal force of the laws alone. Virtuous citizens should have an understanding with each other, and make it a point of honour and ambition to establish a fair collection of the revenue.

When a just and honourable practice has been a few months or years observed, men will annex ideas of infamy to every act of fraud committed against the public treasury. The prosperity of society depends more than is usually imagined on the honest habits of the people. There is such a connexion between different virtues, that when one prevails, it cherishes and promotes many others. Honesty will prove favourable to economy; and by paying punctually what is demanded, there is less reason to expect an accumulation of demands. Virtuous and discerning men must therefore rejoice to find a spirit of honour and punctuality existing in all transactions relative to the public treasury. Nothing will more effectually contribute to this object, than good examples and a general sentiment of disapprobation, against every species of fraud or collusion that is discovered.

NUMBER XI.

“The diversity of interests in the united states, under a wise government, will prove the cement of the union.”

FORMERLY, it was the policy of Great Britain to disseminate the idea, that the several colonies were too much divided by religion, manners, and customs—by different interests, and prejudices, more obstinate than interest, to assimilate and form a government of their own. It is not remarkable, that Britain should cherish and diffuse an opinion so favourable to her power. And though we have reason to lament, we have none to wonder at, the degree of success, which attended her truly maternal endeavours. The intercourse of the colonies with her was much greater

than with one another. It is known that people are very susceptible of the opinions of those with whom they have dealings. Our dealings were with Britain almost exclusively: and we adopted many of her favourite doctrines, with a docility and confidence, which, in fact, her conduct was calculated to inspire. The leading men, who gave a tone to the public sentiment in this country, were Britons, or colonists, as ardently attached, as Britons themselves, to the connexion with the mother country. There was an apparent utility in this error, which not only made it plausible, but stifled enquiry. Indeed the subject, at that time, would better stand the test of disquisition than at present. The colonies were filling with new people, who were so far from having adopted the habits and manners of the more ancient settlements, that they had not sufficiently assimilated to one another, to assume a national character.

But it is unnecessary to enumerate all the causes, which concurred to produce in the colonists a spirit of mutual alienation and distrust. It is not to be doubted, that, in a long course of time, the product of this cursed seed would have been abundant. With infinite mischiefs, the war brought this good, it blasted its vegetation. However, some of these poisonous plants still infest our fields; and are mingled with our harvests.

When we express our surprise, that these repulsive prejudices continue to exist, we are desired to attend to the facts, which it is pretended will render them perpetual.

It is asserted, that there is, at this day, so great a diversity between the different states, in point of religion, manners, habits, and interests, as to render the administration of a general government inconvenient, and perhaps impracticable. Certainly this doctrine has not novelty to recommend it. For, ever since the jealousy of Britain adopted the maxim, divide and govern, it has been inculcated by her missionaries and proselytes, with all imaginable zeal and solemnity.

Many appeal to the supposed fact, that the eastern and southern states have opposite interests. Undoubtedly, a diversity of interests is one of the most fruitful sources of contention, and hated. Too much stress, however, is generally laid upon it. For such interests though different are not always repugnant. The great modern improvement in government, is, to leave individuals at liberty to seek their advantage their own way—partial to none but protecting all. We cannot subdivide a society sufficiently to avoid the supposed diversity. The smallest will be found to comprehend jarring interests; and to be formed by a congeries of heterogeneous and repulsive materials, which, merely in consequence being accumulated, tend to fermentation and dissolution. Indeed, we shall perceive that the interest of each individual is exclusive of that of all others, unless government combines them, and makes it the advantage of each one to advance the prosperity of the whole.

Uniformity of faith is an useless chimera. Uniformity of interests is equally so. Diversity in both produces dissension. Men respect one another's opinions, and become liberal: they enquire for and perhaps find truth. The tendency is, to rouse them from an indolent neglect of public business, and check the natural proneness of all parties to excess.

It is very certain that the empires of the southern and eastern states are different: but it is denied that their interests are incompatible. If the weak and power of one do not tend to oppress the other weak and poor, it is difficult to conceive, why they should be mutually jealous. Admitting the idea of separate and hostile powers, the aggrandisement of one state might well be alarming to her neighbours. But thanks to the good sense of our countrymen, the new constitution has established a principle of state policy which should make a patriot shiver with horror. In every other respect, each has an interest in the prosperity of the whole. If rice and indigo produce wealth,

people and the taxable property are increased. The consumption of dutied articles increases. The New Hampshire man is as much relieved and benefited as if the tax were raised from his next county. The navigation and fishery of the states will furnish the means of a navy, to protect the export of the staple articles.

England and France are rivals in trade, as well as power, because each endeavours to supplant the other, in the sale of the like commodities. England would excel France in the silk manufacture. And France endeavours to beat her rival out of the woollen and hardware branches. Their vindictive regulations have mutually injured each other infinitely more than either has benefited herself. But what foundation is there for such a competition in America? Virginia raises tobacco. New England never can become her competitor in that culture. The rice, indigo, and cotton are confined by nature to the more southern states. The culture of corn admits of no rivalry. The consumers will grow up to the market. For the human species will increase in every country, in proportion to the regular means of subsistence.

A man, who should attempt to sow jealousy among the New England states, or between Pennsylvania and New Jersey, by alleging that they have separate interests, would certainly be laughed at. His success would not be sufficiently feared to make him detested. Yet these are manufacturing states: and in every market, their people are contending for a preference. These are the states, whom diversity of interests should divide. The market may be overstocked with fish, oil, or lumber. This will affect the dealers in those articles. But how can it affect the sale of tobacco?

The conclusion is, that no large country in the world is so little divided by opposite interests. The eastern and southern states are necessary to one another: and nature has interposed to forbid their becoming commercial rivals. What one raises, the other wants: and when one prospers, all will partake. If the great

staples should fail, navigation would decline. Should our own seamen and shipping be diminished, the staple states might, and, in case of an European war, certainly would want a conveyance for their valuable exports to the market. In peace and war, their trade would be merely passive: the markets and purchasers would be chosen for them; and they would not be in a condition to seek the best for themselves. This is evinced by the great success and rapid growth of our East India trade. By means of possessing shipping, some of the states have fought, in the extremities of the earth, new markets for the sale of their butter and salted provisions, which would never have fought them.

Without violent evidence, a patriot should not admit, that the interests of the southern and eastern parts of the union are opposite. It will require some reflexion to suppress his wonder, that, not only without evidence, but against the most palpable, it ever has been, the creed of the country. It is time to think more justly, and more rationally, which is the same thing. The internal commerce of our country is the most to be cherished. It affords the quickest returns: and the profit is not divided, as that of foreign trade is, with strangers. We ought to look forward with pleasure to the rapid extension of our home market, already vast, and soon to become a world of our own.

It appears then that no political evil is to be apprehended from the pretended diversity of southern and eastern interests. It will be found, that there is as little to be apprehended from other supposed causes of division. The universal freedom in religious matters, which is not only allowed by the government, but incorporated into the constitutions of the states, has rendered the people of this country less liable to discord, on that account, than any other nation. The diversity of manners and customs is becoming less every day. The national government will contribute to hasten this progress, and to fix a standard for manners and language. The commercial intercourse of the states is

increasing. Nothing unites men more than a concurrence in common sentiments and objects of pursuit. Every American holds liberty nearest his heart; and depends on the aid of every other American to defend it. There is no country, where the people are so well agreed in their first maxims, or so deeply impressed with a sense of the importance of them.

If we consider the state of some of the most orderly governments in the world, we shall find that they are much less homogeneous than our own. France is actually divided into several distinct provinces, and these are still further divided by distinct laws and customs, and even by a different language. We are better acquainted with the British kingdoms. If the diversity in question be incompatible with a common government, then the prosperous state of that country will prove that there is no such diversity: yet the fact is, that the narrow territories of Britain and Ireland are inhabited by a people, in different stages of civilization—who speak several different languages—who glory in the victories obtained by their ancestors, when mutually hostile—and whose remembrance of former injuries is embittered by mutual scorn and national hatred. Till lately their interests have been sacrificed to commercial monopolies, and the rights, as men [of a large proportion of the inhabitants of the latter island,] abridged by a policy which continued to be jealous, after it had ceased to be vindictive. Their customs, manners, and principles of government, and religion, are, apparently, the least likely to assimilate together. The Scotch highlanders, the people of the isles, the Welch, the wild* Irish, and the Eng-

NOTE.

* *What can this writer mean by this opprobrious, this ill-founded, this illiberal epithet? Wild, applied to nations, means savage, barbarous, uncivilized: and can this writer be so uninformed as to suppose these terms applicable to any part of the nation he has thus stigmatized? If he draw his information from that contemptible puppy, Richard Twiss, he*

lish, the oppressed catholics, the persecuted Jacobites, the dissenters, and episcopalians, are surely more unfit to become one people, than the citizens of the southern and northern states. Yet all these people are approximating: and it is a question, whether, in a course of time, not very remote, there will remain any traces of discrimination. That event is of the less importance, as in fact, with all the supposed diversity of interests and opinions, that kingdom is one of the most prosperous and best governed of any in the world. It is certain, that it has been believed in that country, and many seemed to derive a malignant pleasure from the belief, that the people of America, though independent, were so unfortunately circumstanced that they would not govern themselves.

If we did not know that the passions and prejudices of men make them blind to the most obvious truths, we should wonder how Englishmen could be duped by an hypothesis, which is so abundantly refuted by their own experience. If the Americans cannot preserve their national government, it is not because they are too unlike to assimilate, or that they want the acuteness and vigour of mind to perceive and establish the principles of a wise government. It is because habit, which is nature to an enlightened people, and is more, is necessity to an ignorant one, has not acquired its ordinary authority over the mind. We have been accustomed to distinct, independent governments. We have not been used to think nationally—to consider ourselves as an indivisible whole: other nations reverence the antiquity of their institutions—even those,

NOTE.

may possibly find some faint shadow for his aspersion: but if he consult Young, Campbell, and other enlightened foreigners, who have written on the affairs of that long-misrepresented country, he will discover his error—he will blush for the insinuation he has unguardedly thrown out—and if he possess any degree of candour, he will not hesitate to apologize for it.—C.

which are oppressive, are borne without repining and almost without pain—because they are used to bear them: the neck, grown callous, is no longer galled with the yoke. Antiquity and state craft have involved the powers and principles of government in mystery. The veneration of the public is heightened by obscurity; and though a magistrate, who should usurp power, would probably be ruined, yet opposition to lawful authority would strike the people with horror.

In this country, things are on a different footing. We have seen the beginning of our government. We have demolished one, and set up another; and we think without terror of the process. It has neither antiquity, nor mystery. Instead of being protected, almost every good man has aided in propping a tottering authority. He has felt the weight of his individual strength and counsels. Government has leaned upon the people; and a wise and virtuous people have adopted a constitution worthy of themselves. Already it has procured us the respect of Europe. Let us learn to reverence it as the glory and safeguard of our country. Every people has a partial fondness for its own country. National pride and prejudice are found to be as strong, and unchangeable in favour of the most wretched territory, as of the most fertile and salubrious.

Though nature have covered the earth with barrenness, and the air with pestilence, and though society be still more cursed with despotism, the people will resent reflexions on their country, as the cruelest of all insults; and will consider exile from it, as the most deplorable of all misfortunes. How well then should a people love their country, which they govern and nature favours! Reason and time will concur in making the Americans reverence and love their government. Before this shall be effected, the danger to the national government will not spring from the diversity of manners, customs and interests. Almost every event of our history has contributed something to dispose the public mind to enthusiasm.

The ruin of most republics has been caused by fits of honest frenzy, during which they destroy the pillars of their own security. The more diverse and hostile the interests and opinions of the people are, the less are they all liable, at the same moment, to the agency of this cause. For in this case, the torrent of enthusiasm would be confined within the channel which it might first take. The ray, in passing through another medium, would be refracted, and finally lost. Opposite and equal forces would destroy each other. But our people reason and act so nearly alike, that they will be heated at the same moment. They are all conductors for the electrical fluid, which passes so unaccountably through the mind, and communicates so intense an heat in its passage.

It is not intended to deduce from hence, that the national government will not endure. It is merely to expose the fallacy of the opinion, that we are too unlike, and too much divided in point of interests, to maintain one national government. This opinion has long been painful to the patriotism of many sensible men.

It is equally to be hoped that the great extent of the country, the good sense of the people, which is every day more and more enlightened by science, and the wise and prosperous administration of the government, will be found sufficient to give it stability.



On the salutary effects of distress.

WHSOEVER contemplates the various calamities that fill the world, and the still more numerous avenues, by which we are exposed to distress, will be deeply affected with a sense of the misery of man. In this survey, we need not search for remote and distant evils; we need not crowd our imaginations with the horrors of war—the progress of armies—or the desolation of states. In the most familiar walks of life, we may meet with miseries, at which humanity must bleed—scenes of distress lie open on every side—in every quarter we hear the groans of the dying, and lamentations for the dead. In the main

of mankind, we can scarcely select an individual, in whose bosom there does not rankle unpublished griefs: and could we look into the hearts of the most tranquil, we should often find them a prey to unpitied regrets, torn with anxiety, and bleeding with disappointment.

Retiring from this melancholy spectacle without looking any further, we might be ready to consider the world as a great nursery of disease—a vast receptacle of miseries—filled with beings, whom providence has endued with sensibilities to suffer, rather than capacities to enjoy: but to him who views the moral influence of afflictions—the evils they are intended to correct—and the benefits they import—they will appear in a very different light. He will consider them as at once the punishment of vice, and the cure of it. Sorrow is indeed the offspring of guilt—but the parent of wisdom. Stern in her aspect, and severe in her deportment, she is however sent on a message of mercy. She is destined to follow in the footsteps of Temptation; to break her enchantments; to expose her delusions; and to deliver from thralldom such as are entangled in her snares, or are sleeping in her arms. Whoever surveys the course of his past life, with a view to remark the false steps he has taken in it, will find, that, as they have proceeded from indiscretion, they have been recalled by distress.

To every object, our attachment is proportioned to the pleasures we have received, or expect to receive from it: and the passion will continue to be cherished, as long as the recollection of the objects calls up ideas of pleasure rather than of pain. Now every vicious pursuit is founded in indulgence, and is guided by impulse. To the licentious and abandoned, therefore, there is no prospect of the termination of their vices, till, by the actual experience of the miseries they inflict, they convey to the mind, more sentiments of aversion than of love. From that moment, the enchantment is dispelled—the false colours are stripped off—and they will be regarded as specious deformities, and real dangers. Multitude, who could never be persuaded by

the calls of interest, or the voice of conviction, to restrain the licence of their passions, and abandon their censurable pursuits, have been reclaimed by the lash of adversity. The decays of health—the desertion of friends—and the neglect of the world, have not unfrequently softened those hard spirits to whom the charms of virtue have been displayed in vain.

Nor is sorrow less effectual in the correction of foibles, than the extinction of vice. Cleander, in other respects a man of virtue and honour, had, from his infancy, accustomed himself to the unbounded indulgence of his tongue. Upon all occasions, he trod upon the very brink of decorum. A total stranger to the delicacy of friendship, which generally hides the faults it cannot correct—his ridicule was turned on the imperfections of his friends and his enemies, with indiscriminate severity. The splendor of distinguished virtue, which casts at a distance the reproaches of the world, and almost sanctifies the blemishes of an illustrious character, exempted no foibles from the scourge of Cleander; but rather quickened his acuteness to remark, and his asperity to expose them, as it furnished a display of his penetration, in discovering imperfections, where there appeared to the world nothing but unmingled excellence. It was, indeed, his chief delight to remark the shades of a brilliant character, and to pourtray, with exactness, the secret gradations of excellence, by which it fell short of perfection: yet in Cleander, this conduct by no means sprang from the envy of superior worth, or the malignant desire of degrading every one to his own level. He possessed the magnanimity of a virtuous mind; and disdained to lessen his inferiority by any other means than that of honest emulation. It had its basis in a taste for ridicule, and the pride of wit. This deportment could not fail to issue in perplexity and distress. His enemies considered him as a kind of beast of prey, a savage of the desert, whom they were authorized to wound by every weapon of offence, some by open defamation, and some by poisoned arrows in the dark.

His friends began to look upon him with alienation and distrust, esteeming their characters too sacred to be suspended for the sport of an individual, on the breezy point of levity and wit. His appearance was a signal for general complaint: and he could scarcely enter into company, hoping to enjoy the unmingled pleasures of social converse, but he had innumerable jealousies to allay, and misunderstandings to set right. He was every where received with marks of disgust; met with resentment, for which he could not account; and was every day obliquely insulted, for careless strokes of satire, of which he retained no recollection. Wherever he turned himself, he found his path was strewn with thorns; and that even those who admired his wit, secretly vilified his character, and shrunk from his acquaintance. His scars began to bleed on every side: his reputation was tarnished: his fairest prospects were blasted: and Cleander at length awoke from his delusion, convinced, when it was too late, of a lesson he had often been taught in vain, "that the attachments of friendship, and the tranquility of life, are too valuable to be sacrificed to a blaze of momentary admiration."

A consideration of the benefit of afflictions should teach us to bear them patiently, when they fall to our lot; and to be thankful to heaven, for having planted such barriers around us, to restrain the exuberance of our follies, and our crimes.

Let these sacred fences be removed—exempt the ambitious from disappointment, and the guilty from remorse—let luxury go unattended with disease—and indiscretion lead us into no embarrassments or distresses—our vices would range without control, and the impetuosity of our passions have no bounds—every family would be filled with strife—every nation with carnage—and a deluge of calamities would break in upon us, which would produce more misery in a year, than is inflicted by the hand of providence in the lapse of ages.

New York, December 5, 1789.

African magnanimity.

WITH respect to noble sentiments, and manly virtues, there have been numerous instances among the blacks, which would do honour to the most civilized and dignified nations. We shall just mention one of this sort—a striking instance of friendship, fortitude, and hospitality, such as, perhaps, is not in many cases to be exceeded in the history of mankind. In captain Seagrave's account of his voyage to Guinea, he relates that a New England sloop, trading there in 1752, left its second mate, William Murray, sick on shore, and sailed without him: Murray was at the house of a black, named Cudjo, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance during their trade. He recovered: and the sloop being gone, he continued with his black friend, until some other opportunity should offer for his getting home. In the mean while, a Dutch ship came into the road; and some of the blacks going on board her, were treacherously seized, and carried off as slaves. Their relations and friends, transported with sudden rage, ran to the house of Cudjo, to take revenge, by killing Murray. Cudjo stopped them at the door; and demanded what they wanted? "the white men," said they, "have carried away our brothers and sons: and we will kill all white men: give us the white man, that you keep in your house: for we will kill him." "Nay," said Cudjo; "the white men, that carried away your brothers, are bad men: kill them, when you can catch them: but this white man is a good man: and you must not kill him." "But he is a white man," they cried, "the white men are all bad: we will kill them all." "Nay," says he, "you must not kill a man that has done no harm, only for being white: this man is my friend: my house is his fort; and I am his soldier; you must kill me, before you can kill him: what good man will ever come again under my roof, if I let my floor be stained with a good man's blood?"—The negroes, seeing his resolution, and being convinced by his dis-

course, that they were wrong, went away ashamed. In a few days, Murray ventured abroad again with Cudjo ; when several of them took him by the hand ; and told him they were glad they had not killed him ; for as he was a good (meaning an innocent) man, their god would have been angry, and would have spoiled their fishing. " I relate this," says captain Seagrave, to shew, that some among these black people, have a strong sense of justice and honour, and that even the most brutal among them, are capable of feeling the force of reason, and of being influenced by a fear of God (if the knowledge of the true God should be introduced among them) since even the fear of a false god, when their rage subsided, was not without its good effect."



Singular circumstance.

IN 1747, a man was broken alive on the wheel at Orleans, for a highway robbery : and not having friends to bury his body, when the executioner concluded he was dead, he gave him to a surgeon, who had him carried to his anatomical theatre, as a subject to lecture on. The thighs, legs, and arms, of this unhappy wretch, had been broken ; yet, on the surgeon's coming to examine him, he found him reviving ; and, by the application of proper cordials he was soon brought to his speech.

The surgeon and his pupils, moved by the sufferings and solicitations of the robber, determined on attempting his cure : but he was so mangled, that his two thighs, and one of his arms, were amputated. Notwithstanding this mutilation, and the loss of blood, he recovered : and in this situation, the surgeon, by his own desire, had him conveyed in a cart 50 leagues from Orleans, where, as he said, he intended to gain his livelihood by begging.

His situation was on the road side, close by a wood : and his deplorable condition excited compassion from all who saw him. In his youth, he had served in the army : and he now passed for a soldier, who had lost his limbs by a cannon shot.

A drover, returning from market, where he had been selling cattle, was solicited by the robber for charity ; and, being moved by compassion, threw him a piece of silver. " Alas !" said the robber, " I cannot reach it—you see I have neither arms nor legs," for he had concealed his arm, which had been preserved, behind his back : " so, for the sake of heaven, put your charitable donation into my pouch."

The drover approached him : and, as he stooped to reach up the money, the sun shining, he saw a shadow on the ground, which caused him to look up ; when he perceived the arm of the beggar elevated over his head, and his hand grasping a short iron bar. He arrested the blow in its descent ; and seizing the robber, carried him to his cart, into which having thrown him, he drove off to the next town, which was very near, and brought his prisoner before a magistrate.

On searching him, a whistle was found in his pocket ; which naturally induced a suspicion, that he had accomplices in the wood : the magistrate, therefore, instantly ordered a guard to the place where the robber had been seized ; and they arrived within half an hour after the murder of the drover had been attempted.

The guard having concealed themselves behind different trees, the whistle was blown, the sound of which was remarkably shrill and loud : and another whistle was heard from under ground, three men at the same instant rising from the midst of a bushy clump of brambles, and other dwarf shrubs. The soldiers fired on them, and they fell. The bushes were searched, and a descent discovered into a cave. Here were found three young girls and a boy. The girls were kept for the offices of servants, and the purposes of lust ; the boy, scarcely 12 years of age, was son to one of the robbers. The girls in giving evidence deposed, that they had lived three years in the cave ; that they had been kept there by force from the time of their captivity ; that dead bodies were frequently carried into the cave, stripped, and buried ;

and that the old soldier was carried out every dry day; and sat by the road side for two or three hours.

On this evidence, the murdering mendicant was condemned to suffer a second execution on the wheel. As but one arm remained, it was to be broken by several strokes in several places: and a *coup de grace* being denied, he lived in tortures for near five days. When dead, his body was burned to ashes, and strewed before the winds of heaven.



Murder discovered.

IN the year 1689, there lived in Paris, a woman of fashion, called lady Mazel. Her house was large, and three stories high. In a small room, partitioned off from the hall, slept the valet de chambre, whose name was le Brun. On the floor up one pair of stairs, was the lady's own chamber, which was in the front of the house. The key of this chamber was usually taken out of the door, and laid on a chair, by the servant who was last with the lady; who, pulling the door after her, it shut with a spring, so that it could not be opened from without. On the second floor, slept the abbe Poulard.

On the 27th of November, being Sunday, le Brun, the valet, attended his lady to church; then went to another himself; and, after supping with a friend, went home chearful, as he had been all the afternoon.

Lady Mazel supped with the abbe Poulard as usual; and about eleven o'clock went to her chamber, where she was attended by her maids: and before they left her, le Brun came to the door, after which one of the maids laid the key of the chamber door on the chair next it. They then went out: and le Brun following them, shut the door after him. In the morning, he went to market: he then went home, and transacted his customary business. At nine o'clock, he expressed great surprise, that his lady did not get up, as she usually rose at seven. He went to his wife's lodging, which was in the neighbourhood; and told her he was

uneasy that his lady's bell had not rung. He then went home again; and found the servants in great consternation, at hearing nothing of their lady. And when one said, he feared she had been seized with an apoplexy, le Brun said "it must be something worse: my mind misgives me: for I found the street door open last night, after all the family were in bed."

A smith being brought, the door was broken open: and le Brun entering first, ran to the bed, and after calling several times, he drew back the curtains, and said, "O! my lady is murdered!" He then went into the wardrobe: and took up the strong box, which being heavy, he said, "She has not been robbed: how is this?"

A surgeon then examined the body, which was covered with no less than fifty wounds. They found in the bed, which was full of blood, a scrap of a cravat of coarse lace, and a napkin, made into a night cap, which was bloody, and had the family mark on it: and from the wounds on the lady's hands, it appeared she had struggled hard with the murderer, which obliged him to cut the muscles before he could disengage himself.

The key of the chamber was gone from the seat by the door: but no marks of violence appeared on any of the doors: nor were there any signs of a robbery; as a large sum of money, and all the lady's jewels, were found in the strong box.

Le Brun being examined, said, that after he had left the maids on the stairs, he went down into the kitchen: he laid his hat and the key of the street door on the table; and sitting down by the fire to warm himself, he fell asleep; that he slept, as he thought, about an hour, and going to lock the street door, he found it open; that he locked it, and took the key of it to his chamber.

On trying the bloody night-cap on le Brun's head, it was found to fit him exactly: and suspicions of guilt arising, he was committed to prison. On his trial, it seemed as if the lady was murdered by some person let in by le Brun,

for that purpose. None of the locks had been forced : and his own story of finding the street door open, was interpreted as a strong proof of his guilt ; and that he had an accomplice was inferred, because part of the cravat found in bed was discovered not to be like his : but the maids deposed they had washed such a cravat for one Berry, who had been a footman to the lady, and was turned away for robbing her.

Le Brun in his behalf had nothing to oppose to those strong circumstances, but an uniformly good character, which he had maintained during nineteen years he had served his lady ; and that he was generally esteemed a good husband, a good father, and a good servant. It was therefore resolved to put him to torture, which was done with such severity, that he died the week after, of the hurts he had received, declaring his innocence to the last.

About a month after, notice was sent from the post of Sens, that a dealer in horses had lately set up there, by the name of John Garlet, but his true name was found to be Berry, and that he had been a footman in Paris. In consequence of this he was taken up. On searching him, a gold watch was found in his possession, which proved to be lady Mazel's. Being brought to Paris, a person swore to seeing him go out of lady Mazel's, the night she was killed : and a barber swore to shaving him the next morning. On observing his hands very much scratched, Berry said he had been killing a cat.

On these circumstances, he was condemned to be put to torture. On being tortured, he confessed, he and le Brun had undertaken to rob and murder lady Mazel : but when brought to the place of execution, he confessed that he had come to Paris the Wednesday before the murder was committed : and the next Friday evening went into the house unperceived, and got into one of the lofts, where he lay until Sunday morning, subsisting on apples and bread which he had in his pockets ; that about eleven, on Sunday morning, when he knew the lady had gone to mass, he stole down

to her chamber ; and the door being open, got under the bed, where he continued until the afternoon, when lady Mazel went to church ; that knowing she would not come back soon, he got from under the bed, and made a cap of a napkin, which lay on a chair, and then sat down by the fire, until he heard the coach drive into the court yard, when he again got under the bed, and remained there ; that lady Mazel having been in bed about an hour, he got from under it, and demanded her money ; that she began to cry out, and attempted to ring ; upon which he stabbed her ; and that she resisting with all her strength, he repeated his stabs until she was dead ; that he then took the key of the wardrobe cupboard from the bed's head—opened this cupboard—found the key of the strong box—opened it—and took all the gold he could find ; that he then locked the cupboard, and replaced the key at the bed's head ; took his hat from under the bed, and left the napkin in it ; took the key of the chamber off the chair, and let himself out, and finding the street door only on the single lock, he opened it, went out, and left it open.

Thus was the veil removed from the deed of darkness ; and all the circumstances, which condemned le Brun, were accounted for, consistently with his innocence. From the whole story, the reader will perceive how fallible human reason is : and the humane will agree, that in such cases, even improbabilities ought to be admitted, rather than a man should be condemned, who may possibly be innocent.



Method of preserving fruit, of different kinds, in a fresh state, about twelve months ; for which a premium, of ten guineas, was lately given, by the Dublin society, to signior Ignacio Buonsegna.

IT is necessary to pull the fruit two or three days before you begin the process.

Take care not to bruise the fruit,

and to pull them before they be quite ripe.

Spread them on a little clean straw, to dry them. This is best done on a parlour floor, leaving the windows open, to admit fresh air, so that all the moisture on the skin of the fruit, may be perfectly dried away.

Pears, and apples take three days—strawberries only twenty-four hours. The latter should be taken up on a silver three-pronged fork, and the stalk cut off without touching them; as the least pressure will cause them to rot. Take only the largest and fairest fruit. This is the most tender and difficult fruit to preserve: but, if done with attention, will keep six months: there must not be more than a pound in each jar.

Choose a common earthen jar, with a stopper of the same, which will fit close.

The pears and apples, when sorted, as before, must be wrapped up separately, in soft wrapping paper. Twist it closely about the fruit. Then lay clean straw at the bottom, and a layer of fruit; then a layer of straw; and so on, till your vessel be full: but you must not put more than a dozen in each jar; if more, their weight will bruise those at the bottom.

Peaches and apricots are best stored up, wrapped each in soft paper, and fine shred paper, between the fruit, and also the layers. Grapes must be stored in the jar, with fine shred paper, which will keep one from touching the other, as much as possible. Five or six bunches are the most, which should be put into one jar; if they be large, not so many: for it is to be understood, that, whenever you open a jar, you must use, that day, all the fruit that is in it.

Strawberries, as well as peaches, should have fine shred paper under, and between them, in the place of straw, which is only to be used for apples and pears. Put in the strawberries, and the paper, layer by layer. When the jar is full, put on the stopper, and have it well luted round, so as perfectly to keep out the air. A composition of

rosin, or grafting wax, is best: let none of it get within the jar, which is to be placed in a temperate cellar. Be sure to finish your process in the last quarter of the moon.

Do not press the fruit; as any juice running out, would spoil all below.



Description of the frost-conductor, for preventing the blossoms of trees from being destroyed by the frost.

THE frost conductor is made either of straw or hemp. It is to be twisted round the stem of the tree, and the end of it to be sunk in a tub, or some other vessel, filled with well water; the sinking of which can be easily effected, by fixing a small stone or weight to the end of the cord. One tub will serve for a number of trees, standing close together. For those running up a wall, be careful to place the tub free, and in such a position as not to be sheltered by the limbs of the tree, so that the frost can have ready access to, and operate on, the water in it, without any hindrance.

It is particularly of great advantage to those trees, which are in blossom early in the spring, before the leaves appear; and are therefore more exposed to the frost. The inventor, mr. Van Bienenberg, has made several trials, particularly in the year 1777. His apricot trees began to blossom in the month of March. He immediately applied the beforementioned conductor: there were six or eight very severe frosty nights; notwithstanding which, the blossoms were not hurt: and he afterwards gathered, from seven small trees, 960 extraordinary large and good apricots: whereas, at the same time, in other gardens, all the blossoms having been killed by the frost, there was not one apricot to be seen.

To be fully convinced of the effect of the beforementioned conductor, the inventor put several tubs, filled with water, in different parts of his orchard; examined them daily; and found, that the ice, in the tubs without conductors, was only as thick as a straw; when that

in the tubs with conductors, was as thick as a finger.



Medical case.

TWO children, between three and four years old, were taken, about noon of the same day, with an unusual weakness of the lower limbs, which soon increased to almost an entire disuse of them—together with a coldness and insensibility of the legs and arms. Loss of speech ensued (discoverable by frequent inarticulate mutterings) a constant grappling, or catching with the hands, at imaginary objects—a remarkable wildness of looks, and a very weak and small pulse. Suspecting, from the symptoms, that they had eaten the seeds of the stramonium, or what, in this country, is generally called the Jameston, or Jimston-weed; about six o'clock on the evening of the same day, at which time I was called to these children, I ordered half a grain of emetic tartar, and six grains of ipecacuanha, to be given to each of them.

The medicine, in neither case, having excited vomiting, acted as a brisk purgative; and a considerable quantity of the seeds before mentioned, were brought away, swelled a little beyond the ordinary size. On the following morning, they were relieved of all the beforementioned symptoms: a small fever only was the effect, which soon left them, without further application.

Should a similar case occur, where the advice of a physician cannot be had, I would recommend, on the first appearance of the symptoms, some active emetic—if that should be delayed for several hours, a purge will be a good *succedaneum*—for at that stage, it is probable, that either the poison has been thrown into the bowels, or that the stomach has been rendered paralytic, and incapable of being acted upon.

ELISHA C. DICK.

Alexandria, Nov. 19, 1789.



An excellent dye.

IN Germany, an excellent and cheap dye has been invented by mr. Wol-

ger, adapted to woollen and cotton manufactures.

It consists simply of the seeds of the red trefoil—a plant very common in this country—and employed to feed horses and cattle.

A decoction of these seeds is mixed with different mineral substances: and the dyes produced are very beautiful, and of a great variety.

Amongst these are yellows and greens of different shades, as also citron and orange colours.

These dyes resist the action of the substances, with which trials are usually made, much better than the common dyes; and promise many advantages, if adopted, to the manufactures of this country.



Population of Massachusetts.

THERE were in the state of Massachusetts, in the year 1763, two hundred and fifty-two thousand, five hundred and seventeen souls: in 1783, three hundred and fifty-seven thousand, five hundred and ten: increase in twenty years (eight of which were war time) one hundred and four thousand, nine hundred and ninety-three souls.



BILLS OF MORTALITY, &c.

Salem, Massachusetts, 1788.

Died under two years,	47
Between 2 and 10,	13
10 and 20,	5
20 and 30,	18
30 and 40,	14
40 and 50,	10
50 and 60,	5
60 and 70,	6
70 and 80,	14
80 and 90,	3

135

Died in January,	13
February,	7
March,	18
	—
	38

Brought forward	38	Philadelphia, 1788,	
Died in April,	11		christ. buried
May,	8	St. Paul's congregation,	51 24
June,	4	Swedes,	9 15
July,	9	First presbyterian,	40 36
August,	9	Second do.	43 26
September,	15	Third do.	125 33
October,	13	Scotch do.	11 6
November,	16	Moravians,	6 6
December,	12	German lutherans,	421 157
	—	German reformed,	180 72
	135	Catholics,	225 145
	—	Christ church & St. Peter's,	174 126
Died, of males,	67		
of females,	68		1285 646
stillborn,	6		

N. B. During the above period, there were buried of the quakers, 136
 Free quakers, 12
 Baptists, 14
 Jews, 2

Newbury port, 1788.		In the stranger's burying ground,	
Baptised,	128	whites,	62
Died,	113	Blacks,	163
	—		—
Increase	15		389

New London, 1788.		<i>An account of the burials in the united churches of Christ church and St. Peter's, in Philadelphia, from December 25, 1787, to December 25, 1788.</i>	
Born, of males,	80	Buried, under one year,	21
females,	58	From 1 to 3	27
	—	3 to 5	5
	138	5 to 10	3
Died, of males,	12	10 to 20	3
females,	17	20 to 30	7
	—	30 to 40	13
	29	40 to 50	19
	—	50 to 60	7
Increase	109	60 to 70	17
	—	70 to 80	3
		80 to 90	1

Middletown (Connecticut) First society, 1788.		<i>The diseases and casualties for the above period in Christ church and St. Peter's congregation.</i>	
Born, males,	26	Apoplexy	2
females,	28	Bilious cholick	2
	—	Childbed	2
	54	Cramp	1
Died, males,	16	Dropsy	7
females,	9	Drowned	2
	—	Decay	42
	25	Fits	9
Increase	19		

Years.	Ships.	Imports.	Exports.
Brought forward	421	1,054	116,581
1766	43	10208	672
1767	19	3248	375
1768	27	5950	485
1769	19	3575	420
1770	25	6824	836
1771	17	4183	671
1772	22	5278	923
1773	49	9676	800
1774		18448	2511
1775		16945	5272
1776		19231	1343
1777		5255	492
1778		5674	734
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		535,549	132,115

Population of Maryland.—1782.

	Whites.	Blacks.
St. Mary's co.	8,459	6,246
Charles,	9,804	7,920
Calvert,	4,012	3,598
Kent,	6,165	4,261
Talbot,	6,744	4,150
Cecil,	7,749	2,634
Queen-Anne,	7,767	5,953
Anne-Arundel,	9,370	8,711
Prince-George,	9,864	8,746
Baltimore,	17,878	5,472
Hartford,	9,377	3,041
Somerset,	7,787	5,953
Dorchester,	8,927	4,575
Worcester,	8,561	3,473
Caroline,	6,230	1,698
Frederic,	20,495	2,262
Washington,	11,448	885
Montgomery,	10,011	4,407

Exports from Charleston, S. C. of the crops of 1782 and 1783.

	1782.	1783.
Barrels of rice,	23,160	58,923
Half barrels,	2,129	6,102
Casks indigo,	827	2,051
Hogheads tobacco,	643	2,680
Hhds. & bales deer skins,	101	651
Barrels pitch,	565	4,877
Barrels tar,	540	2,489
Barrels turpentine,	936	7,331
M. feet lumber,	251	705
M. shingles	215	1,072
Staves,	12,900	402,100
Bushels Indian corn,	6,645	14,080
Hides,		887
Sides leather,		2,703
Tons hemp,		3
Casks ginseng,		17
Casks flaxseed,		171
Reeds,		147,750

GEO. A. HALL, Collector.

Number of sea vessels which arrived in the port of New-York, in 1788.

Ships,	110
Brigs,	198
Snows,	9
Schooners,	184
Sloops,	451
<hr/>	
	952

Essay on the influence of religion, in civil society. By the rev. Thomas Reese, A. M. pastor of the presbyterian church at salem, S. C.—Written in 1785.

NUMBER V.

EVERY judicious reader will have observed, that we have cautiously avoided to embroil ourselves in those disputes, which have been agitated concerning the foundation of moral obligation.

It is well known, that three different opinions have been advanced on this head: some founding it on the moral sense; others on the essential difference of things; and others on the will of God. Strictly speaking, perhaps this last, only, can properly oblige men. But in order to maintain this, it is not necessary to exclude the other two from all influence on morality. Where is the absurdity of allowing all three a share in leading men to the practice of virtue? without determining any thing positively concerning this matter, we have endeavoured to prove, that religion cannot be considered as unnecessary, even on the principles of those who are most strongly attached to the moral sense, and the essential difference. These two have, indeed, of late, been the

hobby-horses of their respective patrons. They make the principal figure in the writings of most of our modern moralists, not to say divines. The will of God, or what comes nearly to the same thing, religion, which is indeed the only proper and stable foundation of morality, is either wholly excluded, or brought in only by-the-bye, as a matter of little or no consequence. These fine-spun systems, however much they may display the ingenuity of their authors, have but very little tendency to promote virtue, and reform the manners of the people: and therefore can be of little service to society. It is not easy to see how the moral sense, or the essential difference, or both taken together, when considered as wholly distinct from religion, if indeed they can be so considered, can properly establish the sanction of future reward and punishment. This, we have shewn, is of the greatest moment to civil government: and hence arises the singular utility of religion.

The abstract beauty of virtue may operate upon profound reasoners. That pleasure, which arises from those actions, which the moral sense approves, may have its weight with men of elegant minds and delicate sentiments. But neither of them will have much effect upon the great body of mankind. They will be always found to operate but very faintly upon the many, who have, generally, "quick senses, strong passions, and gross intellects." This single observation shews of how little consequence they are, when compared with religion, which is calculated to operate upon the bulk of the common people in every society, as well as upon the learned and refined part of mankind.

Upon the whole, though we should grant that other things co-operate with religion, in supplying the defects of civil society; we need not fear to conclude, that this is the most proper, and, at the same time, the most powerful remedy.

Before we conclude this part, it will be necessary to add a few words, concerning the use of oaths, which may be considered as a distinct argument,

to prove the influence of religion on civil society. Solemn oaths, as far as I can learn, have obtained in all civilized nations. It is well known what amazing force and influence they had upon the Romans, in the virtuous period of their republic. In the greatest extremity, and most pressing dangers, these were their dernier resort. We have instances enow of this in their history. Let one suffice in this place: after the battle of Cannæ, the people were struck with such a panic, that they talked of removing to Sicily. But Scipio had the address to obtain an oath from them, that they would not leave Rome. The dread of violating this oath overwhelmed all other apprehensions. "Rome," says the excellent Montesquieu, "was a ship held by two anchors, religion and morality, in the midst of a furious tempest."

If Mr. Locke, and the American politicians, argue justly, all legitimate government is originally founded on compact. This compact is usually ratified by solemn oaths. The chief magistrate, who is invested with the supreme executive power, is bound by oath, faithfully and impartially to execute the laws, and govern agreeably to them. In like manner, every citizen is bound to aid and support him, as far as he acts conformably to his solemn engagement. Among us, it is well known, that all civil officers, from the governor down to the constable, are obliged, by oath, to the discharge of their respective trusts. The policy and even necessity of this, is very obvious: for although our civil officers are amenable for their conduct, and liable to be punished upon conviction, this can be no security against clandestine fraud. Hence the religion of an oath is necessary, to restrain them from those secret mal-practices, which, however injurious to the public, cannot be legally detected. The security of life and property depends, in a great measure, upon oaths. The innocent cannot be absolved, nor the guilty punished, without them. In the most important judicial proceedings, the verdict ultimately rests upon their validity. Take away the use of these religious affirmations,

tions, and our courts of judicature must cease, or be almost entirely useless. In a word, civil government can by no means be carried on without them. If oaths be thus necessary to the administration of government, religion must be so: for where there is no religion, there can be no oath. Take away the belief of a deity, a providence, and a future state, and there is an end of all oaths at once. In every oath, a deity is invoked, as a witness and avenger, if we deviate from the truth. The atheist, therefore, cannot be bound by it. He, who believes there is no providence or future state, can be in no dread of punishment, either in this or a coming world, if he can only elude human judicatures. The greatest free-thinker, or most abandoned profligate in our country, would place very little dependence on the oath of one who believes there is neither God nor devil, heaven nor hell. Civil laws do, indeed, hold out a severe punishment to deter men from perjury: but as it is one of those crimes, of which a person can seldom be legally convicted, such laws strike but little terror, and are of very little service. The perjured villain may repeat his crime an hundred times, without any danger from human laws. If, therefore, the laws of religion have no hold upon him, his oath is perfectly insignificant—especially, where he is under temptation to depart from the truth. We may, therefore, venture to affirm, that the obligation of oaths is properly founded on religion; and that whatever weight we allow them, above a simple affirmation, arises from a supposition, that the deponent believes there is a God—the rewarder of truth and the venger of perjury, to whom he makes a solemn appeal. This single consideration, were there no other arguments, is sufficient to evince the utility, and even the necessity, of religion to civil society. For if government cannot be carried on without the use of oaths, and the validity of these depend upon religion, the consequence is unavoidable, that civil society cannot subsist without religion.

(To be continued.)

Extract from an oration, delivered July 4, 1789, at the presbyterian church, in Arch-street, Philadelphia, by the rev. William Rogers, A. M. professor of English and oratory, in the college and academy of Philadelphia.

THE objects of this day's commemoration naturally inspire the mind with sentiments of admiration and delight!—not such sentiments as prevail where ancient usage or capricious fashion has prescribed the festival, in honour of some visionary saint or pampered monarch: but such as invigorate the contemplative mind, and give new splendor to the human character:—

It is the Sabbath of our freedom!—Every friend of science, every lover of mankind, is interested in the event which IT records; for, even at this early period, the animating rays of our new constellation have been felt on the exhausted soil of Europe, and have penetrated the barbarous shades of Africa!

Governments have been overthrown by violence, or undermined by treachery; the standard of liberty has been violated by the hand of despotism; and the dominion of the world has been fluctuating and precarious: but in the long catalogue of sublunary vicissitudes, no parallel can be found, similar to that which we are now called upon to celebrate.

The causes and effects of national revolutions have generally been disproportionate. The wanton violence of one individual, was the ground of changing the monarchy of Rome into a republic: and that republic was eventually subverted by the polished ambition of another. Caprice influenced the people, as ambition urged their leaders. The motive, and the means of every enterprize, were held to be equally justified by the end: and thus, however magnificent the superstructures have appeared, the foundations of ancient power were seldom the work of reason and of justice.

To these illustrations, the history of modern times has added the force of religious bigotry upon the uncultivated mind:—and, perhaps, the nation, whose

conduct has furnished the occasion of this address, affords, likewise, the strongest instance, how far popular enthusiasm may be converted into a political instrument, by a skilful impostor.

But let us turn to the more pleasing contemplation of a revolution, not less extraordinary in its consequences, than in the means, by which it was produced. Those, who best knew the situation of America, before the late contest, will be the readiest to bear testimony in honour of the virtues of her inhabitants.

“Dispersed throughout an immense continent—free as the wilds of nature which surrounded them—amidst their rocks, their mountains, the vast plains of their deserts—on the confines of those forests, in which all is still in its savage state, and where there are no traces of either the slavery or the tyranny of man—they seemed to receive, from every natural object, a lesson of liberty and independence.” Devoted to agriculture and to commerce—to useful labours, which elevate and fortify the soul, by inspiring simplicity of manners—and hitherto, as far removed from riches, as from poverty—they were not corrupted either by the excess of luxury, or the excess of want; “feed us with food, convenient for us, lest we be full, and deny thee, and say, who is the Lord? or lest we be poor, and steal, and take the name of our God in vain,” was their united prayer. It is in this state, above all others, that the man, who enjoys liberty, is most capable to maintain it; and to evince his jealousy, in the defence of that right, which has been transmitted to him, as the most certain security for every other—the right, not to be taxed without his own consent, expressed by himself or his representative.

Such was the situation of America: and as the principles of her opposition to the British government did not originate in a factious or corrupt state of society, neither did intrigue warp her councils, nor accident direct her operations. No Cæsar courted with insidious benevolence; no Cromwell fascinat-

ed with dissembled fervor—but, be it forever remembered, that reason suggested opposition to tyranny: and fortitude led the way to glory. The love of freedom, drawn into action by a just sense of injury, was the great characteristic of the revolt, which, quick as the electric flame, spread at once throughout our continent.

“Freedom! fair freedom! sprang from heaven!

By the Supreme to us ’twas given.”

To enumerate the various acts of the British parliament, which were obnoxious to the liberties of America, would, at this time, be superfluous. That glorious instrument, in which the separation of the two countries is announced, has likewise declared the sources of animosity—with an honourable zeal of justifying our resistance to the world—and of perpetuating the recollection of those calamities, from which we have escaped. Nor is it a vain and unprofitable record: for, hence posterity may learn to guard the avenues to the temple of Freedom, from the first approaches of tyranny, and to detect oppression in all her variety of shapes.

Impress it, therefore, my fellow citizens, on the hearts of your children next to their religion, let them sisp in their early years; and ingraft it on their riper studies. You will thus at once excite their gratitude, for the blessings, which your labours, by a kind superintending providence, have procured; and instruct them, by what means those blessings may, by an humble reliance on the same providence, be best protected and preserved.

Neither is it necessary to engage in retrospect of the particulars which occurred, during the arduous conflict “from the gloom of unsuccessful supplication, to the splendor of victory and acknowledged sovereignty.” What memory teems not with the recollection of the wisdom, the eloquence, and perseverance of our confederated statesmen? What hand withholds the laurels so justly due to the intrepidity and virtue of our patriotic warriors?—To enlarge on this theme, would be to re-

proach the integrity of our country; and might offend the delicacy of an audience, composed of many principal actors in those scenes to which it refers. To history, therefore, let the task be assigned! History, which, from this illustrious epocha, shall produce a richer page, than all that Greece and Rome have opened.

Ambition, in other countries, and in every age, has been the almost inseparable concomitant of merit: hence have sprung the honours and distinctions, the titles and the trappings, which decorate, with adventitious glare, the anxious walks of public life. Contemplate the triumphs of the ancients: behold the elevation of the moderns: and we must lament over the depravity or weakness of human nature, in tracing the incentive and the end of action, to the gilded car, or ceremonial riband.

The plunder of a province has purchased the venal suffrage of a depreciated Roman senate: and kings have often placed their honorary stars, on breasts, from which not a single ray of virtue could be reflected!

In America, a nobler criterion has arisen. Her sons have felt no influence, but the glory and prosperity of their country; and have claimed no remuneration, but the honour and bliss, which naturally accompany the act, that has rescued her from oppression. Thus, the honours of an American, are, the confidence and approbation of his fellow citizens. These depend not upon chance: proceeding from the mind, they cannot be purchased by the affluent, nor extorted by the powerful: operating upon rational principles, caprice cannot grant, nor prejudice withhold them. Has any one proved his wisdom in council?—the public voice pronounces his encomium, and calls him to the senate. Who has displayed his valour in the field, and meets not the cordial plaudit of his country?—And when has even the uniform practice of virtue in private life, escaped the attention of a people, convinced that piety is a just evidence of wisdom, and that industry is the best assurance of social

zeal and probity? What is it but a political demonstration of gratitude—when the labours of the patriot are rewarded by his being employed in those stations, which enable him to continue his services to his country?

(To be continued.)



Character of the late Thomas Cushing, esq.

L. L. D. and A. A. S. lieutenant-governor of the commonwealth of Massachusetts.

VERY few men have sustained so many public offices, or performed the duty of them to more general acceptance, than this gentleman. While he was very young, the town of Boston called him to fill some of its most respectable offices; and delegated him as its representative to the general court. In this situation, his patriotism, his abilities, and his facility in dispatching business, led the house of assembly to choose him their speaker, a place which had for many years been filled by his father with great reputation. While he was in the chair, the contest with Great Britain ripened to a conclusion: and the station he held not only called out his exertions in the service of his country, but rendered him known wherever the cause of America was patronized, and indeed throughout the European world. Of the two first continental congresses, which laid a foundation for the independence and happiness of this country, he was a judicious and an active member. And on his return to his own state, he was chosen a member of the council, which then constituted its supreme executive. He was also appointed judge of the courts of common pleas, and of probate, in the county of Suffolk, which stations he held until the adoption of the present state constitution, when he was called to the office of lieutenant governor, in which he continued until his death.

Under arbitrary or monarchical governments, a man's being appointed to, or continued in, an office, is no certain evidence of his being qualified for it: but in governments, free, like ours, the appointment of a person, for a long course of years together, to guard the

interests of the people, and to transact their important affairs, is the most incontestible proof of his abilities, and his integrity. This observation was verified in Mr. Cushing. He thoroughly understood the interests of his country; and meant invariably to pursue them. Very few men knew better than he, how to predict the consequences of the public conduct—to balance contending parties—to remove difficulties—and to unite separate and divided interests. His life was a state of constant exertion in the service of his country: its happiness was dear to him in health: it lay near his heart in his last moments: and while he expressed a satisfaction in having honestly and uprightly, in every department he had filled, aimed at doing right, he manifested the most tender solicitude for the peace and prosperity of America.

He was, from early youth, a professor of religion, and a serious and devout attendant upon its offices, in public and private. The principles and motives of the gospel lay with great weight upon his mind: they had an evident influence upon his conduct in life: they dispersed from before him the terrors of death; and enabled him to look forward, with calmness and composure, to a state of glory and felicity beyond the grave.

His reputation for serious religion induced the society in London, for propagating the gospel in New England, to appoint him one of their commissioners, which trust he discharged with fidelity and care.

A man under the genuine influence of religion, will be ever attentive to relative duties: and we discern more traits of his real character in this undress of life, than we do, when he knows that he is the subject of strict observation: and in this instance, his friends will join in testifying his tenderness, as a husband—his affection, as a father—his fidelity, as a friend—and his indulgence, as a master. His manners were amiable, and his conversation, open, pleasant, and agreeable.

He gave many proofs of his charity to the poor, and his kindness to the orphan

and the helpless. His heart melted at the woes of others: and his hand was opened to relieve them.

It would be unjust to omit his great affection for the university of Cambridge, where he received his education. He sought for opportunities to do it service: and he never was happier, than when he observed its prosperity, and could support its interests. The university was grateful for his affection; and in return bestowed upon him its highest honours.

Mr. Cushing had a firm constitution; but was subject to the gout. It was this disorder which deprived his country of his abilities, at a time when an important change was agitating in her political fabric. On the 19th of February, 1788, he was attacked by the gout in his breast: and on the 28th he died in the 63d year of his age; having had the satisfaction to see the new federal constitution ratified, by the convention of Massachusetts, a few days before his death.



Picture of Jamaica, drawn by a wit who resided at Port Royal:

JAMAICA is the dunghill of the universe: the refuse of the whole creation: the clippings of the elements; a shapeless pile of rubbish—confusedly jumbled into an emblem of the chaos—neglected by omnipotence, when he formed the world in its admirable order; the nursery of heaven's judgments, where the malignant seeds of all pestilence were first gathered and scattered through the regions of the earth, to punish mankind for their offences; the place where Pandora filled her box—where Vulcan forged Jove's thunderbolts—and that Phæton, by his rash misguidance of the sun, scorched into a cinder; the receptacle of vagabonds, and the sanctuary of bankrupts—as sickly as an hospital—as dangerous as the plague—as hot as hell—and as wicked as the devil: subject to tornadoes, hurricanes and earthquakes, as if the island, like the people, were troubled with the dry bellyach.

The chief of their provisions is sea,

turtle, or toad in a shell, stewed in its own gravy: its lean is as white as a green sickness girl: its fat of a disgusting colour; and is excellent to put a stranger into a flux, and purge out part of those ill humours it infallibly creates—the belly is called callipee, the back callipatch: and it is served up to the table in its own shell, instead of a platter. They have guanas, hickeries, and crabs; the first being an amphibious serpent, shaped like a lizard, but black and larger; the second, a land tortoise, which needs no description, being as numerous as frogs in England, and burrow in the ground like rabbits: so that the whole island may be justly called a crab warren: they are fattest near the pallisadoes, where they will make a skeleton of a corpse in as little time as a tanner will flay a colt, or a hound devour a shoulder of mutton after hunting.

They have beef without fat; lean mutton without gravy; and fowls as tender as the udder of an old cow, and as juicy as a steak from the haunches of a superannuated cart horse.

Milk is so plenty, that you may buy it for fifteen pence a quart: but cream so very scarce, that a firkin of butter, of their own making, would be so costly a jewel, that the richest man in the island would be unable to purchase it. They value themselves greatly upon the sweetness of their pork, which indeed is luscious, but as flabby as the flesh of one just risen from a flux; and ought to be forbidden in all hot countries, as among the Jews, for the prevention of the leprosy, scurvy, and other distempers, of which it is a great occasion.

There is very little veal, and that lean: for in England you may nurse four children much cheaper than you can one calf in Jamaica. They have coarse teal, almost as big as English ducks—and Muscovy ducks as big as geese: but as for their geese, they are all swans—for I never saw one in the island.

There are sundry sorts of fish under English names; without scales, and of

a serpentine complexion. They eat as dry as shad, and much stronger than stale herrings, or old ling, with oiled butter to the sauce—as rank as goose grease, improved with the palatable relish of a stinking anchovy.

They make a rare soup they call pepper-pot. It is an excellent breakfast for a salamander, or a good preparative for a mountebank's agent, who eats fire one day, that he may get better victuals the next: three spoonfuls so inflamed my mouth, that, had I devoured a peck of horse-radish, and drank after it a gallon of brandy and gunpowder, Dives like, I could not have been more importunate for a drop of water to cool my tongue.

They greatly abound in a beautiful fruit called a cushue, not unlike an apple, but longer: it is soft and very juicy, but so great an acid, and of a nature so astringent, that by eating one, it drew my mouth like a miser's purse, and made my palate as rough, and tongue as sore, as if I had been gargling my mouth with allum water.

Of water melons and musk melons they have plenty: the former is of as cold a quality as a cucumber, and will dissolve in your mouth, like ice in a hot frying-pan; and is as pleasant to the eater, and I believe as wholesome, as a cup of rock water to a man in a hectic fever. The latter are large and luscious, but much too watry to be good.

Cocoa nuts and physic nuts are in great esteem among the inhabitants. The former, they reckon meat, drink, and cloth: but the eatable part is secured by so strong a magazine, that it requires a lusty carpenter, well armed with axe and hand-saw, to hew a passage to the kernel: and when he has done, it will not recompense his labour. The latter is as big as a filbert: but (like a beautiful woman well dressed and infected) if you venture to taste, it is of ill consequence: their shell is black, and japanned by nature, exceeding art; the kernel white, and extremely pleasant to the palate—but of such powerful operation, that by taking two, my bowels

were swept as clean as ever nightman swept a vault—or any of the black fraternity, a chimney.

They have oranges, lemons, limes, and several other fruits, as sharp and crabbed as themselves—not given them as a blessing, but a curse: for, eating so many sour things, generates a corroding slime in the bowels; and is one great occasion of that fatal and intolerable distemper, the dry belly ach; which, in a fortnight or three weeks, takes away the use of their limbs, so that they are forced to be led about by negroes. A man under this misery, may be said to be the scutcheon of the island, the complexion of the patient being the field, bearing Or, charged with the emblems of destruction. Proper, supported by two devils, fables; and death the crest argent. Many other fruits are there, which are neither worth eating, naming, nor describing: some, which are never tasted but in a drought, and others in a famine.



Accidents by fire.

THE most certain and speedy method of preventing fatal consequences, from the clothes of women or children suddenly catching fire, is, to stifle the flame instantaneously, by rolling or huddling the clothes all together: when that cannot be done, by reason of the fire having enveloped the subject, any covering, that can be suddenly wrapped round, or thrown over them, will be the next best resource.

A young lady, standing with her back towards a stove, her gown caught fire, which immediately blazed above her head—a person in the room wrapped the sides of the gown over the blaze, which extinguished it without any injury.

A gentleman going into his parlour, where a child had been incautiously left alone, found its clothes in a blaze—he instantly threw the child on the carpet, which fortunately happened not to be nailed down, and throwing the corner of it over the child, the flame was smothered, which no other method would

have effected in season, to have saved its life.

Two children in this city, being together in a room last week—one of them placing an apple on the hearth to roast, her gown caught fire, which was immediately in a blaze—this was extinguished in the above manner, by persons who providentially happened to go into the room—The fire had got to such a height, that though, in performing the benevolent act, they burnt their hands, the life of the child was undoubtedly saved by their presence of mind, in having recourse to this summary method,
New York, Nov. 1789.



American silk.

THE following will shew how easily silk might be cultivated in these states; and that nothing, but a little attention, is necessary to clothe our wives and daughters in silk of our own manufacturing, besides clearing the husbandman a very handsome sum of money annually.

The town of Mansfield, in Connecticut, has this last season made about two hundred weight of raw silk. Some families made about sixteen pounds, chiefly by the help of women and children. The whole operation was only five or six weeks, during the season. One woman and two or three children can tend silk worms sufficient to make ten or twelve pounds of silk. Near four pounds have been produced from seven trees: and one pound was produced from eight small trees, the eighth year only from the seed. Raw silk is sold at five dollars per pound. When manufactured into handkerchiefs, ribands, and sewing silk, it comes to nearly one dollar per ounce, which affords large profits to the manufacturer.

Ashford, (Mass.) Dec. 9. 1789.



A fragment.

HE was in a military dress: and his figure, his face, and his walk, evinced the gentleman: yet poverty contracted his countenance; and

a succession of blushes, which flushed into his cheek, while he traversed the coffee-room, and to which deep sighs were the harbingers, shewed that his heart suffered.—

He at last leaned upon the bar; and whispered the mistress of the coffee-room—a good natured creature—and she instantly curtsied, with a degree of respect, that induced me to believe I had mistaken the index of the officer's mind, and that instead of standing in need of a favour, notwithstanding his appearance, he had been conferring an obligation.

On quitting the bar, and taking his seat, the mistress of the coffee-room ordered a pot of coffee and toast to the table where he sat.—His eyes sparkled at the sight; and the toast was devoured with an avidity, that indicated, not so much a wholesome appetitè, as the keenness of actual want. He ate with every mark of real hunger.

The first plate of toast being dispatched, the mistress of the coffee room ordered a second to be placed before him: but she gave her orders privately: and the waiter laid it on the table with a look the most pitiable. The officer seized the toast: the waiter wiped his eyes with his napkin: and the mistress of the coffee-room, drawing up her breath, sighed it out again in a tone so soft, so tender, and so sweet, as harmonized every nerve of those who heard it, into that delightful unison of pity, that is only felt when the finger of Charity touches the sympathetic cords of the heart.

The officer having finished his breakfast, and taken leave of his hostess at the bar, an impulse, which certainly was not curiosity, induced me to inquire after his name and situation.

Of these particulars the woman was ignorant. She had never seen him before; she knew nothing of him but this: he had ordered a breakfast at the bar; and assured her he would call and pay for it, at some future day.

Till the day arrived when he should be able to pay, she desired he might constantly call, and breakfast on credit.

—“And he is welcome,” she said, “though that day should be the day of judgment.”—“And when the day of judgment arrives,” said I, “you will hear of this matter. You have done that, which will stand in account, and gain you credit in the book of fate. If your sins be even multitudinous, your charity has covered them.

“But let us see if something more cannot be done for this poor officer—Lend him,” said I, “these few guineas, should he call to-morrow, as if coming from yourself.” The next day he received the cash.

I never heard more of my money for six years. At the end of that time, the mistress of the coffee-house told me, that ensign—now a lieutenant-colonel, had returned from abroad—had repaid her the sum borrowed—and given her a ring, worth a hundred pounds, by way of interest.



Fatal effects of gaming.

MISS Frances Braddock was the admiration of every polite circle. Her person was elegant, her face beautiful, and her mind accomplished.

She unhappily spent a season at Bath. The whole *beau monde* courted her acquaintance: she gave the ton not only to the fashion, but to the sentiments of every assembly. Her taste was admirable: her wit was brilliant.

Her father, at his death, bequeathed twelve thousand pounds between her and her sister, besides a considerable sum to her brother, the late general Braddock, who was cut off with his party, on an expedition against the French and Indians.

Four years after the death of her father, she lost her sister, by which her fortune was doubled: but alas! in the course of a month, by a constant application to cards, she lost the whole.

She fell under the insatiation of a confidence in her own opinion. She conceived that judgment was sufficient, being totally ignorant of unfair practice.

Her misfortune preyed upon her

mind: nor did she communicate the cause, even to her most confidential friends, for a considerable time; till at last her mind being unequal to struggle with accumulating adversity, she declared to an intimate female, that the world should never be sensible of her necessities, however extreme they might be.

Notwithstanding her caution, her poverty became known: and her sensibility was daily injured by the real and fictitious condolance of her acquaintance, which stimulated her to the rash resolve of terminating her anxiety, by putting an end to her existence.

On the night of perpetrating the act of suicide, she retired to her chamber, in apparent good health, and in full possession of her senses. Her attendants left her in bed, with a candle lighted, as was usual; and having locked the door, put the key under it.

Miss Braddock had always opened her chamber-door in the morning to admit her attendants: but the next morning, the maid, coming as usual, and not hearing her mistress stir, retired, 'till near two o'clock in the afternoon, when being alarmed at receiving no answer to her calling, she employed a man to climb in at the window, when the horrid catastrophe of her mistress was discovered: and the following fact appeared in the evidence, upon the view of the coroner's inquest.

After the departure of the maid on this night, she got out of bed again, and, as it is supposed, employed some time in reading; as a book was discovered lying upon her dressing-table. She put on a white night-gown, and pinned it over her breast; tied a gold and silver girdle together; and hanged herself on a closet door, in the following manner: at one end of the girdle, she tied three knots, each about an inch asunder, that if one slipped, another might hold—opening the door, she put the knotty end over: and then locked it, to secure the girdle, at the other end of which she made a noose; put it about her neck; and dropping herself off a chair, accomplished her fatal

purpose. She hung with her back to the door, and had hold of the key with one of her hands. She bit her tongue through, and had a bruise on her forehead, supposed to have been occasioned by the breaking of a red girdle, on which she had tried the first experiment, and which was afterwards found in her pocket, with a noose upon it. The coroner's inquest being called, they returned their verdict, *non compos mentis*.

On the day after, she was decently buried in the Abbey-church, by the side of her brave old father, who happily did not live to weep over the misfortunes of his children. In her window were found written the following lines:

O death! thou pleasing end to human woe!
 Thou cure for life! thou greatest good below!
 Still may'st thou fly the coward and the slave,
 And thy soft slumbers only bless the brave.

Thus, by an act of self-murder, or of madness, a young lady, in the 23d year of her age, in the full possession of personal charms, sensibility, and virtue, lost her life by an unhappy infatuation to a fashionable vice.

...◇◇◇◇◇... *German*
 Anecdote.

DURING the late war, eighty old German soldiers, who, after having long served, under different monarchs of Europe, had retired to America, and converted their swords into ploughshares, voluntarily formed themselves into a company; and distinguished themselves in various actions, on the side of liberty. The captain was nearly one hundred years old, and had been in the army forty years, and present in seventeen battles. The drummer was ninety-four; and the youngest man in the corps on the verge of seventy. Instead of a cockade, each man wore a piece of black crape, as a mark of sorrow for being obliged, at so advanced a period of life, to bear arms: "But," said the veterans, "we should be defici-

ment in gratitude, if we did not act in defence of a country, which has afforded us a generous asylum, and protected us from tyranny and oppression." Such a band of soldiers never, before, perhaps, appeared in any field of battle.



Juliet—a fragment.

*** **S**HE was sitting at the head of his grave—and the grass was beginning to look green upon the turf round the stone, where her tears usually fell—She had not observed me, and I stood still—"Thou hast left me, Fidelity," said she, bending her face down to the turf—"thou hast left me: but it was to attend a dearer call—I will not weep," wiping her eyes with her handkerchief—"I will not weep—for it was the call of one who loved thee better. Thou hast flown to his bosom—and what hast thou left behind thee for thy poor Juliet, but this cold sod?"—She was silent some moments. The full moon was just beginning to climb over the tops of the trees as I came up: and as she stooped to kiss the turf, I saw the tears trickling through the moon beams in hasty drops from her eyes—"Thou hast left me," said Juliet, raising her face from the grave—"but we shall meet again—I shall see thy face again, and hear thee speak; and then we shall part no more." She rose cheerfully to retire. The tear was still trembling in her eye. Never till that moment did I behold so sweet a charm. One might read the sentence in her face, "Thou hast left me," said the tear "But we shall meet again, and then shall part no more," said the smile—"Blessed religion," thought I—"How happy are thy children!"



The Reward of Virtue. A Tale.

IN the ages which are past, men needed no inducements to prevail on them to become the votaries of virtue: and the small still voice of conscience, applauding their actions, rewarded them amply for the difficulties which they encountered in the practice of her precepts. But now, that virtue is despised, and conscience stifled in the vortex of folly

and dissipation, it becomes necessary to inform the world of the various advantages which result from a life of virtue, in order to induce them to tread in her almost deserted paths.

With this view, I lay before my readers the following tale: and if it conduce in the smallest degree to make virtue appear in a more engaging attire, I shall rest contented with my humble labours. In a small town in the vicinity of London, lived Mrs. Wilson, the benevolence of whose disposition was the constant topic of conversation among the surrounding cottagers; while her affability and engaging manner made her acquaintance courted by the affluent and powerful.

By the loss of her husband, who was captain of a frigate, and fell in the service of his country, she became possessed of an income of 500l. a year, on which she lived retired; employing great part of her time in the education of her daughter, the beautiful Sophia.

In the days of childhood, her darling's artless prattle diverted the attention of her indulgent mother from resting entirely on the fate of her husband; and as she increased in years, the beauty of her person, and the sensibility of her heart, endeared her still more to her amiable parent.

Among those, who were admitted to the acquaintance of Mrs. Wilson, was a young gentleman, of the name of Bosville, whose father was a merchant in London, and permitted him, during the summer months, to reside at the town, where Mrs. Wilson dwelt.

Mr. Bosville the elder, possessed of an immense fortune (which he had acquired by oppressing the needy, by defrauding the widow, and ruining the orphan) bestowed a liberal education upon his son, altho' he intended him to practise the same cruelty which he had done before; without reflecting, that knowledge expands the heart, and deprives it of the power of being callous to the complaints of the unfortunate, and despising the woes of the miserable.

How great then must be his surprise when his son refused to engage in deal-

ings of iniquity! in vain he reasoned concerning the propriety of his measures: at length, finding no argument would induce the young gentleman to adopt his means of acquiring wealth, he consented to his entering into fashionable life, in order, as he said, that he might become acquainted with the world, and thereby see the necessity of complying with his request.

Young Bosville, at this time, had attained his twenty-first year: it is not therefore surprising that the budding beauties of Sophia, joined with her extreme sensibility, should make a deep impression on a heart susceptible of every feeling which harmonises the soul.

To minds, like Bosville's, the little decorums of the world appear trifling and superfluous: he therefore made no scruple of declaring his love. Sophia received the declaration as became her. Above the little arts of her sex, she frankly acknowledged he was not disagreeable to her; and that, if the consent of their parents could be obtained, she should not be averse to uniting their fates together.

Let prudes and coquettes condemn the conduct of my heroine, as beneath the dignity of the sex. But I regard not their censure, provided those possessed of sensibility, applaud her generous feelings.

Bosville, immediately after this interview, departed from town, in order to consult his father, concerning his marriage with the amiable Sophia.

On his arrival in London, without waiting for any kind of refreshment, he repaired to his father's house, and informed him of his intention. But what were his sensations when he discovered that a lady was already provided whom he must look upon as his intended wife, and that unless he married her immediately, he must never enter the house again: For some time contending passions struggled for mastery in his perturbed breast. Duty and love were by turns predominant: at length the latter triumphed, and a flood of tears succeeded the victory.

Mr. Bosville, enraged, ordered his

son immediately to depart the house; whose pride forbade him to expostulate. With a sullen air, he left the mansion of consummate villainy. Not knowing whither to fly for succour—no friend to cheer his drooping heart—he almost involuntarily took a place in the coach for H—: and before he had time to collect his thoughts, the stage stopped at Mrs. Wilson's. The blooming Sophia ran to meet him—he fell into her arms: and, supported by her and the coachman, entered the once peaceful dwelling. As soon as he was sufficiently recovered, he informed Mrs. Wilson and her daughter, of his father's behaviour; and concluded with declaring, he would not be united to Sophia, 'till fortune should again bless him with her smiles.

The lovely Sophia, though she could have wished young Bosville possessed of less delicacy, could not help agreeing with his opinion; and at the same time hinted, she thought he might improve his fortune in the East, where she had an uncle, who, she did not doubt, would protect him, and place him in a way of acquiring wealth with honour.

No sooner had Sophia delivered her opinion, than Mrs. Wilson started from her seat and retired. Amazed at her abrupt departure, the lovers continued in anxious suspense for about a quarter of an hour; when she returned, and gave a letter to Bosville, which she had written, to be delivered to her brother at Bengal.

Hope, the last friend of the miserable, flattered the unhappy Bosville with prospects of future felicity, in the possession of the amiable Sophia: and, thus comforted, he bade a cheerful adieu to her and her venerable parent.

During his passage, which lasted only six months, the recollection of past scenes would frequently intrude: but the hope of future happiness, when he should return, laden with the riches of the East, rendered his regret less poignant, than it otherwise would have been.

On his arrival in India, he repaired to the house of Mr. Marshall, Mrs. Wilson's brother; and was received with that

cordiality, which marks a generous heart. Mr. Marshal, understanding from the letter, that his intention was to settle in India, for a few years, and having, at that period, some business, which required the attendance of a confidential person, some hundred leagues up the country, immediately employed him to manage his affairs in that part.

Bosville, after having dispatched a letter to Sophia, acquainting her with his arrival, set out for the place of his destination; and arrived there with a heart beating with the wish of acquiring independence by assiduous perseverance.

Unfortunately, there was no mode of conveyance, from the place where he resided, to Mr. Marshal; and consequently he could remit no intelligence of his manner of life to his beloved Sophia; but imagining she would not be uneasy at his omitting to write, it gave him no serious concern, and he passed three years in tolerable composure.

It is now time to turn to our friends in England, who, during those three years, were not so happy as Bosville would willingly have imagined them.

The person, with whom Mrs. Wilson intrusted her fortune, soon after the departure of Bosville, became a bankrupt: and by that event, she, for the first time, experienced distress!

But the sweetness of her disposition had long taught her to regard all sublunary cares as the phantoms of a day: and her heart looked forward with anxious expectation to that period, "when the wicked cease from troubling—and the weary are at rest."

She now began to regard the omission of Bosville in not writing, as the effect of prosperity, and imagined he had forgotten the humble dwelling of innocence and peace.

Fixed in this opinion, her constant instructions to Sophia, were to bestow her affections on some other person. But the breast of sensibility knows no change of sentiment. Sophia regretted in secret the imagined ingratitude of Bosville: but her lips uttered no reproaches.

The reduction of Mrs. Wilson's circumstances obliged her to remove to

some other part of the country, where she might exist upon the small pittance which providence had still left her. She therefore removed to a distant part of Yorkshire, hoping there to enjoy the conveniences, having never desired the superfluities, of life.

The virtuous are ever destined to pass through the fire of adversity, ere they arrive at the goal of happiness. Mrs. Wilson had not been many months at her new dwelling, before the squire, seeing Sophia, became captivated with her charms, and introduced himself to the acquaintance of her mother.

This gentleman had acquired a degree of refinement beyond the common portion of country squires. His conversation was enlivened with strokes of wit, which would not have disgraced a London beau: yet his heart remained a stranger to sensibility, and his desires were brutal. Seduction with all its fashionable attractions, the fame of ruining a helpless young creature, and involving a fond mother in misery, presented themselves. The enamoured and unprincipled squire determined on Sophia's ruin: he declared his love, and promised marriage.

The amiable Mrs. Wilson, ever attentive to the welfare of her daughter, urged her to comply with the proposal of the squire, representing the faithful Bosville as having forfeited every claim to her esteem by his ungrateful conduct; and concluded, with adverting to her present circumstances as an inducement to receive the addresses of the squire. But Sophia still cherished the remembrance of the absent Bosville; and therefore acquainted her mother, it was with extreme pain she disobeyed her commands; but her heart could never forget its firm attachments. Mrs. Wilson entertained too great an affection for her daughter, to urge any further; and therefore the following day informed the squire of her determination.

Disappointed in his cruel hopes of seduction, he began to meditate plans of revenge against the gentle object of his desires; and for that purpose, made

it his business to become acquainted with the affairs of her mother.

Unfortunately, after the division of the money, which remained in the hands of her banker, she, imagining his failure to proceed from unsuccessful industry, intrusted him with her little remaining portion, in order to enable him again to resume business: but his villainy prompted him to abuse her kindness and make off with the whole of her fortune! Disappointed in her usual remittance, Mrs. Wilson had neglected to pay the last quarter for the house she rented from the squire; who learning from London the elopement of her banker, immediately commenced an action against her for the money. Mrs. Wilson now became acquainted with her fate: the villainy of the squire raised her indignation: but her misfortunes had taught her, that the world is not peopled with the votaries of virtue; and she was not therefore greatly surprised at his villainy.

At this period Mr. Bosville the elder died, after having endured the severest pangs of remorse, arising from the thoughts of his former way of life, and his unnatural conduct towards his son. But before his decease, in order to make some atonement to those whom he had injured, he bequeathed three-fourths of his fortune to be divided equally between Mrs. Wilson, Sophia, and his son; and the remainder to be applied to charitable purposes.

Various were the friends whom the return of affluence created. But Mrs. W. despised the adulation of the multitude; and continued to move in an even track of rectitude and honour, without deigning to associate with those who had deserted her in her misfortunes.

Some little time after her release, the squire, as a reward for his villainy, broke his neck in a fox chase: but the benevolent Mrs. Wilson possessed in an eminent degree the christian virtue of forgiving her enemies, and even lamented his death with unfeigned marks of sorrow.

The health of Sophia daily declined: the recollection of Bosville nightly dis-

turbed her repose: and the remembrance of his supposed ingratitude made her eyes frequently stream with the tears of sensibility.

At this time, the constant Bosville was on his passage from India, after having resided there three years. Disappointed in his hopes of acquiring a fortune, his heart could bear no longer a separation from the object of his attachment: he had therefore conquered his delicacy, and was coming to Europe to make a tender of himself to the lovely Sophia.

On his arrival in England, he traced the various removals of Mrs. Wilson with a mixture of surprise and admiration at her conduct: but when he learnt her present circumstances, his heart overflowed with transports of joy: and he repaired to her dwelling, elated with the hope of immediate felicity.

Sophia's joy, at the explanation of his conduct, was equal to his own, at finding her still constant through all her trials—while his delicacy was gratified by the recollection that he did not bring poverty to the arms of his beloved. Thus, rewarded by virtue, Hymen soon lighted his torch, and conducted them to his temple.

Mrs. Wilson, Bosville and Sophia, now experienced the extent of human felicity. And they are frequently heard to exclaim, "that virtue is its own reward, and vice its own punishment."

THE magistrate of a little village in the marquisate of Brandenburg, committed a burgher to prison, who was charged with having blasphemed God, the king, and the magistrate. The burgomaster reported the same to the king, in order to know what punishment such a criminal deserved. The following sentence was written by his majesty in the margin of the report:

"That the prisoner has blasphemed God, is a sure proof, that he does not know him: that he has blasphemed me, I willingly forgive; but, for his blaspheming the magistrate, he shall be punished, in an exemplary manner, and committed to Spandau for half an hour."



THE
A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,
 Or, UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE,
 For APRIL, 1790.

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C O N T E N T S.
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—♦♦♦♦♦—
Meteorological observations made in Philadelphia, March 1790.

Days	Thermom.		Barometer		Wind	Weather.
	7AM	3PM	7AM	3PM		
1	30	40	30.3	30.2	NE.	clear and cool, snow, heavy rain,
2	40	37	29.7	29.7	SW.	cloudy, pleasant, clear.
3	40	35	29.5	29.7	NW.	clear, fresh gale, cold, high wind.
4	16	27	30.4	30.4	NW.	hard frost, clear, cold, high wind.
5	25	41	30.4	30.3	W.	clear, cold, pleasant.
6	38	37	30.1	30.1	W.	rain. [rain,
7	38	40	29.7	30.2	S.NW.	fresh gale, overcast, high wind,
8	24	30	30.	30.	NW.NE.	clear and cold—stormy.
9	4	6	30.6	30.5	NW.	clear and very cold. [snow.
10	13	28	30.5	30.5	W.	fresh gale, clear and cold, deep
11	32	33	30.	29.9	NE.NW.	overcast, clear and moderate.
12	27	25	30.3	30.3	NW.W.	clear and moderate.
13	33	40	30.2	30.2	SW.	cloudy—clear.
14	39	40	30.1	30.2	SW,NE.	cloudy—rain.
15	33	46	30.4	30.4	W.NW.	clear and moderate.
16	37	43	30.5	30.4	E.NE.	cloudy—cold—heavy rain.
17	40	54	30.6	29.7	NE.SW.	overcast—cold—heavy rain.
18	45	43	29.8	29.9	NW.	cloudy—fresh gale.
19	40	43	30.4	30.4	NW.	clear and moderate.
20	33	49	30.6	30.4	SE.S.	clear—cold—moderate.
21	33	50	30.3	30.1	S.	clear and pleasant.
22	50	60	30.	29.8	NW.S.	clear—very pleasant—rain.
23	45	50	30.	30.	NW.E.	cloudy—rain in the night.
24	42	44	29.9	29.8	NW.W.	cloudy—small rain—cloudy.
25	46	55	29.9	30.	NW,NE	clear and pleasant.
26	44	48	30.	30.	S.	rain.
27	45	55	29.7	29.6	NE.	cloudy.
28	46	55	30.1	30.1	NW.	cloudy.
29	43	47	30.2	30.2	NE.	overcast.
30	48	46	30.3	30.2	NE.W.	clear and moderate.
31	33	45	30.5	30.4	NE.E.	clear and moderate.

Thermometer highest 60. lowest 4. Barometer highest 30.6; lowest 29.6

Observations on the weather, &c. for February.

THE weather this month has been very changeable: but in general, it was cloudy, cold and clear, with some sharp frosts, and frequent rains—attended with high winds. There was occasionally a small fall of snow, which remained but a short time on the ground; as it was in most instances dissolved, almost as soon as it fell. The wind for the most part blew from the NW. SW. and NE. The thermometer was down to 8. on the 10th inst. when the weather was extremely cold: and on the 24th it was up to 41. which were the highest and lowest, it was observed to be this month. The motions of the quicksilver in the barometer were pretty large; the points, between which it ranged, were 29.3 to 30.7. On the 3d at 8 A. M. the thermometer stood at 18. the barometer pointed to 30.5 with a clear and cold day: in the evening it suddenly fell .2 when a heavy rain came on, and continued with little intermission all the next day, the barometer still falling. In the evening, the wind shifted to the SW. when a storm of sleet and rain succeeded, accompanied with a fresh gale of wind. The navigation of the river Delaware, was not obstructed this winter, until the 7th, when it was frozen over, and next day afforded the diversion of skating to our citizens. It continued shut until the 17th, when it drove, and has been nearly clear of ice to this day.

The sudden vicissitudes of the weather from cold to heat—from wet to dry—were productive of many inflammatory disorders. Pleurifies and peripneumonies now became very common. Some had the measles, which were very mild in their appearance, and by no means so fatal as they were last spring, when they were epidemic in this city. In both cases, great advantage was derived from keeping the patients moderately cool: many children, with the measles, were not confined to their beds one day. Their drinks were lukewarm. In several cases, both diseases were protracted to an unnecessary length

by the patients being obstinately kept in stove rooms.

Philadelphia, February 28, 1790.



Observations on the weather in March.

A Greater proportion of clear and moderate weather has occurred this month than usually happens at this season of the year. In the beginning, however, the thermometer was as low down as 4. to which point it had not been before, during this winter. At Richmond on the 7th, 8th, and 9th, there was so great a storm, as to unroof many of the houses, and do considerable damage to the wharves and shipping. In this city, on the 7th at night, there was also a storm of hail and rain, attended with a high NW wind: but no loss was sustained. The only considerable fall of snow, this season, happened on the 10th; but did not remain longer on the ground than three days.

The measles still continued to appear occasionally—but happily, with scarcely any mortality. Many children were afflicted with the whooping cough: and in some instances it proved fatal. In no case did the inflammatory diathesis predominate in the system so much as to require bleeding. Emetics repeated every week, and purges occasionally interposed, were found to be very advantageous, in order to evacuate the intestines, and discharge the mucus from the lungs, with which they often seemed so much distressed as to endanger suffocation.

Philadelphia, March 31, 1790.



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

The history of Amelia Stanford, written by herself.

IT may probably be asked, by a gay witling, who skims over the surface of things—who speculates on life, without enquiring seriously into its nature or design—why mankind are so prone to dwell on the shades of a picture—why, in a retrospect of life, the mind pauses on scenes that impart no gaiety to the fancy, and awake no rapture in the heart? The answer is obvious: it is the law of our nature. The wisdom of heaven has thought proper, so to constitute

the hearts of many, as to render them most happy in the indulgence of that philosophic melancholy—that tender pensiveness, which ennobles the soul, while it depresses the spirits, and gives, beyond any circumstance on earth, a foretaste of those joys in heaven, “which the eye hath not seen—nor the ear heard—neither has it entered into the heart of man to conceive.” Influenced by this motive, it is, that I often wander back to past periods, that I recall, in imagination, scenes which were once painful in the extreme, and dwell upon them till my heart distends almost to bursting, and is only relieved by a torrent of delicious tears. Daily experience proves to me the truth of miss Moore’s position, that—

“Even the soft sorrow of remember’d woe,

“A not-unpleasing sadness can bestow.”

From the frequent endurance of this “sadness,” produced by the recollection of past events, in moments of retirement and dejection—and finding the remark of the wisest of men, justified by my own experience, “that by the sadness of the countenance, the heart is made better,” I have come to the resolution, of committing the substance of my history to writing. To some of those dear offspring, who bear my likeness and my name, perhaps the written memorial, of what they have often heard, may not be unacceptable. Perhaps some friends across the Atlantic, may be interested in this literary bequest. And when they compare the once cheerful Amelia Seymour, with the unfortunate Amelia Stanford, they will commiserate the devoted girl, will sympathize in her misfortunes, and be grateful to heaven for an exemption from similar calamities.

My father, whose name was William Seymour, lived in the town of Bristol, in England, and followed merchandise. In the early part of life, he had been successful in business, and had prudently deposited a competency in the funds, in case of accidents (to which trade is proverbially exposed.) He married early, and had several children, all of

whom he lost young, except an elder sister and myself. While my father was in the full career of success, my sister married a gentleman, of fortune, family, education, and benevolence. He lived on his income, at no great distance from my father’s, on a small, but highly-cultivated estate.

When the moment approached, at which my sister was to part with the home where she had been reared—and from the dear connexions, whose tenderness had hitherto gladdened her existence—her heart sunk—her resolution vanished—she insisted on my attending her—and making one of her family, until she could in some degree lose the remembrance of home. I was young—but 15 years of age—and was pleased with the scheme for its novelty. I accordingly took my leave of home, to stay a few weeks with my sister. Three months I passed with her in uninterrupted happiness. Time then had the dove’s wings—we received the highest attentions the neighbours could pay us; and, possess’d as we truly were, of “health, peace, and competence,” (the poet’s definition of happiness) in reading, conversation, visits, and work, we enjoyed life as highly as mortals could do.

But the tide was now to ebb—the scene was to undergo a change—a change which first brought me to an acquaintance with sorrow and misfortune. I was suddenly sent for home—my mother was said to be dangerously ill—she had taken a violent cold, which brought on a pleurisy—a high fever accompanied it—she became delirious, and her life was despaired of by the physicians. We arriv’d in time to behold her a living mother. About the time we reach’d my father’s house, her disorder seemed to take a favourable turn—she again became herself—she recogniz’d her children—and possessed her reason clearly enough to give us her dying blessing, and her parting advice. “I feel,” said she, “my children,” taking us in her arms, as she sat up in bed, and embracing us most tenderly, “I feel the powers of nature failing—my nerves are extremely

weaken'd, my heart has that awful fluttering, which assures me of approaching death." Our sobs here interrupted her address: but resuming the subject with a tremulous voice, and an aspect in which heaven itself was seated, she continued: "The cold hand of Death is already laid upon me—I feel an icy torpor creeping through my veins: let me tell my daughters all my heart ere it be forever too late. To the goodness of God, and the care of his divine providence, I then recommend you both—the God, who has protected and guided the parent, from infancy to mature age, will not forget the offspring. Trust in him, my children; and he will never betray your trust. Resort to him for counsel and comfort in moments of distress, and he will not refuse his assistance. He has promised to be a father to the orphan, and his promise is infallible. Commit yourselves to him, and he will amply supply the loss of that mother, whom, I trust, he will in a few fleeting moments receive to himself.

"The period that has been allotted me in life, has not been very long. I have not yet reached my fortieth year. I trust, however, I have lived to some good purpose; I have through life considered the love and service of the Supreme Being, as the first object to be desired and aimed at—and next to this, the happiness of my fellow creatures. In these particulars, I hope my dear children will follow the example of an affectionate parent, and believe her (who has no interest now to disguise the truth) that through life, you will find the love and service of your Maker the most delightful employment you can be engaged in, and the surest road to solid happiness. In your intercourse with the world, you will find the pleasures of sense the great objects of desire and of praise—the serious and useful qualities of the heart, so warmly recommended by our Saviour, the topics of ridicule and too often of contempt. But aim at acquiring an opinion of your own, formed on the word of inspiration, and the most judicious moral writers. This will be an anchor to keep your barks steady and

firm, amidst the storms of controversy, and the currents of popular opinion.

"Be charitable and kind to all with whom you are in any wise connected—endeavour to consider their interest and happiness as your own. Never lose sight of our Saviour's golden rule, "of doing to others as you would that they also in like circumstances, should do unto you:" forgive their frailties and their errors—there is a noble and sweet satisfaction in forgiving, which elevated and refined souls only know. Never was there a more untrue maxim, than that "revenge is sweet:" to little and malevolent minds it may be so—it may seem so in the first gust of passion—but when anger has subsided, and the mind reflects on the past, nothing is more painful to a good heart, than to remember that it has been the cause of an injury to another, which it cannot repair. And believe me, my children, when you come to the situation in which you behold your mother now, the only parts of your life to which you will look back with pleasure, will be those in which you have reliev'd misery, and conferred happiness by doing good—and rest satisfied. . . . but I feel a deadly sickness—my God support me—in this last trial." Here, a faintness seiz'd her—she fell back—a general shriek of horror pervaded the chamber—she open'd her eyes—they soon closed again—and with one deep groan her spirit return'd to him who gave it.

(To be continued.)



Short account of St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland: extracted from a sermon preached March 17, 1790, in St. Mary's church, Philadelphia, by the rev. F. A. Fleming.

AMONG those men, endowed with the apostolic spirit, who, deriving by constant succession, their authority from the immediate messengers of Christ, laboured with eminent success in the Lord's vineyard, was St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, whose feast we celebrate on this day.

Different countries have disputed the

honour of giving birth to this illustrious saint. Scotland and Brittany advance their pretensions. The claim of the former seems best founded. In a discourse of this nature, we had better wave the discussion of such a point. Those, who display great knowledge in controversies about the native country of saints, would render them much more honour, by copying their virtues, claiming their patronage, and striving to become their fellow citizens in heaven. He was born towards the end of the fourth century, and lived with his father Calphurnius, in Britain, before the evacuation of that province by the Romans. His education was christian and pious. At sixteen years of age, he was snatched from his parents by some barbarians, who sold him as a slave in Ireland: for the infamous traffic of human blood is not a modern invention. During his captivity, he felt all the rigours, which unfeeling dominion, tempered with views of interest, can inflict—the same hardships, the same severities, which many of our fellow creatures yet suffer in slavery; but with this difference, that Patrick experienced this cruel usage from unenlightened heathens, and our African brethren from those, who live in the sunshine of revelation, and join in the cry of universal benevolence.

The hardships, which our young saint endured, were the source of his eminent virtue. It is the natural effect of affliction, to expose the vanity of worldly pursuits. The tears of oppressed innocence clear the eyes of reason, and direct them towards heaven. The dew of divine grace moistens the sorrowful heart, and quickens the latent seeds of heavenly truths. The harrassed youth felt the comfort of celestial prospects: and, solicited by interior illuminations, he betook himself fervently to prayer, he strengthened his good resolutions by fasting. His tender soul soon experienced all those real consolations, which always accompany sufferings, endured with patience and resignation.

Such exalted virtue soon fixed the attention of providence. God was pleased to point out to him, in a vision, af-

ter six months' captivity, the means of escaping from bondage. The most violent apologists of the slave trade cannot dispute the right of God, to rescue his creature from unmerited oppression. He went to the sea coast, and begged his passage from some pagan mariners: but his petition is rejected: he retires, not in that state of fullness, which so dreadful a disappointment produces in a mind not formed to piety, but perfectly resigned under this new trial. The father of injured innocence immediately softens the hearts of those unfeeling heathens and they admit him aboard. I pass over the incidents of the voyage, and the dreadful hardships he suffered after his arrival at North Britain, until he reached the house of his father. These and many other circumstances of his life, I shall omit, that we may have more time to examine the distinguished features of this eminent character.

The sentiments of virtue, which he had imbibed in the school of adversity were too deeply impressed on the mind of Patrick, to be obliterated by tumultuous joy, on his delivery from bondage and being restored to the affluent enjoyments of life in the house of his parents. His mind was not embittered against that country where he had received such cruel treatment. It is the peculiar doctrine of our amiable Mediator, to forgive injuries, to love our enemies, nay to sacrifice life for their salvation. The mind of Patrick, enlightened with a full and fervent faith, was constantly meditating, during some years, on the means of dispelling the spiritual darkness, which overcast Ireland. He nourished the divine vocation, which he felt within him, to devote his life for the salvation of its inhabitants: he resolved to encounter every danger, in pursuing the grand object of dissipating the clouds of ignorance and superstition, which yet intercepted from them the rays of the gospel.

The progress of christianity in Ireland, before the close of the fourth century, was not considerable. The great extent of the Roman empire seems to have been ordained by divine providence, to facilitate the propagation of

the gospel. When the saving doctrine of Christ was once firmly established, the Father of mankind broke the iron sceptre of the Roman emperors, and called, from the frozen regions of the north, a swarm of barbarians, who revenged amply on those haughty tyrants, the insults and cruelties, exercised by them on human nature. Ireland had escaped the grasp of pagan Rome, and therefore did not partake of the horrors, which accompanied the crush of that overgrown empire. Some unsuccessful attempts, to convert the Irish to christianity, had been made by their next neighbours, the Britons. The great body of the people still remained attached to their favourite superstitions. Their conversion was reserved by the inscrutable decrees of divine providence for St. Patrick. But if the Irish came later into the fold of Christ, than some other nations, they soon made ample amends for their delay.

The fervent zeal, the ardent charity of Patrick was approved by the author of revealed religion. God vouchsafed to reveal to him, that he was destined for the great work of planting and establishing the doctrine of the cross in Ireland. Patrick, well instructed in religion, knew, that to undertake this mighty charge, to initiate pagans into the mysteries of Christianity, he must derive mission and authority from the successors of the apostles, to whom the Redeemer had delegated the power of teaching and preaching his doctrine, to all nations, even to the consummation of the world. An attempt of a layman to dispense the bread of life—to announce the divine word—to communicate the awful mysteries to the people, was never made in the early ages of Christianity, and would be then abhorred as an open contradiction to the doctrine of St. Paul, who says: “How shall they hear, without a preacher? and how can they preach, unless they be sent?”

Such is the profound humility of saints, that they are utter strangers to their own virtues. Their imperfections are constantly before their eyes. The thought of attaining a certain state

of conversion, to which impeccability is annexed, which some moderns pretend to, never entered the mind of this eminent servant of God. Patrick dreaded the sacred ordination, spent some years in preparation, and would not have offered himself for it, had not divine grace banished his fears, and supported his trembling humility with heavenly consolations. His conspicuous sanctity created an obstacle to his episcopal consecration and mission into Ireland. His relations, and the clergy of the country, charmed with the odour of his virtues, laboured to detain him among them. They made him the most advantageous offers; they painted, in the most lively colours, the danger of exposing his person among a people, who were the declared enemies of Romans and Britons, and ignorant of the true God. His good friends did not reflect, that true zeal despises riches, and is inflamed by a near prospect of danger. He surmounted these difficulties; was ordained bishop; disposed of his patrimony; forsook his relations and friends; and departed for Ireland, determined to renounce every personal advantage, to face every danger, for the sake of communicating to strangers the truths of eternal life.

We have now the apostle of Ireland on the scene, where he obtained greater glory, which secured to his memory more respect, more admiration, than any conquering hero could ever procure from mankind, by the most splendid victories. Having no armour but the cross—no sword except the word of God—he effected, in a large and populous nation, a revolution, which the united efforts of philosophers could never produce in one city. Paganism was propagated by flattering the strongest passions of corrupt nature; Mahometism by the sword: the progress of modern infidelity, comparatively much smaller, originates from a desire of indulging every appetite, without the dread of future punishment. Patrick declared open war against every passion of a nation reputed ferocious, and corrupted by superstition. He braved, unarmed and alone, the sword of persecution: he loudly inveighed against

every vice, commanded the practice of virtue, and threatened eternal punishment. Yet he conquered: he subdued the hearts of the whole nation, and established the christian religion on the ruins of paganism. Is not the finger of God here visible? I defy the most acute reasoner to account for this event by means purely natural.

I should compose a long history, were I to relate minutely all the labours of this truly apostolic man, during forty years of mission in Ireland. He supported his preaching by a conduct eminently holy. He traversed often the whole kingdom, heedless of every danger, anxious only to instil the saving truths of the gospel into the minds of the unenlightened inhabitants. God communicated to him the gift of working miracles. He restored sight to the blind, health to the sick, and recalled nine persons to life. It is not the fashion of this age, to give credit to the visions and miracles related in the lives of saints. It is to be wished that the sages of the eighteenth century, would reflect, that their system of slighting miracles, is often subject to greater difficulties, than the belief of sincere christians in the testimony of reputable authors, who relate these wonderful facts. For the present, I rest the truth of this remark on one query: which of these two suppositions is the more reasonable; that Patrick, endowed with the spirit of God, converted the Irish nation to the belief of the mysteries of christianity, engaged the body of the people to exchange the superstitious rites of their old religion for the observance of the most difficult precepts of the gospel, supporting his doctrine by miracles; or that he effected all this by means merely human? Assign those natural causes, within the sphere of his agency, and we shall abandon his miracles.

So efficacious was his preaching, that many thousands were thereby excited, not only to the exact observance of the precepts of christianity, but also to the rigid practice of its sublimest counsels. To renounce ambition, every attachment to riches, to abstain from the en-

joyments of unrestrained lust, and to sacrifice even the lawful pleasures of the married state, are among those virtues, to which our amiable Redeemer promises the greatest rewards. So powerful was the word of life in the mouth of our saint, that not only the body of the Irish nation cheerfully submitted to all the restraints of the gospel, but also in every part of the kingdom, great numbers of these newly-converted pagans, of both sexes, shewed the practicability of the evangelical counsels, by embracing all the rigours of the religious state. This ardour, diffused over all Ireland, was not a temporary effort of these neophytes, kindled by the blaze of Patrick's sanctity: such deep roots had these sublime virtues, planted by him, and fostered by his care, taken, that Ireland obtained and supported for many ages, the title of the island of saints. Troops of christian heroes, inflamed with the evangelical spirit, issued from this seminary of sublime virtue, conquered superstition, prostrated idolatry, and diffused the light of the gospel in many nations. Missionaries from Ireland succoured the efforts of St. Austin and his fellow labourers in converting the heathen Saxons, who invaded Britain; and communicated the knowledge of the gospel, with the alphabet, to these fierce, unlettered conquerors. The apostolical labours of the Irish were extended much farther. Many nations of Germany and France received the christian doctrine from their hands: nay they displayed in Italy, which had always been, from the time of St. Peter, the seat of true religion, the sublimest virtues of the gospel.

* * * * *

I have, my brethren, given you a short but faithful narrative of the life and actions of the spiritual father of Ireland. He died in a good old age, praising God for the wonderful success of his labours. His pure, generous soul flew to the mansions of bliss, to receive the reward mentioned by the prophet Daniel, saying: "those, who instruct many in justice, shall shine as stars for all eternity."

New observations on the religion of the Chinese, by an American traveller.

THE most seemingly extravagant accounts of their idolatry and superstition, which we meet with, may be safely credited. No people are more the sport of religious contingencies, or put greater faith in lucky days. In passing the Jofs * houses, I have often stopped to see them pay their devotions. There is an image of a fat laughing old man at the upper end of the room, sitting in a chair, before whom is erected a small altar, whereon tapers and sandal wood are constantly kept burning. As soon as a worshipper enters, he prostrates himself before the idol, and knocks his head three times on the ground. This done, he takes two pieces of wood that fit together, in the form of a kidney; again kneels; knocks his head; holds them to Jofs; and after bowing three times for his blessing, throws them up. If they fall with both flat or both round sides up, it is good luck; but if one of each, it is unfortunate. He renews his chin-chin † to Jofs, and tries again. I have seen this repeated seven or eight times, till it succeeded. He then prostrates himself again; knocks his head as before; and takes a small earthen vessel, wherein are many pieces of reed with characters marked on them. These he shakes together: and after holding the vessel to Jofs, and bowing three times, draws out one of the sticks; if it be an unlucky one, he tries again: and when he is satisfied, he lights his taper, and fixes it before Jofs: then lets fire to a piece of paper, washed with tin; presents it on the altar; bows three times; and retires.

The same ceremonies are offered by the female worshippers, none of whom but the lower sort are allowed to frequent public places.

Besides these jofs houses, which are always open, and much frequented,

NOTES.

* Jofs is the name of their idol.

† Worship.

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there are large pagodas, or temples, where are a number of bonzes or priests, who perform daily worship. In these temples are various idols, in the form of men and women—but many times bigger than the life, and of most terrific appearance. There is one of a woman with many pairs of extended arms, which is intended as a symbol of divine goodness, that embraces all. In addition to these public places of worship, every house and sampan ‡ has its domestic deity, before whom a piece of sandal wood is constantly kept burning, which serves at the same time to perfume Jofs, and to light the worshipper's pipe, who morning and evening pays his devotions with the paper and candle.

Polygamy is allowed among the Chinese: and a man is pleased with his favourite wife, and with his maker, in proportion to the number of sons she bears him: no account is made of daughters. Synchrony, the principal porcelain merchant at Canton, told me one day, with much satisfaction, that his wife had brought him a third son—and added with an air expressive of gratitude, that Jofs was very good to him. “Jofs loves me,” continued he, “because I make him much chin-chin.”

The great concern of a rich Chinese, is to procure a pleasant spot for a tomb; for which, provided it be to his mind, he thinks no price too great. It must be airy, shaded by trees, and watered by a running stream, situated on an eminence, and commanding an extensive prospect of land and water. So great is his attention to these circumstances, that a Chinese, on meeting with any extraordinary misfortune, is sometimes led to suppose, that it is because his father's bones do not rest comfortably. In this case a new situation is taken, and consecrated by the priests, and a tomb prepared, in which the relics of his father, removed from their former abode, are deposited with much ceremony and expense.

NOTE.

‡ Boat.

2 A.

Of the increasing power and probable designs of the English in the East Indies, with a description of Pulo Pinang, or Prince of Wales island.

IT is the opinion of many judicious observers, that the English seem to be aiming not only at the monopoly of the tea trade for Europe, but that they have in view the exclusive commerce of the eastern division of the globe. The new plan of government for Bengal and its dependencies—their late establishments, both to the eastward and westward—the prohibitions to their subjects in India against selling their ships to foreigners—and in short, their whole conduct strongly favours the suspicion. This object, and to be sure it is no trifling one, is now considered as the great idol of the English nation: and in consequence of it, the current of popular opinion carries rapidly along, every measure which the company thinks fit to adopt. How far the Dutch, whom it most nearly concerns, will suffer attempts of this kind, a few years must determine. The settlement of the English at Pulo Pinang, which enables them to command the whole of the navigation from the peninsula of India—that of Malayo, and the island of Sumatra—has not a little alarmed them: and the settlement of Botany bay, on the south east coast of New Holland, has increased their suspicions. If any should be inclined to despise a settlement formed by outcast felons, let them remember that mighty Rome had not a more honourable beginning.

The increasing magnitude of the English commerce with Canton, the most lucrative of all their Asiatic factories, induces many to believe, that the company mediate some important changes in the present system for conducting it. This might materially affect the other nations trading to China. Perhaps a commercial confederation of these nations, for their mutual benefit, not unlike the armed neutrality, during the late war, may be adopted, as the best means of checking and defeating such exorbitant pretensions.

The island of Pulo Pinang, in the Straits of Malacca, now called by the

English, “Prince of Wales island,” was taken possession of by them early in 1786. It is between twelve and thirteen miles long; its medium breadth about five. It has a very good and safe harbour. It was given by the king of Quela to mr. Light, who, as captain of a country ship, had for a number of years been in the Malay trade, and was well known to his majesty; for the Malay princes are each of them, the principal merchant in his own dominions. Its situation, near the west entrance of the straits, renders it so advantageous in trading with these people, for tin, pepper, canes, rattans, &c. that it has become an object of attention with the Bengal government. They have appointed mr. Light superintendent; and sent a detachment of one hundred Seapoys, with a ship of war, for its protection. The settlement is in a very thriving condition, there being, exclusive of the garrison, near two thousand Chinese settled there, besides some Malays, who have all comfortable habitations regularly disposed in streets, intersecting at right angles. The governor and his assistants reside in the fort which is a square redoubt, fortified with bastions: and the troops are huddled at convenient distance on the plain. The encouragement given to the Malays, to bring their merchandise to this place where they obtain the highest prices, and the certainty of receiving either opium or such commodities as they have occasion for, and without incurring any risque, has already much affected the Dutch in their commerce with these people. Malacca, from being not long since the emporium of these straits and neighbouring coasts, is now dwindled to a mere place of refreshment: and the settlement of Pulo Pinang will give the finishing stroke to its commercial existence. There is an appearance of great harmony in the little society at this new settlement. The trade at present is free. The tin, pepper, and other merchandise collected here, is sold to the European or country ships bound to Canton, unless the owners prefer freighting it on their own account.

FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

Remarks on longevity and fruitfulness.

To the printers.

IN your museum for July last, a correspondent has proposed this, among other queries, "Are there any facts, which prove that longevity and fruitfulness have been promoted by emigration to America from European countries?"

There are certainly many instances of longevity among the first planters of all the colonies: and the fact is frequently remarked by our historians and others, who have written concerning the climate and inhabitants of America. There have also been many instances, in later years, to the same purpose. But then it must be observed, that temperance and labour are as conducive as the sea voyage and the change of climate to produce this effect. All these causes together undoubtedly tend to confirm the health and protract the lives of emigrants from Europe. On the contrary, spiritous liquors, which are much more plenty and cheap here, than in Europe, tend to enfeeble and destroy them. It is melancholy to remark how much the natives of the old continent, on their coming to America, addict themselves to hard drinking. There was a soldier in general Gage's army, in the year 1774, who, having bought a pint of New England rum, held up the bottle, and made the following ejaculation: "O what a blessed country is this, where a man can get drunk *twice* for six pence!" This miserable creature spoke the language of many foreigners—and I wish I could not add, of many natives.

With respect to fruitfulness—I cannot recollect any instances which will amount to a proof, that the women of foreign countries are more fruitful here than at home; or that they surpass our own women in this respect. But I know women who have emigrated from our old towns into the new plantations, and have suffered less of the curse which attends childbirth, than they were used to before their emigration. Whether

this may be accounted for by the want of those accommodations and indulgences to which they had been accustomed, in more populous places, I will not say: but I believe it is a fact, that nature teaches us to conform to our condition; and sometimes helps us to bear what in other circumstances we should think an intolerable burden. As an example and proof of this observation; permit me to relate an event, which really happened in the course of the late war: and that you may have the picture in its genuine colours, I will give it to you in the words of one of the actors. It is part of a letter found on board a British prize, in the year 1778.

"When we arrived on the coast of Ireland, there came on a most violent storm, which stove in the starboard quarter rails, split the gunwale, tore a large piece off the stern, by which means we shipped a great deal of water in the cabin. To add to our distress, we had a lady passenger, widow of a captain in the army, returning to her parents, pregnant with her first child, and near the time of childbirth. We had lain to six days without a rag of sail—without any fire to cook any thing proper for her situation—No woman but herself on board! The dismal novel business of nurse and assistant fell to the lot of your humble servant; the captain himself being the principal.

"Here pause and reflect on our situation! A young lady of twenty-one, whose fortune, on shore, would have entitled her to far better attendance! Beauty, virtue, good sense, and unaffected modesty lay exposed!—It is too nice a matter to talk about—we will say that she is now by the blessing of God safely delivered of a boy, who only saluted us with a faint—eh—and with a second, took leave of us and of a troublesome world.

"The first office being completed, we proceeded to fulfil the last, which we did by putting him into a two quart iron pot, and having lashed a piece of canvas over it, we proceeded to the tifferrail, where with much solemnity

ty, we dropped the young gentleman into the lap of old ocean. We now returned to our fair patient, and rendered her every assistance and nourishment that our deplorable situation would admit. Two days after, the wind abated; the third was a fine day; and we had the pleasure to see our patient so far recovered as to look upon deck. Don't smile, but admire what handy fellows we were! One of your land nurses would have confined the poor thing a month. Ten days after, we got to Plymouth; in four days more we landed our patient, and in two days after she was in London, having travelled one hundred miles, in all, nineteen days from her delivery."



Some account of the Creek Indians.

TO THE PRINTERS.

AS the Creek nation, bordering on Georgia, with whom commissioners from the united states have lately had a conference, have become the subject of much conversation, though they are little known to many of us, I presume a short account of them, and the country they inhabit, from one who has been familiar with them, will not be ungrateful to you.

The Creeks, who call themselves Muscokies, are composed of various tribes, who, after tedious wars, thought it good policy to unite to support themselves against the Chactaws, &c. They consist of the Apalakias, Alibamons, Abecas, Cavittaws, Coofas, Conshacs, Coofactes, Chacfiloomas, Natchez, Oconis, Okohoy, Pakanas, Oakmulgis, Taenias, Talepoozas, Weetumkas, and some others. Their union has not only answered their first hope, but enabled them to overawe the Chactaws and other nations.

They inhabit a noble and fruitful country, where they will become civilized, more and more every year; and where they, or some other people, more civilized and powerful, will one day enjoy all the blessings, which the superior advantages of their soil, climate, and si-

tuation can bestow. They are an expert, sagacious, politic people—extremely jealous of their rights—averse to parting with their lands—and determined to defend them against all invasions, to the utmost extremity.

They are remarkably well shaped; are expert swimmers; and are a sprightly hardy race. They teach their horses to swim in a very extraordinary manner; and find great use therein, in their war parties. They have abundance of tame cattle and swine—turkeys, ducks, and other poultry: they cultivate tobacco, rice, Indian corn, potatoes, beans, peas, cabbage, &c.

Their country abounds with melons, peaches, strawberries, plumbs, grapes, and some other fruits.

To strangers they are hospitable—may liberally kind to excess, even to white men, when any above the rank of a trader visits them. With those they are punctual, and honest in their dealings: and they afford them protection from all insults. Many of the nation are addicted to trade as principals, or as factors for the London company, who are allowed by the Spaniards a free trade with them, in a stipulated number of ships from London annually.

Their women are handsome: and considering their state of civilization, many of them are very cleanly. Their dresses at festivals and public dances, are rich and expensive. They are exceedingly attentive to strangers, whom they serve with excellent provisions, well cooked, which are always accompanied with a bottle of crystalline bear's oil, and another of virgin honey, full as pure.

Their country, or what they claim, is bounded northward by nearly the 34th degree of latitude; and extends from the Tombecklee or Mobbille river, to the Atlantic ocean. It is well watered by many navigable streams, leading to bays and harbours, which will become of great importance in peace and war; and is abundant in deer, bears, wild turkeys, and small game.

The men value themselves on being good hunters, fishermen, and warriors,

so much that their women still do most of the work of the field, which in this fine country and climate, is not very laborious. They are, however, adopting the use of black slaves.

They are the only red people I know, who frequently keep by them stores of liquor, by way of refreshment only; or who make any great use of milk, eggs, and honey.

Their country, amongst other valuable commodities, is possessed of a number of extraordinary salt springs, some of which produce one third salt. And their rivers are remarkably stored with the best of fish.

Hospitable and kind as these people are to friends, they are, if possible, still more inveterate to enemies, which is an exception to true bravery; but it is the effect of their education.

Whilst the British possessed the sea coasts of East and West Florida, the Creeks lived on good terms with them: and they are now in as strict friendship with the Spaniards, who cultivate their esteem with great attention, and strict regard to justice, indeed with a liberality some other nations are strangers to: no nation has a more contemptible opinion of the white men's faith, in general, than these people. Yet they place great confidence in the united states; and wish to agree with them, upon a permanent boundary, over which the southern states shall not trespass.

Mr. Magillivrie, whose mother was principal of the nation, and who has several sisters married to leading men, is so highly esteemed for his merits, that they have formally elected him their sovereign, and vested him with considerable powers. This gentleman wished to have remained a citizen of the united states: but having served under the British during the late war, and his property being considerable in Georgia, he could not be indulged: he therefore retired amongst his friends, and has zealously taken part in their interests and politics.

What may be the event, time will evince: but it is to be hoped, that the conciliatory measures, adopted in all

Indian transactions by the united states, will have the desired good effects. T. E.

[N. B. The delay of the above was occasioned by its having been mislaid.]



Remarks on the instalment-law of S. Carolina. Extracted from a letter, written by a traveller to his friend.

EVERY form of government has its inconveniences: and it is an evil incident to republics, that sometimes, the great body of the people are seized with a kind of epidemic madness, and, like an irresistible torrent, rush on to their own ruin. The republics of Greece are a striking instance of this. When this is the case, the disinterested and enlightened few, who have escaped the general phrensy, can do little more than sit in silence and astonishment, waiting the return of the public reason. This is scarcely to be expected until the people be brought to feel the fatal effects of their own madness and folly. Then, and generally not before, will they come to their senses, and turn their course. This, I hope, will soon be the case with the people of South Carolina. The sooner the better. If they should blindly persist in their present political measures, a few years longer, I fear repentance will come too late. The wretched temporary expedients of paper currency and instalment laws, can put off the evil day only for a short time; and, if persisted in, must at last bring on certain and inevitable ruin. The only stable foundations of good government are justice and veracity. That political system, however flattering, which has not these for its basis, can never be permanent, nor calculated to produce public welfare. Every law which encroaches on these, must in the end prove pernicious to the community. For the present, it may operate for the ease and convenience of individuals; but can never be productive of general and lasting utility. According to my idea of the instalment law, it is certainly a direct and open violation of both truth and justice. It destroys the faith of private contracts; dissolves the firmest

obligations; and counteracts that first dictate of natural justice, that "every man should have his due." For all this, necessity is pleaded. Dire, indeed, must that necessity be, which can authorise such a flagrant outrage on the sacred laws of justice and veracity. But when this necessity comes to be explained, it amounts to little more than the necessity of supporting or indulging a number of prodigal debtors, who, if obliged to do justice to their creditors, must stoop from their present style of life, and no longer revel in luxury, on the property of others. Such, I am well instructed, is the character of the greatest number of debtors in this state. Some compassion is due to the honest and industrious poor, who live frugally, and have been obliged to create debts to supply the real necessaries of life. These I find are very few. But those of the opposite character, who have involved themselves, by their own vicious and extravagant courses, are indeed numerous; and while they discover no disposition to reform their manners, or retrench from their luxury, in my judgment, neither deserve mercy, nor have any claim to indulgence. And yet to uphold such in elegance and splendor, the widow and orphan, who have seen better days, must feel the hard hand of penury—hundreds of honest creditors must be distressed—faith, honour, justice, must be violated. To a cool observer, who is not embroiled in politics or parties, such measures, I think, must appear little short of downright political madness. It is sapping the very foundations of government. Should you, my friend, see a man hewing away the main pillars of his house, in order to decorate some of the apartments, or make them more warm and convenient for the lodgers, would you not suspect the sanity of his head? Would you not despise the ignorance, or laugh at the folly, of that physician, who, to preserve the beauty, or ease the pain, of a leg or an arm, should transfer the offending matter to some nobler organ, or make a revulsion to the seat of life? Not less absurd appears to me the poli-

cy of a prevailing party in S. Carolina. For my part, I cannot see the necessity of taking such desperate measures to support debtors of the above description. Generally speaking, they are not only the most useless citizens, but in many respects exceedingly pernicious to the community. They do infinite mischief, by the examples of dissipation and extravagance which they set before others. In this way hundreds of thoughtless youth are led into habits of idleness and profusion, with all their train of attendant vices, which in the natural stream of things, tend to bring a mortal consumption on the body politic. Hence I am led to conclude that the sooner the property of these men is given up to their creditors, the better. Many of them must then be reduced to poverty; and will be no longer able to lead dissolute lives, and corrupt others by the poison of their example. They must then work, or starve.

It is a trite, and I think a true observation, that "honesty is the best policy:" and I am not able to see, that the supporting such debtors, as we are now speaking of, is an object of such magnitude, that the course of justice should be stopped, or even embarrassed and retarded on that account. The sober and industrious, who attend to their business—live within their income—and pay their public and private dues—are beyond doubt the most worthy and useful members of the community. One of these is worth a hundred spendthrifts; and better deserves the public attention. These are the men who ought to be protected, encouraged, favoured, and supported by the laws of every state. And yet these are the very men who suffer by the instalment law. I have conversed with a number of them, who are at once enraged and embarrassed, depressed and discouraged.

My surprise to find such a law operating among a sensible and enlightened people, has led me into these reflexions, and drawn out this letter to an unusual length. I shall therefore trespass no further on your patience, than to add, that the abovementioned law has, by a

late act, been prolonged from three to five years; and in the same way, may be prolonged to five hundred, were it possible for any government so long to escape political perdition, under the operation of such a law. This last is a most mortifying circumstance to creditors. It holds them in a state of continual suspense and anxiety, which is of all others the most painful to the mind. So that upon the whole, it is a moot point with me, whether they would

suffer more, were a law passed at once for the abolition of all debts. This would cut the matter short; and at least free them from their present tormenting suspense. They would then know the worst—see what they had to depend upon—and by redoubling their diligence, and accommodating their mode of living to their circumstances—might, in some measure, recover their losses, and live much more happily than at present. Yours, &c.



Exports from the port of Philadelphia in 1788, to Europe and the East Indies—to the united states—to the West Indies—and to British and Spanish America.

	Eur.&East I.	Unit. St.	W. Ind.	B. & Sp. Amer.
Anchors and cables,		17		
Bar iron and steel—tons,	106	676	12	19
bars,	2,689	13,104	461	210
bundles,		281		
Bricks,		184,450	72,725	49,750
Bees' wax—hhds.	50			
tierces,	130			
barrels,	81			
boxes,	14			
Beets and onions—barrels,			223	
bushels,			574	
ropes,		1,300	31,834	400
Brown sugar—hhds.		480		14
tierces,		16		
barrels,		493		
boxes,		34		
Bread—barrels,	1,912	2,330	21,865	693
kegs,	3,391	4,551	20,226	1,266
tierces,		364	116	
hhds.			209	
Beef and pork—barrels,	1,998	1,108	4,369	105
tubs,	40		126	
Butter and lard—barrels,	25	2	37	24
kegs,	457	1,275		203
Brandy, rum and gin—kegs	1,453	358	25	
cases,		1,323		5
pipes,	53	130	27	
barrels,	4	66		
casks,	77			
1-4 do.	12			
hhds.	143	776		44
tierces,		17		
Cases bottled liquor,	383			
hampers,	50			
Caboufes and stoves,		84		

	Eur.&East I.	Unit. St.	W. Ind.	B. & Sp. Amer.
Cherry brandy—pipe,	1			
casks,	11			
casks,	200			
Cheese—barrels,			12	
Cider and vinegar—hhds.	4			
tierces,		45		
barrels,		406	52	40
Coffee—hhds.	3			
barrels,	2	133		
bags,		149		
Chairs,	132	3,804		34
Chocolate & sper. candles—casks,	30			
boxes	87	250		
Cranberries, apples, & nuts—bbls.	66			
kegs,	16			
Copper nails—casks,	9			
Coals—bushels,	1,200			
Cotton—bales,	286			
Dutch fans and screens,		132		
Flaxseed—hhds.	6,976			
half do.	3,113			
barrels,	537			
bushels,	10,489			
Furs and skins—hhds.	129			
tierces,	10			
Flour—barrels,	67,738	38,058	94,689	8,178
half do.	4,133	2,474	9,012	2,904
hhds.			167	
Fish—hhds.	60		64	
barrels,	63	192	2,854	102
kegs,		25		
chefts,	29			
quintals,			200	53
Flax—lbs.	2,016			
Frame houses,			18	
Frame of a vessel,			1	50
Ginseng—casks,	264			
barrels,	89	20		
hhds.		15		
tierces,		61		
Grindstones,				35
Horn-tips—casks,	27			
Hams—hhds.	54	27	16	
tierces,	144	266	199	18
barrels,	50	118	192	12
Hair powder & starch—barrels,	16	61	13	
boxes,	8	111	95	2
kegs,		98	60	100
Hoops,			89,090	
Honey—casks,	40			
barrels,	43			
kegs,	165			
Hides,	2,356	514		

	Eur. & East I.	Unit. St.	W. Ind.	B. & Sp. Amer.
Indigo—kegs,	20			
tierces,	78			
barrels,	15			
Iron wire—tons,	2			
Indian corn & oats—bushels,	39,000		108,722	
hhds.			2,332	
barrels,			570	
Iron hoops—tons,		6		
bundles,		45		
Leather—boxes,		35		
bundles,		384	33	
fides,		40		
Lumber—feet,	328,325	4,990	2,384,094	13,792
Logwood & brazilatto—tons,	22	36		7,914
pieces,		107		
Live oak, &c.—pieces,	2,021			
Loaf sugar—hhds.		189	20	
tierces,		15		3
barrels,		221	32	4
Mahog. & walnut—planks,	88	71		
logs,	249			
feet,		2,048		
Mustard—boxes,		64		
Midlings, Ind. meal, &c.—bbls.	1,483	2,429	13,949	657
hhds.		198	2,527	
Marble—cafes,	7			
Mill stones,		22		
Melasses—hhds.		375		
Merchandise—hhds. (contents	22	274	17	5
tierces, unknown.)	91	257	13	148
barrels,	89	785	37	25
kegs,	33	1,184	35	260
firkins,	9			
boxes,	112			
packs,	32	986	161	612
trunks,		148		
cafes,		2,007		
crates,		159		
pipes,		52	1	5
jars,		678		
Naval stores—barrels,	8,528	405	936	300
Nicaragua wood—tons,	488			
logs,	17,322			
Nail rods—tons,		42		
bundles,		874		
Oil—tierces,		32		
barrels,	11	62	212	8
boxes,		13		
Oars and handspikes,	1,832			
Pleasure carriages		97	82	2
Potatoes, apples, & nuts—hhds.		19		
bbls.		1,447	1,025	111
bushels,		762	1,449	14

	Eur.&East I.	Unit. St.	W. Ind.	B. & Sp. Amer.
Pearl and pot-ash—tierces,	286			
barrels,	140			
Paper & pasteboard—bales,		835		
boxes,		34		
rheams,		1,436		
Fig-iron—tons,	93			
Peas and beans—hhds.			57	
tierces,			101	
barrels,			409	
kegs,			326	
bushels,			320	
Porter and beer—hogheads,	56	121		
casks,	102		15	
barrels,	27	758	40	23
boxes,	17			
tierces,		149		16
hampers,		50		
Rye meal—barrels,			1,520	
Rice—tierces,	2,834	66	1,557	
Shingles,			4,744,687	64,097
bundles,			471	
Staves and heading,	2,033,802	35,720	1,870,403	20,350
Steel—bars,	1,805			
Shorts and bran—hhds.		139		
bushels,		7,073		
Snake root—hhds.	6			
tierces,	4			
Saddle trees,		288		
Soap and candles—boxes,	37	1,731	790	235
Shooks,			2,422	
Salt—bushels,	138	22,053		
barrels,			70	300
Snuff—boxes,		31	297	
barrels,	6	225	150	
hogheads,		14		
tierces,		112		
kegs,		21	56	
Stills and worms,		69		
Shrub—hogheads,	6			
cafes,	339			
barrels,	4			
Sheep,			401	
Spruce—boxes,	24	87		
Ship stuff—hogheads,			205	
barrels,			1,842	
Sugar—tierces,	5			
Sturgeon & oysters—kegs,	206		189	
Sheet copper—cafes,	14			
Share moulds,		313		
Spirits of turpentine—barrels,	17			
Seeds and plants—cafes,	23			
Tallow—barrels,		59	476	24
Timber—pieces,			1,236	

	Eur.&East Indies.	Unit. St.	W.Ind.	B.&Sp.	Amer ^d
Tobacco—tierces,		16			
barrels,		52	27		
hogheads,	2,910	76	115		
boxes,		7	6		
Tea—chefts,		706	10		9
1-2 ditto,		126			
1-4 ditto,		272			
1-8 ditto,		40			
boxes,		185			
Wheat, &c.—bushels	154,768	6,731			
hogheads		81	25		
barrels		72	40		
Wagons, carts & drays,		62	30		
Wine—pipes,	780	616	30		
half do.		169	7		3
hogheads,	116				
quarter casks,	439	909	70		23
cases,	583	457			45
tierces,		25			
kegs,		17			
boxes,			22		
Whalebone—packs,	11				
Wheelbarrows, &c.		118	18		
Windfor chairs,	132	3,804			



*A valedictory oration, delivered at
Princeton college, in 1784.*

TO a mind, that is tenderly susceptible, and strongly retentive of early impressions, few things are more painful than to be parted from an object with which it has long been familiar. Man is a creature of habit; what he has long been acquainted with, he becomes attached to, from this single cause. "I would not," says an eminent French philosopher, "have an old post pulled up, or an aged tree cut down, which I have long been used to behold and visit." But when the object has insinuated itself into our hearts, by its conformity to the principles of taste, or its congeniality with our affectionate feelings, we lament the separation with tenfold affliction—we pause on those circumstances or scenes, which were most pleasing—and by a comparison, with such as future life may present, augment the distress of parting.

With such sentiments it is, that on

the present occasion, we address you, reverend and worthy gentlemen. When we call to mind that the institution, at which we have received the rudiments of our education, the seminary where we have been instructed in the sublime art of promoting our own best happiness, by reverence to our Maker, and usefulness to man, is patronized and superintended by your goodness, and fidelity—when we remember, that under your guardian care, it has flourished, and we have been highly benefited, our hearts glow with gratitude, to the mediate instruments of our privileges and our happiness. Often, in the course of our future days, as we sensibly feel the advantages that result from a liberal and religious education—often, as we find the cup of life sweetened by the ingredients of knowledge and virtue—we will remember the fount at which it was filled, and as we quaff it off, pay you, reverend and worthy gentlemen, a tribute of thanks, and from hearts fraught with gratitude and affection, breathe a

prayer to heaven, for the health and happiness of the honourable board of trustees of Nassau hall.

The president.

To you, reverend and dear sir, we cannot turn at this time without emotion of a grateful and pensive kind. For when, through the avenue of the last years of our life, we trace the many sweet scenes that break on the mental sight—when we recall the instructions, we have received from your lips; and recollect how well they are calculated to plant peace in our own bosoms, and to enable us to communicate it to others; the levity of youth gives way to the deep gratitude of riper years, and the reverence of the pupil is lost in the affection of a child. May the sentiments, inspired by your enlightning lessons, never be erased! May they answer the good purposes, for which they were delivered! and to periods yet far remote, bear an honourable testimony of your capacity and fidelity, in training the youth, entrusted to your care, to habits of industry, temperance and piety! And that yourself, reverend and dear sir, whose high attainments in political and literary knowledge, have not been able to stop the foot of Time—that yourself, while drawing near to the close of your pilgrimage, may, yet in health and peace, live to see these plants of your care, blossom and produce much fruit—is the sincere wish of your affectionate pupils.

Vicepresident.

But to the more immediate director of our youthful pursuits—to our guide—teacher—and friend—what shall the debtors of his goodness—the last born of his care and instruction, say? Shall they approach him, with reverence of his talents—with gratitude for his attention—or with wishes for his happiness? Alas—reverence before him locks up and is silent—gratitude exceeds the power of language—and wishes for his happiness, impatiently wait the occasion of evincing their sincerity. Yet duty, and the occasion, prompt one parting tribute. And what, beloved sir, can we, whom your lips and conduct have

equally instructed, offer with hopes of acceptance, better than the warm emotions of grateful minds? We would also pray for your health, for that health which the sons of science—which the lovers of mankind—and the parents of promising sons, have such reason to pray may be preserved perfect.

May you be long continued a blessing to this institution—to your country—to religion—and the world: and while you continue to form the minds of the American youth—the rude Indian and degraded African shall unite in praise of that advocate, who could so ably maintain the cause of human nature, and prove their affinity to their haughty oppressors. In admiration of the same character, we also could long dwell with pleasure—but the occasion enjoins brevity. We would, therefore, conclude this our salutation, by wishing you increased health, and happiness equal to your merit—happiness such as the world can neither give nor take away.

The gentlemen of the faculty will permit us to address them also with lips of sincerity, and hearts of affection. The many scenes, in which they have jointly contributed their exertions towards the improvement of our minds, must not pass unnoticed. The information daily communicated, in the chamber of recitation—the principles instilled at our morning and evening meetings, in the hall of devotion, rise on our memory like the lights of evening, to guide and to refresh us. They shall not be forgotten: they shall live, while the taper of life continues to burn—and as often as they recur to memory, prompt us to thank those, whom we now with unfeigned sincerity wish all health, peace, and prosperity.

My beloved friends and classmates, when Affection turns her eye towards you, every feeling of the heart melts; every tender image is awakened in the bosom—the recollection of the most pleasing scenes, that have gladdened life—a survey of blended enjoyments in which the heart, the fancy, and the understanding have united, rush on the soul, and absorb all her powers. These

once have charmed : but alas, under the impression, that they shall charm no more, how shall I effect my salutation to you ? fain would I at this solemn crisis, in the concluding act of the drama, collect in a groupe the most interesting scenes, in which we have been mutually engaged, the most happy moments we have passed together, and placing them before you, as the best prayer I could offer—as the last request I could make—pray you, by these, always to bear in memory the pious and wise precepts, you have received at yonder institution—to resist the syren voice of temptation, that would seduce you from the path of innocence and peace—and to persevere in devotion to heaven, and charity to man.

This I offer as my last—my parting wish—on such an occasion I can never offer it again. But, rest assured, it shall long live in my bosom—a bosom which my dear classmates may confidently believe, will uniformly beat with a sincere wish that they may ever enjoy the blessings of health and content—and that they may find every desire gratified, that is consistent with innocence, or approved by reason.

Students of Nassau hall.

And let my much esteemed friends, the students of Nassau hall also be admonish'd of the importance of duly improving those talents, which are now put in their hands. It is but a short time, since we were situated as you. In a short time to come, you will take our place. The lapse of time is rapid, and unceasing. Soon shall we all launch together into the ocean of life. Whirlpools and quicksands will there await us. Let us prepare for them betimes ; prudence and virtue will there be our best defence ; and prudence and virtue should be early, to be successfully cultivated. The present moment is all that heaven allows us to call our own. Improve that well, my dear fellow students, that when you come to leave these peaceful seats, of science and of virtue, you may possess yourself of that blessing which Golconda's or Chili's mines cannot purchase—of happiness, the fruit of wisdom and of

virtue, the enjoyment of which, your late fellow students as sincerely wish you, as you can wish yourselves.

To the audience.

Yet while thus engaged in offering wishes for health and happiness, to those we have long been connected with, by the ties of friendship or authority, we should not forget the attentions due to so polite an assembly. Obligated by their kindness, we would fain offer them our sincerest thanks, and animated by their smiles on our earliest performances, we would wish to point their attention, to future days, when the blossom shall have ripened into fruit, and when the intellects which are now imbibing the rays of knowledge, shall in their turn widely diffuse over others the effulgence of truth.



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

An oration intended to have been spoken at a late commencement, on the unlaevfulness and impolicy of capital punishments, and the proper means of reforming criminals. By a citizen of Maryland.—P. 98.

TO propose an hospital, for the reformation of criminals, is a new attempt, and may perhaps tend more to excite the ridicule, than the candid attention of those who estimate opinions by their antiquity. Let it be remembered, however, that the shortightedness of the human mind, often makes it necessary to wade through the sea of conjecture to the shore of truth. And if projectors in this way miss the destined place, it by no means proves that such a place does not exist : and when they return, they may, at least, claim the praise of laudable ambition. I shall therefore beg permission to propose a few hints, which may both evince the practicability of reforming criminals, and furnish the outlines of a proper plan.

1. Religious exercises might be applied with good effect. The power of sacred oratory is irresistible. There have been instances of the most hardened criminals relenting and melting into tears, upon a lively representation of

their vices and their spiritual state in the glass of christianity. And when this is once effected, may they not by reading the scripture, prayer, and the influence of divine grace, be led, through the various steps of conviction, remorse, and repentance, to a thorough amendment? To deny this, is to call in question the truth of the sacred oracles, and to overthrow the dearest hopes of fallible man. And when this blessed work is brought to a consummation, the penitent is restored to the favour of heaven, and may certainly be permitted to resume his station among men.

2. Solitude and darkness are known to have a powerful influence on the mind. When the avenue of external sense is shut, and every accession of ideas from without precluded—the soul becomes an object to herself: her agitations subside: and her faculties tend to the natural equipoise. In the case of the criminal, this is the most important point. The order of the faculties produces order in their operation. Conscience ascends her throne: the fumes, raised by the storm of passions, vanish: vice appears in all its deformity: and the mind is again linked to virtue by all the attractions of native beauty and of interest.

3. Fasting, hard labour, and bodily pain, may, in certain cases, be successfully applied in the reformation of criminals. To these may be added, want of sleep, particular kinds of diet and drink, and many herbs and minerals, used medicinally. These, indeed, affect only the body immediately: but that they ultimately affect the mind, is obvious. The great difficulty is, to form a system, founded on reason and experience, by which these may be applied with certainty. The idea of physical applications, for moral disorders, is comparatively new: and some may account it wild and romantic. To me, however, it has always appeared plausible—even rational. Modern philosophy has wisely determined to banish system-building, and to take experiment for her guide. Now, experiment plainly points out such a mutual

connexion, and strict sympathy, between the human soul and body, that it seems as if the author of nature intended this, hitherto neglected, point, as one of the subjects of useful investigation—and, perhaps, as a grand instrument of future reformation and happiness among mankind.

The three foregoing heads form the ground-work of a plan which may, when duly improved, terminate in greater success than is at present imagined. Let proper receptacles be provided for criminals: and let them be superintended by men eminent for their experience and their knowledge of human nature, who shall have a discretionary power to determine the duration of the confinement, and to vary the mode of treatment, according to the case and behaviour of the culprit. Here it will be objected, that a free people ought to know exactly the laws, and the punishments which they denounce. This is true with regard to what constitutes a crime, and the mode of conviction. But when a criminal is once condemned by the known laws of his country: there cannot be any thing unreasonable in committing the mode of punishment to benevolent and well-informed men, who, independent in their office, and merciful in their disposition, could have no view but his reformation and happiness.

Some object, that hardened villains, particularly murderers, are beyond the possibility of reformation. This is assertion unwarranted by experience. There have been instances of murderers, who escaped detection, reforming and living exemplary lives. The reverse, indeed, is often the case of those who break prison, or are pardoned at the foot of the gallows. The reason of this difference is plain. In the latter case, they have been exposed to the gaze of the world, and dragged about in chains, as so many monsters in human shape: and this effaces the sense of shame, hardens the heart, and instead of remorse, excites indignation and ferocity. In the former case, a sense of reputation remains; the door to future

virtue and esteem is still open; the criminal passion gradually subsides; and conscience resumes her authority. Now all these good effects might be secured by the proposed plan of confinement: and there is a moral certainty, that under proper management, they would terminate in the entire reformation of the criminal.

But, admitting that we could never attain such a certainty of his reformation, as to justify us in prudence in letting him resume his place in society—where is the impropriety of making him a prisoner for life? The labour of a human being is certainly more than a compensation for his maintenance. And as his treatment might be, and ought to be, mild, and no apprehension of a violent death before him—he would not be tempted to those daring acts for escaping, which, in our present criminals, originate from fear and desperation.

When I reflect on this subject, and hear Conscience, Religion, and Policy uniting their voices in concert—and behold Mercy coming forward, with uplifted hands and aspect benign, to plead in the same divine cause—and again, when I take a view of the improvements of the present age, and that liberal turn of thinking, that averseness to the slavery of habit which forms so bright a feature of the American character—I feel myself cheered with the hope that the period is not very distant, when humanity will assert her rights—when revenge and cruelty shall be held as repugnant to the spirit of christian

government, as they are to the spirit of christianity.

To you, wherever you are, whose hearts melt at the tale of woe—whose generous souls, spurning the shackles of prejudice, are prepared to listen to the groan of misery, the complaint of pity—to you I appeal, because you alone are the competent judges. Come and decide this question. Bring along religion—bring the spirit of true policy—bring reason—bring justice: we are not afraid of their severest inspection. Do you observe yonder criminal? Ah! why are his hands loaded with fetters! why such a dolorful clank of chains, as he slowly moves along his galled legs! whence that pale and squalid countenance! They are dragging him from a loathsome dungeon, the former echo of his groans, to the fatal tree. And whence this dire severity? Impelled by folly in a hapless hour, he had stolen his neighbour's horse. And must he be hurried out of the world by a violent death? Forbid it heaven! He holds up his trembling hands for mercy—he deploras his error; for his heart is yet uncorrupted. See his helpless wife and tender babes: their shrieks pierce the skies—they tear their hair—the powers of nature are exhausted—they faint. And must he suffer? Rise, Humanity! rise, Justice! rise, Policy! rescue the unhappy man from destruction: remove him for a while to the abodes of reflexion: and restore him to his family, to his country, and to virtue.



S E L E C T E D P R O S E.

An essay on the causes of the variety of complexion and figure in the human species. By the rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, D. D. vice-president, and professor of moral philosophy in the college of New Jersey; and M. A. P. S. —Continued from Vol. VI. page 248.

Have said, that the process of nature in this as in all her other works, is inexplicable. One secondary cause, however, may be pointed out, which seems to have considerable influence on the

event*. Connexions in marriage will

NOTE.

* Besides this, men will soon discover, those kinds of diet, and those modes of living, that will be most favourable to their ideas. The power of imagination, in pregnant women, might perhaps deserve some consideration on this subject. Some years since, this principle was carried to excess. I am ready to believe that philosophers, at present,

generally be formed on this idea of human beauty in any country. An influence this which will gradually approximate the countenance towards one common standard. If men, in the affair of marriage, were as much under management as some other animals, an absolute ruler might accomplish, in his dominions, almost any idea of the human form. But left, as this connexion is, to the passions and interests of individuals, it is more irregular and imperfect in its operations. And the negligence of the vulgar, arising from their want of taste, impedes, in some degree, the general effect. There is, however, a common idea which men, insensibly to themselves, and almost without design, pursue: and they pursue it with more or less success, in proportion to the rank and taste of different classes in society, where they do not happen, in particular instances, to be governed, in connexions of marriage, by interest ever void of taste. The superior ranks will always be first, and, in general, most improved, according to the prevalent idea of national beauty; because they have it, more than others, in their power to form matrimonial connexions favourable to this end. The Persian nobility, improved in their idea of beauty, by their removal to a new climate, and a new state of society, have, within a few races, almost effaced the characters of their Tartarian origin. The Tartars, from whom they are descended, are among the most deformed and stupid nations upon earth. The Persians, by obtaining the most beautiful and agreeable women from every

NOTE.

run to extremes on the other hand. They deny entirely the influence of imagination. But since the emotions of society have so great an influence, as it is evident they have, in forming the countenance—and since the resemblance of parents is communicated to children—why should it be deemed incredible, that those general ideas, which contribute to form the features of the parent, should contribute also to form the features of the child?

country, are become a tall, and well-featured, and ingenious nation. The present nations of Europe have, with the refinement of their manners and ideas, changed and refined their persons. Nothing can exceed the pictures of barbarism and deformity given us of their ancestors, by the Roman writers. Nothing can exceed the beauty of many of the present women of Europe and America, who are descended from them. And the Europeans and Americans are the most beautiful people in the world, chiefly, because their state of society is the most improved. Such examples tend to shew how much the varieties of nations may depend on ideas created by climate, adopted by inheritance, or formed by the infinite changes of society and manners*. They shew, likewise, how much the human race might be improved both in personal and in mental qualities, by a well directed care.

The ancient Greeks seem to have been the people most sensible of its influence. Their customs, their exercises their laws, and their philosophy, appear to have had in view, among other objects, the beauty and vigour of the human constitution. And it is not a improbable conjecture, that the fine models, exhibited in that country, to statuaries and painters, were one cause of the high perfection, to which the art

NOTE.

* Society in America is gradually advancing in refinement: and if my observation have been just, the present race furnishes more women of exquisite beauty than the last, though they may not always be found in the same families. And if society should continue its progressive improvement, the next race may furnish more than the present. Europe has certainly made great advances in refinement of society and probably in beauty. And if exact pictures could have been preserved of the human countenance and form, in every age since the great revolution made by the barbarians, we should perhaps, find Europe as much improved in its features as in its manners.

of sculpture and painting arrived in Greece. If such great improvements were introduced by art into the human figure among this elegant and ingenious people, it is a proof at once of the influence of general ideas, and how much might be effected by pursuing a just system upon this subject. Hitherto it has been abandoned too much to the government of chance. The great and noble have usually had it more in their power than others, to select the beauty of nations in marriage: and thus, while, without system or design, they gratified only their own taste, they have generally distinguished their order, as much by elegant proportions of person, and beautiful features, as by its prerogatives in society. And the tales of romances, which describe the superlative beauty of captive princesses—and the fictions of poets, who characterise their kings and nobles, by uncommon dignity of carriage and elegance of person, and by an elevated turn of thinking—are not to be ascribed solely to the venality of writers prone to flatter the great, but have a real foundation in nature*. The ordinary strain of language, which is borrowed from nature, vindicates this criticism. A princely person, and a noble thought, are usual figures of speech †. Mental capacity,

NOTES.

* Coincident with the preceding remarks on the nations of Europe, is an observation made by captain Cook, in his last voyage, on the island Ohwyhee, and on the islands in general, which he visited in the great south sea. He says, "the same superiority which is observable in the Erees [or nobles] through all the other islands, is found also here. Those, whom we saw, were, without exception, perfectly well formed; whereas the lower sort, besides their general inferiority, are subject to all the variety of make and figure that is seen in the populace of other countries." Cook's third voyage, book 3d. chapter 6th.

† Such is the deference paid to beauty, and the idea of superiority it inspires,

which is as various as climate and personal appearance, is, equally with the latter, susceptible of improvement, from similar causes. The body and mind have such mutual influence, that whatever contributes to change the human constitution in its form or aspect, has an equal influence on its powers of reason and genius: and these have again a reciprocal effect in forming the countenance. One nation may, in consequence of constitutional peculiarities, created more, perhaps, by the state of society, than by the climate, be addicted to a grave and thoughtful philosophy; another may possess a brilliant and creative imagination: one may be endowed with acuteness and wit; another may be distinguished for being phlegmatic and dull. Bœotian and Attic wit was not a fanciful, but real distinction, though the remote origin of Cadmus and of Cecrops was the same. The state of manners and society in those republics produced this difference more than the Bœotian air, to which it has been so often attributed. By the alteration of a few political, or civil, or commercial institutions, and consequently, of the objects of society and the train of life, the establishment of which depended on a thousand accidental causes, Thebes might have become Athens, and Athens Thebes. Different periods of society, different manners, and different objects, unfold and cultivate different powers of the mind. Poetry, eloquence, and philosophy, seldom flourish together in their

NOTE.

that to this quality, perhaps, does the body of princes and nobles, collectively taken, in any country, owe great part of their influence over the populace. Riches and magnificence in dress and equipage, produce much of their effect by giving an artificial beauty to the person. How often does history remark that young princes have attached their subjects, and generals their soldiers, by extraordinary beauty? and young and beautiful queens have ever been followed and served with uncommon enthusiasm.

highest lustre. They are brought to perfection by various combinations of circumstances; and are found to succeed one another, in the same nation, at various periods, not because the race of men, but because manners and objects are changed. If as faithful a picture could be left to posterity, of personal, as of mental qualities, we should probably find the one in these several periods as various as the other; and we should derive from them a new proof of the power of society to multiply the varieties of the human species. Not only deficiency of objects, to give scope to the exercise of the human intellect, is unfavourable to its improvement; but all rudeness of manners is unfriendly to the culture, and the existence of taste; and even coarse and meagre food may have some tendency to blunt the powers of genius. These causes have a more powerful operation than has hitherto been attributed to them by philosophers; and merit a more minute and extensive illustration than the subject of this discourse will admit. The mental capacities of savages, for these causes, are usually weaker than the capacities of men in civilized society*. The powers of their minds, through defect of objects to employ them, lie dormant, and even become extinct. The faculties which, on some occasions, they are found to possess, grow feeble through want of motives to call forth their exercise. The coarseness of their food, and the

NOTE.

* The exaggerated representations, which we sometimes receive, of the ingenuity and profound wisdom of savages, are the fruits of weak and ignorant surprise. And savages are praised by some writers for the same reason that a monkey is—a certain imitation of the actions of men in society, which was not expected from the rudeness of their condition. There are doubtless degrees of genius among savages as well as among civilized nations: but the comparison should be made of savages among themselves; and not of the genius of a savage with that of a polished people.

filthiness of their manners, tend to blunt their genius. And the Hottentots, the Laplanders, and the people of New-Holland, are the most stupid of mankind, for this, among other reasons, that they approach in these respects, the nearest to the brute creation†.

I am now come to shew in what manner the features of savage life are affected by the state of society.

Civilization creates some affinity in countenance among all polished nations. But there is something so peculiar and so stupid in the general countenance of savages, that they are liable to be considered as an inferior grade in the descent from the human to the brute creation. As the civilized nations inhabit chiefly the temperate climates—and savages, except in America, the extremes of heat and cold—these differences, in point of climate, combined with those that necessarily arise out of their state of society, have produced varieties so great as to astonish hasty observers, and hasty philosophers. The varieties, indeed, produced in the features by savage life, are great: but the real sum of them is not so great as the apparent. For the eye taking in at one view, not only the actual change made in each feature, but their multiplied and mutual relations to one another, and to the whole—and each new relation giving the same feature a different aspect, by comparison—the final result appears prodigious‡. For example, a change made in the eye, produces a change in the whole countenance; because it presents to us, not singly the difference that has hap-

NOTES.

† It is well known, that the Africans, who have been brought to America, are daily becoming, under all the disadvantages of servitude, more ingenious and susceptible of instruction. This effect, which has been taken notice of more than once, may, in part perhaps, be attributed to a change in their modes of living, as well as to society, or climate.

‡ See American Museum, Vol. VI page 277.

pened in that feature, but all the differences, which arise from its combinations with every feature in the face. In like manner, a change in the complexion presents not its own difference only, but a much greater effect by a similar combination with the whole countenance. If both the eyes and the complexion be changed in the same person, each change affecting the whole features, the combination of the two results will produce a third incomparably greater than either. If, in the same way, we proceed to the lips, the nose, the cheeks, and to every single feature in the visage, each produces a multiplied effect, by comparison with the whole, and the result of all, like the product of a geometrical series, is so much beyond our first expectation, that it confounds common observers; and will sometimes embarrass the most discerning philosophers, till they learn, in this manner, to divide and combine effects.

To treat this subject fully, it would be necessary, in the first place, to ascertain the general countenance of savage society—and then, as there are degrees in the savage as well as in the civilized state, to distinguish the several modifications which each degree makes in the general aspect—and, in the last place, to consider the almost boundless varieties, which arise from combining these general features with the effects of climate and of other causes already mentioned. I do not propose, however, to pursue the subject to such extent. I shall endeavour only to draw the general outlines of the savage countenance as it is formed by the state of society; and shall leave its changes, resulting from the different degrees of that state, and from the combinations of these with other causes and effects, to exercise the leisure and observation of the ingenious.

The eye of a savage is vacant and unexpressive: the whole composition of his countenance, is fixed and stupid: and over these unmeaning features is thrown an air of wildness and melancholy: the muscles of the face are soft

and lax: and the face is dilated at the sides: the mouth is large—the lips swelled and protruded—and the nose, in the same proportion, depressed*.

This is the picture. To explain it I observe, that the expression of the eye, and of the whole countenance, depends on the nature and variety of thought and emotion. Joy and grief, solitude and company, objects of attention, habits, manners—whatever occupies the mind, tends to impress upon the countenance its peculiar traits. Mechanical occupations and civil professions are often distinguished by peculiarities in manner and aspect. We frequently discriminate with ease religious denominations by a certain countenance formed by the habits of their profession. Every thought has an influence in forming and diversifying the character of the countenance: and vacuity of thought leaves it unmeaning and fixed. The infinite variety of ideas and emotions in civilized society, will give every class of citizens some distinguishing expression, according to their habits and occupations; and will bestow on each individual some singular and personal traits, according to his genius, education, or pursuits. Between savage and civilized society there will be all the difference which can arise from thinking and from want of thought. Savages will have all that uniformity among themselves in the same climate, which arises from vacancy of mind, and want of emotion. Knowledge is various: but ignorance is ever the same. A vacant eye, a fixed and unmeaning countenance of idiotism, seem to reduce the savage, in his aspect, many grades nearer than the citizen, to the brute creation. The solitude in which he lives, disposes him to melancholy. He seldom speaks or laughs. Society rarely enlivens his features. When not engaged in the

NOTE.

* In this representation of the savage countenance, I have chiefly in view the American savage; although its general lineaments, and the causes assigned for them, may, in a great degree, be universally applied.

chance, having no object to rouse him, he reclines sluggishly on the ground; he wanders carelessly through the forest; or he sits for hours in one posture, with his eyes fixed to a single point, and his senses lost in fullen and unmeaning reverie. These solitary and melancholy emotions serve to cast over his visage, which other causes render fixed, and unexpressive, a sad and lugubrious air. The wild scenes of nature, in an uncultivated country, impress some resemblance of themselves on the features: and the passions of war and rage, which are almost the only ones, that occupy the mind of a savage, mingle with the whole an aspect of brutal ferocity*.

Paucity of ideas, solitude, and melancholy, contribute likewise, in no small degree, to form the remaining features of a savage—a large and protruded mouth, a dilated face, and a general laxness and swell of all its muscles†.

Society and thought put a stricture upon the muscles of the face, which, while it gives them meaning and expression, prevents them from dilating and swelling as much as they would naturally do. They collect the countenance more towards the centre, and give it a greater elevation there‡. But the va-

cant mind of the savage leaving the face—the index of sentiment and passion—unexerted, its muscles are relaxed; they consequently spread at the sides, and render the middle of the face broad.

Grief peculiarly affects the figure of the lips, and makes them swell. So do all solitary and melancholy emotions. When, therefore, these are the natural result of the state of society—when they operate from infancy, and are seldom counteracted by the more gay and intense emotions of civil life—the effect will at length become considerable. The mouth of a savage will generally be large, and the lips, in a less or greater degree, thick and protruded||.

The nose affects, and is affected by, the other features of the face. The whole features usually bear such relation to one another, that if one be remarkably enlarged, it is accompanied with a proportional diminution of others. A prominent nose is commonly connected with a thin face, and thin lips. On the other hand, a broad face, thick lips, or a large and blunt chin, is accompanied with a certain depression of the feature of the nose. It seems as if the extension of the nerves, in one direction, restrained and shortened them in another‡. Savages, therefore, com-

NOTES.

* The inhabitants of the numerous small islands in the great Southern and Pacific oceans, form an exception to this remark. Prevented, by their isolated state, from engaging, like the continental savages, in perpetual hostilities with neighbouring tribes, they are distinguished by an air of mildness and complacency which is never seen upon the continent.

† That these are natural tendencies of solitude, and vacancy of thought, we may discern by a small attention to ourselves, during a similar state or similar emotions of mind.

‡ The advancement of society and knowledge is probably one reason why the Europeans in general have a more elevated countenance than the Asiatics.

The reader will be kind enough to remember, that all remarks of this nature are only general, and not intended to reach every particular instance, or to insinuate that there may not, in the infinite variety of nature, be many particular exceptions.

|| The rustic state, by its solitude and want of thought and emotion, bears some analogy to the savage: and we see it accompanied by similar effects on the visage—the countenance vacant, the lips thick, the face broad and spread, and all its muscles lax and swelling.

‡ By a small experiment on ourselves, we may render this effect obvious. By a protrusion of the lips, or by drawing down the mouth at the corners, we shall find a stricture on the nose, that, in an age when the features

nonly have this feature more sunk and flat, than it is seen in civil society. This, though a partial, is not the whole cause of that extreme flatness which is observed in part of Africa, and in Lapland. Climate enters there, in a great degree, for the effect: and it is aided by an absurd sense of beauty, which prompts them often to depress it by art*.

The preceding observations tend to account for some of the most distinguishing features of savages. To these might have added another general reason of their peculiar wildness and uncouthness in that state of society. The feelings of savages, when they deviate from their usual apathy, are mostly of the uneasy kind: and to these they give an unconstrained expression. From this cause will necessarily result a habit of the face, in the highest degree rude and uncouth; as we see, a similar negligence, among the vulgar, adds exceedingly, to that disgusting coarseness which so many other causes contribute to create.

I have now finished the discussion which I proposed, as far as I design at present to pursue it. Many of the observations, which have been made in the progress of it, may, to persons not

NOTES.

were soft and pliant, would sensibly tend to depress it. A like tendency, continued through the whole of life, would give them an habitual position very different from the common condition of civilized society: and the effect would be much greater than would readily occur to our first reflexions upon the subject.

* That such an effect should be the result of climate is not more wonderful than the thick necks created by the climate of the Alps; or than other effects, within our own knowledge, which certainly spring from this cause. That it arises from climate, or the state of society, or both, is evident, because the nose is becoming more prominent in the posterity of those who have been removed from Africa to America.

accustomed to a nice examination of the powers of natural causes, appear minute and unimportant. It may be thought that I have attributed too much to the influence of principles which are so slow in their operation and imperceptible in their progress. But, on this subject, it deserves to be remembered, that the minutest causes, by acting constantly, are often productive of the greatest consequences. The incessant drop at length wears a cavity in the hardest rock. The impressions of education, which, singly taken, are scarcely discernible, ultimately produce the greatest differences between men in society. How slow the progress of civilization, which the influence of two thousand years hath as yet hardly ripened in the nations of Europe! How minute and imperceptible the operation of each particular cause which has contributed to the final result! And, yet, how immense the difference between the manners of Europe barbarous, and Europe civilized! There is surely not a greater difference between the figure and aspect of any two nations on the globe. The pliant nature of man is susceptible of changes from the minutest causes, and these changes, habitually repeated, create at length, conspicuous distinctions. The effect proceeds increasing from one generation to another, till it arrive at that point where the constitution can yield no farther to the power of the operating cause. Here it assumes a permanent form, and becomes the character of the climate or the nation.

Superficial thinkers are often heard to ask, why, unless there be an original difference in the species of men, are not all born at least with the same figure, or complexion? It is sufficient to answer to such enquiries, that it is for the same reason, whatever that may be, that other resemblances of parents are communicated to children. We see that figure, stature, complexion, features, diseases, and even powers of the mind, become hereditary. To those who can satisfy themselves with regard to the communication of these properties, the transmission of climatical or national dif-

ferences, ought not to appear surprising: the same law will account for both. If it be asked, why a sun-burnt face or a wounded limb is not also communicated by the same law? It is sufficient to answer, that these are only partial accidents, which do not change the inward form and temperament of the constitution. It is the constitution that is conveyed by birth. The causes, which I have attempted to illustrate, change, in time, its whole structure and composition: and when any change becomes incorporated, so to speak, it is, with other constitutional properties, transmitted to offspring.

I proceed now to consider the exceptions existing among mankind, which seem to contradict the general principles that have been laid down, concerning the influence of climate, and of the state of society.

I begin with observing that these exceptions are neither so numerous nor so great, as they have been represented by ignorant and inaccurate travellers, and by credulous philosophers. Even Buffon seems to be credulous, when he only doubts concerning the relations of Struys, and other prodigy-mongers, who have filled the histories of their voyages with crude and hasty observations, the effects of falsehood, or of stupid surprise. Nothing can appear more contemptible than philosophers with solemn faces, retailing, like maids and nurses, the stories of giants*—of tailed men†—

NOTES.

* Buffon, describing the inhabitants of the Marian, or Ladrone islands, supposes that they are, in general, a people of large size; and that some may have been seen there of gigantic stature. But before Buffon wrote, there was hardly a navigator who did not see many giants in remote countries. Buffon has the merit of rejecting a great number of incredible narrations.

† Lord Monboddo supposes that mankind, at first, had tails—that they have fallen off by civilization—but that there are still some nations, and some individuals, who have this honourable

of a people without teeth‡—and of some absolutely without necks§. It is a shame for philosophy at this day to be swallowing the falsehoods, and accounting for the absurdities of sailors. We in America, perhaps, receive such tales with more contempt than other nations; because we perceive in such a strong light, the falsehood of similar wonders, with regard to this continent, which were a few years ago reported, believed, and philosophised on in Europe. We hear every day the absurd remarks, and the false reasonings of foreigners on almost every object which comes under their observation in this new region. They judge of things, of men, and of manners, under the influence of habits and ideas framed in a different climate, and a different state of society: or they infer general and erroneous conclusions from single and mistaken facts, viewed through that prejudice, which previous habits always form in common minds||.

NOTES.

mark of affinity to the brutes. What effect might result from the conjunction of a savage with an ape, or an orang-outang, it is impossible to say. But a monstrous birth, if it should happen, however it may be exaggerated by the ignorance of sailors, should never be dignified as a species, in the writings of philosophers.

‡ A most deformed and detestable people, whom Buffon speaks of, as natives of New Holland.

§ Sir Walter Raleigh pretends to describe a people of that kind in Guiana. Other voyagers have given a similar account of some of the Tartar tribes. The necks of these Tartars are naturally extremely short: and the spirit of travelling prodigy has totally destroyed them.

|| It requires a greater portion of reflexion and philosophy than falls to the lot of ordinary travellers, to enable them to judge with propriety of men and things in distant countries. Countries are described from a single spot—manners from a single action—and men from the first man that is seen on a foreign shore, and perhaps him only half

Short coats versus long coats.

I WAS always fond of mathematical demonstrations. They are like "proofs of holy writ"—A worthy friend of mine observed the other day, that it would be a vast saving to the empire, if the people would make short coats fashionable. "Pray how can that be possible?" says a young fellow stand-

NOTE.

een, and at a distance. From this spirit, America has been represented by different travellers as the most fertile or the most barren region on the globe. Navigators of Africa often speak of the spreading forests and luxuriant herbage of that arid continent, because some scenes of this kind are presented to the eye along the shores of the Gambia and the Senegal: and surprise, occasioned by an uncommon complexion or composition of features, has increased or diminished the nature of different nations, beyond all the proportions of nature. Such judgments are similar, perhaps, to those which a Chinese sailor would form of the united states, who had seen only cape May; or would form of Britain or of France, who had seen only the ports of Dover or of Calais. What information, concerning those kingdoms, could such a visitant afford his countrymen from such a visit? Beside the limited sphere of his observation, he would see every thing with astonishment, or with disgust, which would exaggerate or distort his representation. He would see each action by itself, without knowing its connexions: or he would see it with the connexions which it would have in his own country. A similar error induced capt. Cook in his first voyage, to form an unfavourable opinion of the modesty and chastity of the women of Otaheite, which more experience taught him to correct. Many such false judgments are to be found in almost every writer of voyages or travels. The savages of America are represented as frigid, because they are not ready forever to avail themselves of the opportunities offered by their state of society, to violate the chastity of their females. They are sometimes represented

ing by, dressed in the pink of the mode, with his skirts almost touching his ankles. "How is it possible that half a yard of cloth," continues he, "off two or three gentlemen's coats, could be of any advantage to the empire?" This inconclusive but powerful refutation seemed to have a great effect upon two

NOTE.

as licentious, because they often lie promiscuously round the same fire. Both judgments are false, and formed on prepossessions created in society. Simplicity of manners, more than constitution, or than climate, produces that appearance of indifference, on the one hand, which is called frigidity, and that promiscuous intercourse, on the other, which is supposed to be united with licence. Luxury, restraints, and the arts of polished society inflame desire, which is allayed by the coarse manners and hard fare of savage life, where no studied excitements are used to awaken the passions. The frontier counties of all these states at present afford a striking example of the truth of this reflexion. Poor, and approaching the roughness and simplicity of savage manners, and living in cabins, which have no divisions of apartments, whole families, and frequently strangers lodge together in the same inclosure, without any sense of indecency, and with fewer violations of chastity, than are found amidst the restraints and incitements of more polished society. On a like foundation, cowardice has been imputed to the natives of America, because they prosecute their wars by stratagem—insensibility, because they suffer with patience—and thievishness, because a savage, having no notion of personal property but that which he has in present occupation and enjoyment, takes without scruple what HE wants, and sees YOU do not need. In innumerable instances, the act of one man, the figure or stature of the first vagrant, seen upon a distant shore, has furnished the character of a whole nation. It is absurd to build philosophic theories on the ground of such stories.

(To be continued.)

or three spectators, who had by this time concluded, that long coats were no disadvantage to the empire: and they were further confirmed in their opinion, by recollecting they were fashionable. However, my friend proceeded, in a cool deliberate manner, to shew their pernicious effect, in nearly the following manner:

1,000,000 of men who wear coats in America.

500,000 who get coats yearly,
500,000 who get coats every three years,

} upon an average.

Suppose the cloth, which the first five hundred thousand wear, to be worth twenty shillings per yard—and suppose half a yard less were put in every coat, which the present fashion would very well afford—here would be an annual saving to the empire, of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

Then suppose the cloth, which the last five hundred thousand wear, to average at sixteen shillings per yard—and the like quantity of half a yard to be reserved which could be conveniently spared—here would be another saving to the empire of sixty six thousand six hundred and sixty six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence annually; which, with the former, amounts to only the trifling sum of three hundred and sixteen thousand pounds thirteen shillings and four pence annually.

These plain calculations astonished the young gentlemen with the long coats: and they could hardly be persuaded that there was not some magic used in the figures—they lifted up the paper—laid it down—counted the number of figures; and then laid down the paper with a loud laugh, observing at the same time that long coats were fashionable—“and more is the pity,” said I.

I wish some ingenious person would follow up this subject: he would find it connected with others equally injurious: it would, if properly discussed, be of infinite service.

New York, August 1786.

ANDREW AIMWELL.

From the British Annual Register, for 1781.

Naval-office, January 23, 1781.

An account of the men raised for his British majesty's navy, marines included from the 29th of September, 1774, to the 29th of September, 1780.

	Years.	No. raised
From September, 1774,		354
	1775,	4,734
	1776,	21,564
	1777,	37,458
	1778,	41,874
	1779,	41,832
To September, 1780,		28,210
		<hr/>
		176,026

Navy-office, January 23, 1781.

An account of the men who have died in actual service in his Britannic majesty's navy, since the first day of January, 1776, distinguishing (as far as may be) those who have been killed by the enemy; and also of the number of such men as have deserted the said service in the same period, as far as the several accounts can be made up, distinguishing each other.

Years.	Died.	Killed.	Deserted
1776	1,679	105	5,321
1777	3,247	40	7,685
1778	4,801	254	9,919
1779	4,726	551	11,541
1780	4,092	293	7,603
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total,	18,545	1,243	42,069

Account of an extraordinary halo.

A Desire of contributing somewhat towards the increase of science and the gratification of the lovers of it is my motive for publishing the following account of a very extraordinary halo, or rather a most curious complication of halo, which was yesterday observed here. It was about half after nine in the morning when I first saw it.

The primary circle, about the sun appeared as usual, except that it was very highly distinguished with most, if not all of the colours of the rainbow. The other circle, which I call secondary, extended west several degrees pal

the zenith : and its semi-diameter was nearly, if not exactly double that of its primitive. Both this, and the two elliptical circles, were luminous stripes of equal and uniform brightness, about as wide as the rainbow. Just without the points, where the greater circle intersected the smaller ellipsis, were too exceedingly bright, but short and highly-coloured streaks, like what are vulgarly called sun dogs : and one, who saw it earlier than I, informs, that there were two inverted, luminous, and coloured arches. Though I observed those parts of the hemisphere to be highly luminous and coloured, I did not observe they were circular. When I made my observation, I retired immediately to lay it down on paper, while the idea was full on my mind. I saw it no more until about ten o'clock, when I perceived the greater circle considerably diminished, in extent, and each of the ellipses diminished, in extent and brightness : and in half an hour more these latter had wholly disappeared : and the secondary circle, though bright as ever, was now no larger in circumference than the primitive : and within fifteen minutes after, was no more to be seen ; leaving however the principal circle as bright as before, which did not disappear until nearly twelve o'clock.

THEODORE HINSDALE.

Windsor, Connecticut, May 29, 1789.



State of the public revenue of Europe, as copied from the London Morning Chronicle of the 27th of December 1787.

	sterling,	£.
1 France,	18,000,000	
2 Great Britain,	14,500,000	
3 Austria,	12,400,000	
4 Spain,	5,000,000	
5 Russia,	5,800,000	
6 Turkey,	5,000,000	
7 Prussia,	3,600,000	
8 Portugal,	1,800,000	
9 Sicily,	1,400,000	
0 Holland,	5,151,500	
1 Sweden,	1,300,000	
2 Venice,	1,000,000	
3 Denmark,	1,000,000	

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14 Electorate of Hanover,	500,000
15 Electorate of Saxony,	1,100,000
16 Joint electorate of the Palatinate of Bavaria,	1,100,000
17 Sardinia,	1,100,000



State of Holland, 1787. Extracted from late and authentic accounts.

Population. From the last accounts it appears, that there were 4,875,000 souls in the united provinces.

Revenue. The amount of the Dutch revenue was as follows, viz.

Internal excises	£.3,860,000 sterl.
Customs	470,000
Poll taxes	230,000
Conquered districts	95,500
East India company	126,000
Bank of Amsterdam	60,000
Other articles	310,000

£. 5,151,500

Army. In general, the Dutch keep up a standing force of about 40,000 men, all Germans, Swiss, or French refugees ; but they have augmented it lately to the following number :

Horse and Dragoons	6,300
Infantry	45,000
Artillery	400

51,700

Navy. Till lately it was in a very contemptible condition : at present it consists of 1 ship of 74 guns, 1 of 70, 14 of 60, 12 of 50, (reckoned of the line,) 10 of 46, 5 of 40, and 16 of 30, besides some smaller vessels. And it is believed, that they could have ten sail more in a short time. It is said, that they could man a fleet of 50 ships of the line, but it would greatly distress their trading vessels.

Trade. It is an error to think, as many do, that the Dutch have only a remnant of their former commerce. The fact is, it was never better than at present : their East India commerce is exactly what it was. Their fisheries have improved : and their trade to the Baltic is very great. The whole commerce of Holland is supposed to yield a superlu-

creation of national wealth, not short of eleven millions sterling per annum.

Manufactures—of every kind, except bleaching, have declined so much, as to be among the poorest of their resources. They have very few fabrics that they work for exportation.

Government. This has sustained great changes within these last fifty years. The form was originally democratical—but it has lately become almost a pure aristocracy.



Number of inhabitants in some of the principal cities of Europe, in 1686 and 1786.

	1686	1786
London,	696,000	1,000,000
Paris,	486,000	800,000
Amsterdam,	187,000	241,000
Venice,	134,000	100,000
Rome,	125,000	157,000
Dublin,	69,000	200,000
Bristol,	48,000	98,000
Bourdeaux,	50,000	150,000
Marseilles,	150,000	200,000



List of bankrupts in England, from 1740 to 1787.

In 1740	270	In 1764	330
1741	265	1765	254
1742	247	1766	283
1743	196	1767	352
1744	187	1768	295
1745	207	1769	333
1746	167	1770	287
1747	167	1771	118
1748	208	1772	173
1749	190	1773	189
1750	212	1774	231
1751	183	1775	381
1752	166	1776	430
1753	250	1777	430
1754	232	1778	565
1755	220	1779	491
1756	274	1780	450
1757	284	1781	435
1758	334	1782	560
1759	289	1783	542
1760	231	1784	531
1761	198	1785	507
1762	236	1786	494
1763	259	1787	507

Instances of longevity in America.

IN South America, there was said, in the year 1785, to be a negro woman living, aged about 175: she remembered her first master, who died in 1615, and said that he had given her away, with some other property, towards founding a school.

Some years ago, there was living in Virginia, a native of Ireland, who, at the age of 109, was able to work at the taylor's trade, without spectacles: and what renders his case more remarkable, he was naturally very intemperate and would get drunk as often as he could get liquor.

In the year 1776, died a mr. Payne, in Fairfax, Virginia, upwards of 100 years of age.

Died, November 1782, in Philadelphia, mr. Edward Drinker, almost 102 being born December 24, 1680.

In the year 1782, there was living near Philadelphia, (and perhaps may be living still) a healthy negro woman able to walk several miles in a day, and wash clothes, who was then, as nearly as she could tell, about 103. She remembers her being brought to this city, before any houses were built here.

Died in 1786, in New York, mrs Slock, aged 108 years and a half.

Lately died at Jones's creek, a branch of Pee-Dee, in North Carolina, mr Matthew Bayley, aged 136: he was baptized when 134 years old; had good eye sight, and strength of body and mind, until death.



Exports from Canada and Nova Scotia to Jamaica, from April 3, 1783, to October 26, 1784.

Hogsheads of fish,	75
Tierces do.	5
Barrels do.	45
Barrels of oil,	4
Barrels of rice,	1
Shaken casks,	71
Bundles of wood hoops,	2
Bushels of potatoes,	18
Masts and spars,	2
Staves and shingles,	301,33
Feet of lumber,	510,08

Mode of manufacturing glue.

GLUE is made in Europe of the ears, feet, trimmings, sinews, and scrapings of the skins of oxen, calves, sheep, &c. old leather, and fresh or raw hides mixed, are manufactured together: and this mixture is said to yield one third of its weight in good strong glue. The best glue is from the hides of old animals. Whole skins are very seldom used, unless they be much injured by the worm, rotted, or otherwise rendered unfit to make leather: but the smallest pieces are saved for the purpose.

In making glue of pieces of fresh skins, let them be steeped in water, two or three days. Dried hides may require longer time, and bits of leather much longer. While soaking they should be stirred occasionally. They put them to drain in hand-barrows, with grated bottoms, or in boxes with sloping sides and grated bottoms. When drained, let them be well washed in several waters. The ears and other dirty parts should be steeped and washed by themselves. After they be washed clear, put them into a weak lime-water in iron-hooped tubs. Leather will require to be kept in weak lime-water a considerable time: and a little fresh lime-water should be added occasionally. Allumed skins, tallowed, greasy, bloody, or hairy skins should be put into a stronger lime-water, and kept longer in it. They sometimes require to be taken out, so as to permit the lime to dry on them, and to remain for a considerable time: after which they must be again soaked, and well stirred: then press them out as dry as possible, and put them into a copper kettle for boiling, at the bottom of which should be a wooden grate. The copper should then be filled with the materials pressed close, and as much water poured on as will run in among the pieces. Make a moderate fire, which encrease by degrees, till it boils. As the materials melt into glue, some decrease the fire without stirring them; others stir them as they dissolve. When the glue, on cooling, forms a pretty thick jelly, it is done.

The time of boiling is from twelve to fifteen hours, according to the fire. Violent heat is to be avoided.

After this a box is made with wooden gratings for the bottom: the inside of the bottom is lined with horse-hair cloth, and placed over a large tub, through which the glue is to be passed quickly, while it is very hot. The dregs are left to drain some time; and are called by the workmen glue dung, which makes an excellent fuel, mixed with wood. The room should be kept warm while the glue is settling. In the tub, there should be cocks at different heights, to draw off the hot liquid glue. The first glue will be brightest: but the last will be equally good. Through the cocks it must run into flat moulds, previously wet. When cool, cut it out with a wet knife into squares, and hang it on a line to dry, and harden, in a draught of air. Some place it to dry on a net, hung up on four posts, turning it occasionally. Ten days of dry weather, or fifteen of wet (under cover) are required in Europe: but less time will dry it in America. To polish the cakes, wet them, and rub them with new linen. The best glue has few dark spots, and no bad smell, and shines when broken. To try glue, they put it in cool water for three or four days, when it must not dissolve; but when dried, must preserve its weight.

To make parchment glue.

Put two or three pounds of scrapings or cuttings of parchment into a bucket of water: boil the whole till it be reduced to half. Pass it through an open linen, and then let the liquor cool, when it will be parchment glue.



Extraordinary instance of female heroism. Extracted from a letter written by col. James Perry to the rev. Jordan Dodge.

Nelson co. (Kentucke) April 20, 1788.

ON the first of April inst. a number of Indians surrounded the house of one John Merrill, which was discovered by the barkling of a dog. Mer-

ril stepped to the door to see what he could discover, and received three musket balls, which caused him to fall back into the house, with a broken leg and arm. The Indians rushed on to the door, but it being instantly fastened by his wife, who, with a girl of about fifteen years of age, stood against it, the savages could not immediately enter. They broke one part of the door; and one of them crouded partly through. The heroic mother, in the midst of her screaming children, and groaning husband, seized an axe, and gave a fatal blow to the savage, and he falling headlong into the house, the others supposed they had obtained their end, and rushed after him, until four of them fell in like manner, before they discovered their mistake. The rest retreated, which gave opportunity again to secure the door. The conquerors rejoiced in their victory hoping they had killed the whole company; but their expectations were soon dashed, by finding the door again attacked, which the bold mother endeavoured once more to secure, with the assistance of the young woman; their fears now came on them like a flood; and they soon heard a noise on the top of the house, and then found the Indians were coming down the chimney: all hopes of deliverance were now at an end; but the wounded man ordered his little child to tumble a couch, that was filled with hair and feathers on the fire, which made such a smoke that two lusty Indians came tumbling down the chimney; the wounded man exerting every faculty in this critical moment, seized a billet of wood, with which he conquered the smothered Indians; at the same instant the woman aimed a blow at the savage at the door, but not with the same effect as the rest, but which caused him to retreat. They then again secured the door as fast as possible; and rejoiced at their deliverance, but not without fear of a third attack. They carefully watched with their new family until morning, and were not again disturbed.

“We learn by a prisoner that made his escape from the Indians, that the

wounded savage last mentioned, was the only one that escaped at this time. On his return he was asked, “what news brother?” “Plaguy bad news” replied the wounded Indian, “for the squaws have taken the breechclout and figh worse than the long knives.” This extraordinary affair happened at Newbard stown about fifteen miles from Sandy Creek, and may be depended on, as I had the pleasure to assist in tumbling them into a hole, after they were stripped of their head dresses and about twenty dollars worth of silver furniture.”



A hint.

ONE striking feature in the political complexion of the Dutch republic is, that the children of both sexes are, from the moment of the earliest capability, initiated in some line of industrious avocation among them. Solo and Lycurgus could not have chalked out a wiser line for the service of the Grecian states. It was an opinion with Alexander the great, that boys, nurtured and brought up in the camp, were ever after fond of arms: and practice sanctioned the theory. It holds equally good, that children early trained up to industry, ever incline to it in maturity—for, in the language of the poet “It grows with their growth, and strengthens with their strength.” To our countrymen, we hope the application is evident. If they accustom the little ones to honest employments (such as will suit their years, constitution, and choice) they will thereby render them virtuous and independent citizens, a credit to themselves and an ornament to society. The consequences of a different conduct are evident.



*Law case—Oxford Oct. 1789.
Emerson vs. Minchener & co. proprietors of the Gloucester stage coach.*

THIS action was brought to recover satisfaction in damages the plaintiff had sustained, by the wanton unskilful, and careless driving of the above coach, by which the same was

overturned, in July last, near Henly, and the plaintiff's leg broke. After a trial of five hours, to the satisfaction of the court and a crowded audience, the jury gave a verdict of two hundred pounds damages for the plaintiff, &c.



Edwin's urn—A fragment.

“**S**OLITUDE! thou hast lost thy power of charming,” said the weeping Emma, as she was bedewing Edwin's urn with the tears of love.

“No more with pleasure, do I sit on the foot of yon oak, and listen to the sweet notes of the feathered choir, as I was wont when Edwin lived. Alas! my Edwin, will you no more lead me to the shady bower, and tune your pipe to Emma's praise? Peace, ye birds! Edwin no more echoes your mellifluous tones in mild symphonic song. Droop, hang your heads, ye flowrets of the field: no more will ye be plucked by Edwin's hand, to grace his Emma's hair.”

Sighs, soft as the gentle zephyrs, stole from the fair mourner's heart.

“Why bursts the intrusive sigh? Why falls the unavailing tear? Will these recall my Edwin from the tomb? Ah! no. Would to heaven”—she paused—“Yes it must be”—The heaving bosom pants for ease—the streaming eye is filled with peace. “Edwin! shall I leave thee? It is only for a moment: then shall we meet and part no more.”

She arose and sweetly spoke a fond farewell—

“Mild breath of spring! fan lightly his grave. Feathered sons of the air! perch on the weeping willows, and, in plaintive strains, sing his many virtues. Foot of the passing stranger! rest a while at his tomb. Children of the finer feelings! give a tributary tear; let it fall on Edwin's urn. Hush! all is silence; the songster of the vale is mute; the lambkin sports not on the mead: all are hushed to repose. Though silence universal pervades, and solemn stillness rules around—yet methinks it is the language of eloquence, the praise of my Edwin. No longer can we warble the

soft notes of love; no more can we frolic on the green, for Edwin sleeps in the dust, and his Emma is sad. Stop: sol shrinks from the embrace of the day, and hides his face behind the western hills. I will hasten and seek some sequestered spot, near Edwin's last mansion. At morn, noon, and eve, will I visit the sacred abode; bathe the tomb with my tears; and oft kiss the garment that shields his remains: then pensively retire, and hide my inward grief from the world, unknowing the cause of my woes.”

Ten solar revolutions have since passed away: the village swains press Emma to love, as she is loved: tears forbid utterance: she answers them not: but waving her snow-white hand, true as the needle to the pole, it points to Edwin's urn.

LAVINIA.



Sentimental fragment.

***** “**T**HE tear of the morning hangs on the thorn, and impearls the rose. In the day of my joy, my cheek was likened to the blushing beauty of that charming flower: and, though it has long since lost its crimson, it still retains a partial similitude; for the tear is on it. But, alas! no cheering sun exhales my sorrow: and the crystal, which stole forth in the morning from my eyelids, holds its place at the midnight hour.”

“And is love,” said I, “the canker-worm that has preyed on thy beauty?—Does that torturing passion make thee shed the ceaseless tear?”

“No,” replied Lucilla—“Love gave me all its choicest blessings. During five years, I rioted in them; and this world was a heaven to me. William, it is true, is no more: but he died in the field of honour—he is recorded with those heroes who fought and fell for their country. I bathed his wounds—his last words blessed me—and his expiring sigh was breathed forth in my bosom. I wept the briny tears of honest sorrow—but I had my consolation—my William loved none but me: and he still lived in the bless-

ed image which he left me of himself.

“It was my duty—and soon became my sole delight—to point out to the darling boy the path in which his sire had trodden, and to instil into his expanding mind an emulation of parental virtue. His young breast felt the glowing flame: and he was wont to weep, when I led him to the grave, which glory had dug for his father.

“But he, too, is taken from me—he sleeps beneath this turf which I adorn with flowers—here my fancy feeds my sorrow: and this sacred shrine of affection I shall daily visit, till weary nature conduct me to my husband and my child.”***



Sketch of the life of the late Nathaniel Greene, major general of the forces of the united states of America. By M. Carey. P. 109.

SOME skirmishes, of no great moment, took place between detached parties of both armies in July and August. September the 9th, general Greene having assembled about two thousand men, proceeded to attack the British, who, under the command of col. Stewart, were posted at Eutaw Springs. The American force was drawn up in two lines: the first, composed of Carolina militia, was commanded by generals Marian and Pickens, and col. De Malmédy. The second, which consisted of continental troops from North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, was commanded by general Sumpter, lieutenant-colonel Campbell, and colonel Williams—lieutenant colonel Lee, with his legion, covered the right flank; and lieutenant-colonel Henderson, with the state troops, covered the left. A corps de reserve was formed of the cavalry, under lieutenant-colonel Washington, and the Delaware troops under capt. Kirkwood. As the Americans came forward to the attack, they fell in with some advanced parties of the enemy, at about two or three miles a-head of the main body. These being closely pursued were driven back—and the action soon

became general. The militia were at length forced to give way, but were bravely supported by the second line. In the hottest part of the engagement, general Greene ordered the Maryland and Virginia continentals to charge with trailed arms. This decided the fate of the day. “Nothing,” says dr. Ramsay, “could surpass the intrepidity of both officers and men on this occasion. They rushed on, in good order, through a heavy cannonade, and a shower of musquetry, with such unshaken resolution, that they bore down all before them.” The British were broken, closely pursued, and upwards of five hundred of them taken prisoners. They however made a fresh stand, in a favourable position, in impenetrable shrubs and a picquetted garden. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, after having made every effort to dislodge them, was wounded and taken prisoner. Four six pounders were brought forward to play upon them, but they fell into their hands; and the endeavours to drive them from their station being found impracticable, the Americans retired, leaving a strong picquet on the field of battle. Their loss was about five hundred; that of the British upwards of eleven hundred.

General Greene was honoured by congress with a British standard, and a gold medal, emblematical of the engagement and success, “for his wise, decisive, and magnanimous conduct, in the action at Eutaw springs, in which, with a force inferior in number to that of the enemy, he obtained a most signal victory.”

In the evening of the succeeding day, colonel Stewart abandoned his post, and retreated towards Charleston, leaving behind upwards of seventy of his wounded, and a thousand stands of arms. He was pursued a considerable distance—but in vain.

The battle of Eutaw produced most signal consequences in favour of America. The British, who had for such a length of time lorded it absolutely in South Carolina, were, shortly after that event, obliged to confine themselves in

Charleston, whence they never ventured but to make predatory excursions, with bodies of cavalry, which in general met with a very warm and very unwelcome reception.

During the relaxation that followed, a dangerous plot was formed, by some turbulent and mutinous persons in the army, to deliver up their brave general to the British. This treasonable design owed its rise to the hardships, wants, and calamities of the soldiers, who were ill paid, ill clothed, and ill fed. The conspirators did not exceed twelve in number: and a providential discovery defeated the project.

The surrender of lord Cornwallis, whose enterprising spirit had been by the British ministry expected to repair the losses, and wipe away the disgrace, which had been incurred through the inactivity and indolence of other generals, having convinced them of the impracticability of subjugating America, they discontinued offensive operations in every quarter. From the beginning of the year 1782, it was currently reported, that Charleston was speedily to be evacuated: it was officially announced the seventh of August; but did not take place until the seventeenth of December.

The happy period at length arrived, when, by the virtue and bravery of her sons, aided by the bounty of heaven, America compelled her invaders to recognise her independence. Then her armies quitted the tented fields, and retired to cultivate the arts of peace and happiness. Amongst the rest, general Greene revisited his native country, where he proved himself as valuable a citizen, as the Carolinas had witnessed him a gallant officer. Dissensions and jealousies had extended their destructive influence among the Rhode Islanders, whose animosity had arisen to such a degree, as to threaten the most serious ill consequences: general Greene exerted himself to restore harmony and peace amongst them once more; and was happily successful.

In October, 1785, he sailed to Georgia, where he had a considerable estate, not far distant from Savannah.

Here he passed away his time, occupied in his domestic concerns, until the hour of his mortality approached. Walking out one day in June, 1786, he was overpowered by the extreme heat of the sun, which brought on a disorder that carried him off, a few days after, on the 19th of the same month.

When the melancholy account of his death arrived at Savannah, the people were struck with the deepest sorrow. All business was suspended. The shops and stores throughout the town were shut: and the shipping in the harbour had their colours half masted.

The body was brought to Savannah, and interred on the 20th. The funeral procession was attended by the Cincinnati, militia, &c. &c.

Immediately after the interment of the corpse, the members of the Cincinnati retired to the coffee-house in Savannah, and came to the following resolution:

“That as a token of the high respect and veneration in which this society hold the memory of their late illustrious brother, major-general Greene, deceased, George Washington Greene, his eldest son, be admitted a member of this society, to take his seat on his arriving at the age of 18 years.”

General Greene left behind him a wife, and five children, the eldest of whom is about 11 years old.

On Tuesday the 12th of August, the the united states in congress assembled came to the following resolution:

“That a monument be erected to the memory of Nathaniel Greene, esq. at the seat of the federal government, with the following inscription:

Sacred to the memory of
NATHANIEL GREENE, esq.

who departed this life,
the nineteenth of June, MDCCLXXXVI:
late MAJOR-GENERAL
in the service of the united states,
and commander of their army
in the southern department.

The united states in congress assembled,
in honour of his
patriotism, valour, and ability,
have erected this monument.

*Sketch of the character of the late general
Thomas Nelson.*

GENERAL NELSON, as a man, a citizen, a legislator, and a patriot, exhibited a conduct untarnished, and undefaced, by sordid or selfish interests—and strongly marked with the genuine characteristics of true religion, sound benevolence, and liberal policy. Entertaining the most ardent love for civil and religious liberty, he was among the first of that glorious band of patriots, whose exertions dashed and defeated the machinations of British tyranny—and gave to united America, freedom and independent empire. At a most important crisis, during the late struggle for American liberty, when Virginia appeared to be designated as the theatre of action for the contending armies, he was selected by the unanimous suffrage of the legislature, to command the virtuous yeomanry of his country, in which honourable employment, he remained to the end of the war. As a soldier, he was indefatigably active, and coolly intrepid. Resolute and undaunted in misfortunes, he towered above distress—and struggled with the manifold difficulties, to which his situation exposed him, with constancy and courage.

In the memorable year of 1781, when the force of the southern British army was directed to the immediate subjugation of that state, he was called to the helm of government. This was a juncture, which indeed, tried men's souls—he did not avail himself of this opportunity, to retire in the rear of danger—but on the contrary took the field at the head of his countrymen—and at the hazard of his life, his fame, and individual fortune—by his decision and magnanimity he saved not only his country, but all America from disgrace—if not from total ruin. Of this truly patriotic and heroic conduct, the renowned commander in chief, with all the gallant officers of the combined armies, employed at the siege of York, will bear ample testimony. This part of his conduct, even cotemporary jealousy, envy, and malignity, were forced to approve.

If after contemplating the splendid and heroic parts of his character, we shall

enquire for the milder virtues of humanity, and seek for the man—we shall find the refined, beneficent, and social qualities of private life—through all its forms and combinations—so happily modified, and united in him—that in the words of the darling poet of nature it may be said,

His life was gentle, and the elements
So mix'd in him, that nature might
stand up,
And say to all the world, this was
a man.



*Short account of the life and character of
Thomas Hutchins, late geographer-general to the united states.*

HE was born in Monmouth county, New Jersey. His parents dying while he was young, an unconquerable diffidence and modesty would not permit him to apply for protection or employment to his relations, who were very respectable at New York, and would have been ready to assist him. He rather chose to seek some business, and accordingly, before he was sixteen, went to the western country, where he was soon appointed an ensign, and paymaster-general to the forces there. After some time he became deputy-engineer, and soon distinguished himself at Fort Pitt, the plan of which he laid out, and which was executed under his command, by order of general Bouquet, an account of whose transactions and campaigns was drawn up and published by him in Philadelphia in 1765.

He afterwards lived a number of years in Louisiana, during which time the accurate observations and remarks made on the country in general, rivers, harbours, &c. and the manners of the people, are sufficiently shewn in the description, which he published of that country, a few years ago, and is the best extant. After a variety of battles with the Indians, while he was with the army in West Florida he rose, solely by merit, to a captain's commission, which he enjoyed a number of years, until his love for America obliged him to give it up.

Being in London when the war broke out, he staid there till 1779, when he

published his map and pamphlet explaining it. His zeal for the cause of the united states made him refuse a very profitable employment then offered to him, at the same time requesting leave to sell his commission, which was not granted. His abiding steadily in his resolution not to take up arms against his native country, was probably the cause of the number of misfortunes he met with, and the ill treatment he received from an obstinate and blindfold administration.

For holding a supposed correspondence with dr. Franklin, then our ambassador at the court of France, he was thrown into a dungeon, his papers seized, and he lost 12,000l. in one day. After lying six weeks in this horrid place, during which time not one spark of light was admitted into his cell, and having undergone a long examination before lords Amherst and Sandwich, and the rest of the execrable junto which ruled at that time with unlimited sway, he was liberated: and having resigned his commission, he passed over into France, where he staid some time to recruit the debilitated state of his body. He then sailed from L'Orient to Charleston, where he joined the southern army under general Greene: but not long after this, the war closing, he was appointed geographer-general to the united states, which employment he held till his death, which happened at Pittsburg, the 20th of April 1788.

He was esteemed and beloved by all who had the happiness of knowing him. He was remarkable for his piety and charity, a complacency of temper, patience and resignation under sickness, and an universal benevolence, which so eminently distinguished him, that all join in declaring him to have been "an Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile."



Masonic toasts—London, 1785.

MAY universal masonry be the only universal monarchy—and reign triumphant in the hearts of the worthy.

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2. May the tongue of every mason be the key of his heart: may it ever hang in just equilibrium—and never be suffered to lie, to injure a brother.

3. May every mason's heart have the ardency of charcoal, and the freedom of chalk—but not the coldness or hardness of marble, when the distresses of a brother claim assistance.

4. The square in conduct, the level in condition, the plumb-line in rectitude, and the compass in prudence, to all masons.

5. The splendor of the east, the repose of the south, and the solidity of the west, to every regular lodge of free and accepted masons.

6. May the fragrance of good report, like a sprig of cassia, bloom over the head of every departed brother.

7. Our sisters. May they have as much reason to admire our wisdom, as the queen of Sheba had that of our grand master Solomon.

8. May we be entered apprentices to beauty, and fellow crafts in love, but still masters of our passions.

9. May wisdom contrive our happiness; strength support our virtuous resolutions; and beauty adorn our beds.

10. May the rays of celestial light pierce through the veil of ignorance, and perseverance remove the key-stone that covers truth.

11. May the royal arch cover every honest mason's heart; and the glory of the first temple overshadow all, who act up to the true principles of masonry.



Anecdotes.

I.

DURING the late glorious contest, an American officer was ordered to a station of extreme peril. Several of those around him suggested many pretexts, by which he might evade the dangerous employment assigned him; to which he made this noble reply. "I thank you, my friends, for your solicitude. I know I can easily save my life: but who will save my honour, should I adopt your advice?"

2 E

2.

THE leader of a gang of banditti in Corsica who had long been famous for his exploits, was at length taken and committed to the care of a soldier, from whom he contrived to escape. The soldier was condemned to death. At the place of execution, a man, coming up to the commanding officer, said, "Sir, I am a stranger to you, but you shall soon know who I am. I have heard that one of your soldiers is to die for having suffered a prisoner to escape. He was not at all to blame; besides the prisoner shall be restored to you. Behold him here: I am the man. I cannot bear that an innocent man should be punished for me: and have come to die myself."—"No," cried the French officer, who felt the sublimity of the action as he ought, "thou shalt not die: and the soldier shall be set at liberty. Endeavour to reap the fruits of thy generosity. Thou deservest to be henceforth an honest man."

3.

A Private soldier in one of the battalions, ordered on the expedition against New London, under the command of general Arnold, had a mistress, who left England with him, and was the constant companion of his dangers—he had survived several engagements, though wounded severely in two. During the time of action, his beloved Nancy was constantly by his side, determined to perish with her lover. At a desperate attack made by Arnold, on a post near New London, the soldier before mentioned received a musket ball directly in his forehead; and immediately dropped at the feet of his mistress, who had forced herself into the ranks when the firing began. Regardless of the danger she was then in, this amiable creature stood for some time with her eyes stedfastly fixed on the body of her lover: but recovering her wonted fortitude, she, with the greatest composure, examined the wound he had received; and finding he was no more, conveyed the corpse to a bank, which was contiguous to the field of battle—this done, she threw herself on the bo-

dy, and kissed it for some time with great rapture. Her lamentations drew a gentleman to the spot: but no sooner did she discover him, than she started up, flew to the place where lay the firelock her lover bore; and after unscrewing the bayonet, returned to the spot where she had placed his remains; then taking her last farewell, she plunged the bayonet to her heart; and expired without a groan.

4.

WHEN dr. John Thomas, (who died bishop of Salisbury in 1766) was chaplain to the British factory at Hamburgh, a gentleman of the factory, being ill, was ordered into the country for the benefit of the air. Accordingly he went to a village at about ten miles distance, but after some time died there: upon this, application was made to the parson of the parish, for leave to bury him in the church-yard. The parson inquired what his religion was; and was told that he was a Calvinist:—"No," says he, "there are none but Lutherans in my church-yard, and there shall be no other." "This," said dr. Thomas, "was told me: and wondered that a man of any learning or understanding should have such ideas. I resolved go and argue the matter with him; but found him inflexible: at length I told him he made me think of a circumstance which once happened to myself, when I was curate of a church in Thames street. I was burying a corpse, and a woman came and pulled me by the sleeve in the midst of the service—"Sir, sir, I want to speak to you"—"prithee wait, woman, till I have done"—"no sir, I must speak to you immediately"—"Well then, what is the matter?" "Why, sir, you are going to bury a man, who died of the small pox, near my poor husband, who never had it." "This story," continued he, "had the desired effect: and the curate permitted the bones of the poor Calvinist to be laid in the church yard."

5.

A Poor Greek poet used from time to time present Augustus with Greek epigrams; but though the emperor too

them, yet he never gave him any thing : And one day having a mind to ridicule him, and shake him off, as soon as he saw him coming to present him with his verses, the emperor sent him a Greek epigram of his own composing, and written with his own hand. The poet received it with joy; and as he was reading it, shewed by his looks and gestures, that he was mightily pleased with it. After he had read it, he pulled out his purse; and coming near Augustus, gave him some few pence, saying, "Take this, Cesar; I give it you, not according to your great fortune, but according to my poor ability; had I more, I would make you a larger present." The whole company fell a laughing, and the emperor more than the rest, who ordered him an hundred thousand crowns.



Character of the Virginians, written in 1720. By a native and inhabitant of the place.

THOSE that came over to this country first, were chiefly single men, who had not the incumbrance of wives and children in England: and if they had, they did not expose them to the fatigue and hazard of so long a voyage, until they saw how it would fare with themselves. From hence it came to pass, that when they were settled here, in a comfortable way of subsisting a family, they grew sensible of the misfortune of wanting wives: and such as had left wives in England sent for them: but the single men were put to their shifts. They excepted against the Indian women, as well on account of their being pagans, as because of their complexion, and for fear they should conspire with those of their own nation, to destroy their husbands. Under this difficulty, they had no hopes, but that the plenty in which they lived, might invite modest women, of small fortunes, to come over hither from England. However, they would not receive any but such as could bring sufficient certificates of their modesty and good behaviour. Those, if they

were but moderately qualified in all other respects, might depend upon marrying very well in those days, without any fortune. Nay, the first planters were so far from expecting money with a woman, that it was a common thing for them, to buy a wife, who carried good testimonials of her character, at the price of £100, and make themselves believe they had a good bargain.

They have their clothing of all sorts from England, as linen, woolen, silk, hats, and leather, yet flax and hemp grow no where in the world better than in Virginia. Their sheep yield good increase, and bear good fleeces: but they shear them only to cool them. The mulberry tree, whose leaf is the proper food of the silk-worm, grows here like a weed: and silk worms have been observed to thrive extremely and without hazard. The very furs, which their hats are made of, go first from hence: and most of their hides lie and rot, or are made use of only for covering dry goods, in a leaky house. Indeed, some few hides, with much ado are tanned, and made into servants' shoes; but at so careless a rate, that the planters do not care to buy them, if they can get others: and sometimes a better manager than ordinary will vouchsafe to make a pair of breeches of a deer skin. Nay, they are such abominable ill husbands, that though their country be overrun with wood, yet they have all their wooden ware from England; their cabinets, chairs, tables, stools, chests, boxes, cart-wheels, and all other things, even so much as their bowls, and birchen brooms, to the eternal reproach of their laziness.

Fruit trees are wonderfully quick of growth; so that in six or seven years from the planting, a man may bring an orchard to bear in great plenty, from which he may make store of good cider; yet they have very few who take any care at all for an orchard: nay many, who have good orchards, are so negligent of them, as to let them go to ruin, and expose the trees to be torn and barked by the cattle.

Peaches, nectarines, and apricots

plums, and cherries, grow here on standard trees. They commonly bear in three years from the stone; and thrive so exceedingly that they have no need of grafting, if any body would be so good a husband.

The beeves, when any care is taken of them in the winter, come to good perfection. They have noble marshes, which, with the charge of draining only, would make as fine pastures as any in the world: and yet there are hardly a hundred acres of marsh drained throughout the whole country.

All sorts of naval stores may be produced there. They can see heir naval stores daily benefit other people, who send hither to build ships, while they, instead of promoting such undertakings, allow them no manner of encouragement.

They depend altogether upon the liberality of nature, without endeavouring to improve her gifts, by art or industry. They sponge upon the blessings of a warm sun, and a fruitful soil; and almost grudge the pains of gathering in the bounties of the earth. I should be ashamed to publish this slothful indolence of my countrymen, but that I hope it will some time or other rouse them out of their lethargy, and excite them to make the most of all those happy advantages which nature has given them: and if it does this, I am sure they will have the goodness to forgive me.



The maid of Switzerland. By miss Anne Blower.

IN a delightful vale, near the lake of Geneva, resided madame de Clemengis and her daughter. Monsieur de Clemengis had been dead some years. They had formerly shone in the politest circles of fashion, in the metropolis of France: but having lost the greatest part of their fortune by a law suit, and feeling how differently every thing appears, when fortune no longer gilds the scene, they gladly retired from a situation that served only to remind them of the splendor of that from which they had fal-

len; and which, though it had ceased to afflict them, they could not forbear sometimes regretting. Possessed, however, of liberal minds, and hearts of the most lively sensibility, they soon found their retirement yielded pleasures more congenial to their dispositions than those they had so long blindly engaged in. They found sufficient resources from satiety or disgust by the education of their daughter, whose birth happened soon after their removal into Switzerland. Occupied in this pleasing employment, they felt their pleasures increase in proportion as each year added graces to her person, or unfolded the beauties of her mind. But this tranquil felicity, this temperate enjoyment of happiness, was destined, like every thing sublunary, to be disturbed. Monsieur de Clemengis was fond of herbalising: he had formed a pretty extensive herbal, which his greatest delight was to increase: it had almost become a passion with him.

One day, amusing himself in his accustomed manner, with wandering in search of plants to enrich his collection, he reached the summit of a mountain, on one side of which yawned a frightful precipice. Unfortunately, monsieur de Clemengis, in looking down, discovered a plant he had long been in search of; happy in having at length found it, and eager for the possession, he stretched forth his hand, and leaned part of his body over to seize it, when a piece of the rock giving way, he fell in. Imagine, if possible, the grief, the unutterable anguish, of madame de Clemengis, on becoming acquainted with the dreadful accident—with the most ardent feelings, tenderly attached to a husband who adored her, and who merited all her fondness—in that dreadful moment, when, clasping her daughter to her bosom, convulsed with anguish, she bewailed the fate of her husband!—in that moment, when reason itself seemed to yield its place to the acuter feelings of nature and the tyranny of the passions! what, but the aid of religion the most pure, and philosophy the most solid, could have sustained and subdued such a

mind, so untried ! Julia, though old enough to feel acutely her loss, yet was of that age when sorrow remains not long an inmate ; a girl twelve years of age, though capable of feeling strongly, has too little reflexion, long to retain melancholy impressions. Julia, her own grief somewhat dispelled, helped to alleviate the pangs of her mother : and by degrees her affliction subsided into a calm but lasting regret. Time, though it could not obliterate, yet softened her sorrow. More than ever attached to her solitude, since death had deprived her of him who alone could make society pleasing to her, she devoted herself to the education of her daughter, who seemed destined to console her for what she had lost in her father. In the bosom of innocence, their days glided on in a happy obscurity, undisturbed by the vicissitudes of hope or the languors of disappointment. Oh, happy state of serenity and repose ! let the gay and ambitious, who glide along the stream of pleasure or swell with the tide of fortune, condemn thee ! They who have felt the mutability of her smiles, know how to value thee.

One evening, as they were taking their accustomed walk, madame de Clemengis somewhat wearied, proposed resting herself on the root of a tree that grew at the foot of a mountain ; to which Julia acceding, they seated themselves, and with rapture unspeakable, surveyed the romantic country around them, whose wild beauties, heightened by the gloom which the evening shades cast over them, gave those sweet transports—that lost enthusiasm, which the true sublime ever produces : it is then the heart feels itself expand, and the eyes are involuntarily suffused with tears excited by those delightful sensations. Nature, always wonderful, sometimes stupendous, certainly no where displays more magnificence than in the noble extravagancies of this land of liberty. Julia, soon refreshed, prompted by curiosity, ascended the mountain, in order to view the adjacent country, whilst her mother remained seated. She had scarcely gained the summit, when she heard a

noise, and, turning her head, perceived two persons struggling with each other : a moment afterwards, one fell, when the other, setting his knee on him who was fallen, pointed a pistol to his breast. Julia, shocked and terrified, ran, or rather flew, down the hill to her mother ; but so much agitated, that, unable to relate what she had seen, she could only intreat her to call Ambrose (an honest Swiss, their domestic) who was at some little distance from them. Ambrose in an instant appeared : when, beckoning him to follow her, she flew to the spot : but how was she dismayed, when she beheld only one of the two she had seen, who was extended on the earth apparently lifeless. Madame de Clemengis, astonished at the wildness of her daughter's manner, had followed, and now came up. On perceiving the object before them, she was almost as much terrified as Julia, but, speedily recollecting herself, she examined the body, and perceived he was not dead, nor had received any material wound, but was only stunned with the violence of the blow he had received. She immediately ordered Ambrose to run home and fetch proper things to recover him. Remedies being applied, he soon recovered, and with the assistance of Ambrose, he was led to their dwelling. In their way, the stranger endeavoured to express his gratitude for the tenderness and benevolence of his unknown benefactors ; but madame de Clemengis entreated him not to ascribe so much merit, to an ordinary act of humanity. “ Ah, madam, (said he) it is not the action, but the manner in which it is performed, that stamps the obligation.”

By this time, they were at home, and the lights gave them an opportunity of seeing each other more clearly. The stranger appeared struck with the beauty and grace of Julia ; whilst she seemed equally surprised and pleased with his air and person, which were graceful and elegant in the extreme. Madame de Clemengis, more astonished than either, could not help repeatedly looking at him, as one whose person was familiar to her.

He was now put to bed, and by the skill and care of madame de Clemengis, whose knowledge of medicine was considerable, he was soon perfectly recovered. He then informed them, he was a native of France, and by what means he came into that unfortunate situation they had rescued him from. "I certainly," said he, "in some measure deserved the severe accident I met with, since it was partly occasioned by my own imprudence. But I know not how to feel that regret I ought, for having committed a folly, since it has been productive of such happy consequences, as introducing me to you, ladies, or rather beings, whose benignity would almost make it pardonable in me to imagine myself in the regions of fairy land, and myself some-highly favoured prince conversing with the good genii of the mountains." Madame de Clemengis smiled at this gallant rhapsody, and he proceeded: "it was my design to make the tour of Italy, and I travelled as far as Avignon in the usual manner, when the whim seized me of pursuing my journey through Switzerland on foot. At the former place, I took leave of the marquis de Valmont, who had accompanied me." Madame de Clemengis started, when the stranger mentioned the name of the marquis de Valmont. She enquired if he was related to the marquis: he replied: "He is my father, madam." "Good heaven!" exclaimed madame de Clemengis, "What is it I see! Do I behold a nephew of monsieur de Clemengis?" "Monsieur de Clemengis!" reiterated he. Ah, madam is it possible! Do I flatter myself, when I think I see, in the charming objects now before me, those nearly connected with that uncle, of whose fate every one is ignorant? How fortunate am I in this unexpected *rencontre!*" Madame de Clemengis embraced with transport a nephew of her unfortunate husband's: and he, equally charmed, beheld with pleasure his new relations. Equally pleased with each other, Valmont continued with them long after the restoration of his health had left him without that plea for delaying his departure. Fond of the so-

ciety of madame de Clemengis, whose company was as pleasing, as her character was amiable, and becoming every day more enamoured of Julia, he would willingly have continued still longer with them, had he not been apprehensive his father would be offended at his not pursuing his tour.

Madame de Clemengis could not but perceive the growing attachment of both for each other: yet, relying on the prudence of Julia, and the honour of Valmont, she did not discourage their passion. Valmont, unreserved and open in the extreme, in every other part of his conduct, was by no means explicit of this: though his every look spoke a language that might be construed into an avowal of love, yet his tongue was silent, nor did any thing escape his lips which could amount to a declaration of love. Obligated at length to depart, he took his leave of them without declaring his sentiments, but with an expression of grief and poignant distress, as unfeigned as touching, which penetrated the tender susceptible bosom of Julia, and gave additional strength to a passion already too deeply rooted. Soon after his departure madame de Clemengis received a letter from him, in which he "lamented his absence from them as the severest affliction, and looked back with the fondest regret to those moments of exquisite pleasure he had enjoyed in their presence. Impatient to see them again, he was more eager to finish his tour than he had been to commence it; and he hoped by the next spring to be able to return, when he should hasten with transport to throw himself at their feet."

Julia was delighted with this assurance of the certainty of seeing him again, but inwardly mourned the tedious months that must elapse ere she could have that satisfaction. The time to her dragged heavily along before the spring returned. At length it approached: madame de Clemengis saw with concern how much she was interested in the hope of seeing Valmont. Fearful of the consequences of a passion, which already appeared so powerful, she trembled for her daughter, whose susceptibility exposed her to such

severity of affliction, should she suffer a disappointment, which Valmont's ambiguity rendered not an impossibility.

Filled with anxiety for her daughter, she saw him arrive with a concern and embarrassment she could not wholly suppress: but the candour and ingenuousness of Valmont's manners soon dissipated those fears a tender mother's solitude had suggested: for such was the prevailing integrity and openness of his demeanor, that suspicion fled from his presence; and it was impossible when with him to doubt his truth for a moment. From this pleasing trait of his character, he never failed to attach those around him. Madame de Clemengis felt the affection of a mother for him, and might be said indeed to have the prejudices of one too; she made a thousand apologies for his mysterious conduct, without falling upon the true one.

Happy in again seeing him, Julia was all spirit and gaiety; but there soon followed a visible alteration: instead of joy and pleasure, she seemed oppressed with a sadness and melancholy she could not shake off. Valmont too appeared gloomy and reserved; he lost his natural openness and vivacity. Madame de Clemengis was unable to account for his change in the disposition of both: but Valmont, by disclosing the situation of his heart, soon made her acquainted with the cause. After subduing the sensations of grief, which seemed to rise with such force as almost to suppress the power of utterance, he said: "I am going, before I leave you, (which will not be long first) to open to you a heart, which, though erring, is not wholly depraved—a heart that feels severely the contumely I merit for the duplicity of my conduct. I am sensible I hazard the loss of that esteem and regard you have honoured me with, and which are dearer to me than my life, by disclosing to you how little I deserve them. Culpable, however, as I am in my own eyes, my heart is clear from the turpitude of premeditated baseness. I was compelled, at an early age, by an austere and absolute father, in order to gratify his ambition, to marry a woman whom I could not

either love or esteem; whose temper, as unamiable as her person, soon obliged me to separate from her. Thus become single, though in wedlock, I seemed to forget my bondage, and almost persuaded myself I was wholly freed from the shackles of a forced union. But, alas! by a circumstance that makes it doubly insupportable, I am roused to the cruel reflexion, that I still wear the iron chains forged by that hated marriage,"

(To be continued.)



THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR.

NUMBER XV.

THOUGH men dispute for the purpose of ascertaining truth, yet there are few men, who find less of it, than those who dispute a great deal. The habit of disputation is a dangerous one. It creates such a love of triumph, that men acquire a dexterity of handling unintelligible subjects, with a view only to conquest. By this means, eager disputants abandon the plain paths of reason and truth, and wander into the fields of imagination and conjecture. When men confine their investigations to such points as admit of demonstration, he, who takes the right side of the question, will, with equal abilities, put his adversary to silence. The subject will be stripped of all adventitious glare: and the light of truth will shine conspicuously over error and sophistry. But those, who dispute merely for the love of such a practice, know too well, that they should have very little to do with reason and common sense. It should be their main object, to elude the arguments of other people by the refinements of art and evasion.

Discussion is, no doubt, an important medium of investigating truth. It opens a spirit of enquiry in the world; and excites, in cool, disinterested men, a desire of coming at the real knowledge of such things, as are capable of being known. The warm disputants, however, only start the game. The acquisition falls to men of candour and impartiality, who take the right track, and often overtake their object. It is easy to

observe, that the most violent disputes, that prevail among men, are of such a nature, as cannot be reduced to a certainty. Many points of disputation are enveloped in such unknown or remote contingencies, as elude all the powers of investigation. After all the discussion, that can be had on some subjects, truth will keep out of sight, and the point of debate remain undetermined. If men, however, manage their altercations with good humour and moderation, some benefit will result from them. Discussion gives scope to the imagination, and habituates the reasoning faculty to a dexterity in its processes.

No circumstance reflects more dishonour on human nature, than the ill-will and persecutions, that have been instigated by such disputes, as are not only unimportant in themselves, but utterly incapable of being demonstrated. The periods of ecclesiastical contention draw over the character of man some of its darkest shades. To a person of a liberal mind, it seems an incredible thing, that a useless question, unattended with any rational data which might lead to a solution, should throw whole cities, districts, and countries, into broils, persecutions, and wars.

Though a free spirit of enquiry should at all times be tolerated, I would still recommend it to prudent individuals, to have little connexion with those, who have the principal management of disputes. They are not the men, from whom truth flows with purity and force. It is easy to perceive, that the originator, of any system or question, will be apt to commence his enquiries with an aim to victory. Truth is no further to be regarded in his pursuit, than as it coincides with the favourite doctrine under examination. The system must not yield to the dictates of reason: but whenever they come in competition, reason must be sacrificed to system.

Lovers of altercation are not only to be shunned as bad guides in our researches after truth, but as troublesome associates, and dangerous friends. A

warm partizan estimates the merit of his acquaintance, according as he promotes or defeats the schemes he has in contemplation. As these schemes generally will be wrong, his friend must either quarrel with him, or participate in his errors and quarrels.

New York, November 11, 1789.



Curious circumstance, related by Dr Forster.

A Vessel, on its voyage from Jamaica to England, had suffered so much from the storms, by which it was overtaken, that it was at last on the point of sinking. The crew had recourse in all haste to the boat. The great hurry they were in, having occasioned them to take with them but a small quantity of provisions and liquor, they soon began to be afflicted with hunger, as well as thirst, in a high degree; when the captain advised them by no means to drink the sea water, as the effect of it would be extremely noxious; but rather to follow his example, and, thin clad, to dip in the sea. He himself practised this constantly: and not only he, but all those who followed his example found, that when they came out of the water, both their hunger and thirst were perfectly appeased for a long time. Many of the crew laughed at him, as did at those who followed his instructions; but at length they grew weak and exhausted, and died of hunger and thirst; nay some of them, urged by despair, threw themselves into the sea: but the captain, and such as several times had dipped in the sea, preserved their lives for the space of nineteen days; and at the end of that period, they were taken up by a vessel which was sailing that way. It should seem that they absorbed, by the pores of their bodies, as much pure water as was sufficient for their nourishment, all the salt being at the same time left behind. In fact, the salt was deposited on the exterior surface of the bodies, in the form of a thin pellicle which they were obliged repeatedly to rub off.



T H E

A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

Or, UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE,

For M A Y, 1790.



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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Should Palemon send his poetical effusions to us, *before* their appearance in the newspapers, they would be received with attention.

C. is requested to bestow a little more care on his communications.

A mechanic's hint shall be attended to.

The essay on the danger of losing classical and other learning in America—Apocryphal account of the first peopling of America, &c. are under consideration

Anecdote respecting governor Belcher and parson Byles—Extract respecting the mermaid—instances of the use of torture in Scotland—Fabulous account of the prodigies attending the birth, infancy, and youth of Mahomet—Dalrymple's prophecy respecting the isthmus of Darien—Description of the floating gardens of Mexico—Remarks on the trade and government of Virginia—&c. &c. shall appear as soon as possible.

Meteorological observations made in Philadelphia, April 1790.

DAYS	Thermom.		Barometer.		wind	Weather.
1	34.2	59.	30.5	30.3.11	SW	clear, windy,
2	47.7	57.9	30.0.10	29.10.13	SW	overcast, and rain,
3	44.4	49.8	29.10.2	29.11	W	clear,
4	50.	78.	29.10.12	29.9.9	SW	clear,
5	58.	69.	29.8.2	29.10.1	NW	clear,
6	47.7	45.	29.11.	29.8.	NE	rain,
7	33.	47.	29.11.8	29.11.7	NW	clear, windy,
8	36.5	56.3	30.1.4	29.10.	S	clear,
9	41.	70.	29.8.5	29.8.12	NE	clear,
0	50.	68.	29.7.5	29.5.13	NE	overcast, thunder, rain,
1	50.	72.5	29.5.2	29.5.	NE	overcast, rain, clear,
2	47.7	64.6	29.10.5	29.11	NW	clear,
3	41.	60.8	30.1.7	30.1.	NW	clear,
4	41.	47.	30.0.7	29.11.5.	SE	overcast, rain,
5	40.	47.	30.	30.1.4	NE	overcast, rain,
6	36.5	53.4	30.3	30.2.7	NE	clear, overcast,
7	38.7	49.	30.2	30.1.	NE	clear, heavy rain, high wind.
8	41.	48.	29.7.4	29.5.	E	hard rain, high wind,
9	39.4	56.7	29.8.9	29.9.10	W	clear,
0	43.	56.	29.11	29.8	E	hard rain,
1	45.5	61.	29.7.10	29.7.5	W	overcast, fair,
2	46.	59.	29.6.7	29.6.7	S	clear, overcast, rain,
3	43.	61.2	29.9.8	29.9.9	W	clear,
4	43.	65.7	29.10	29.9.8	NE	clear,
5	46.5	52.	29.9.10.	29.10.	NE	rainy,
6	43.2	61.	30.1.4.	30.18.	NE	overcast,
7	43.	50.	30.1.	30.6.	NW	overcast,
8	34.	45.	29.9.	29.8	NW	snow, rain,
9	41.	56.7	20.11.	30.	NW	overcast, windy,
0	43.	61.	30.3	30.3	NW	clear.

Thermometer.		Barometer.		wind	Weather.
7th greatest deg. of cold	33.	1st greatest elevation	30.5		
4th greatest deg. of heat	78.	18th least elevation,	29.5		Rainy
Variation, - - -	45.	Variation, - - -	1	NW	and
Mean degree, - -	50.5	Mean elevation,	29.10.4		clear.

The instruments, by which the above table was made, are placed in the shade out thirty feet above the ground. It exhibits two observations, made when the greatest degree of cold and heat prevails, viz. before sunrise, and between two and three, P. M. The barometer from which the accounts hitherto published in this work, were taken, is divided into inches and tenths: the one in present use, is divided into inches, the inch into twelve lines, and the lines into sixteenths. The thermometer is made upon Fahrenheit's scale.

Observations on the weather and diseases for April, 1790.

THE weather, during this month, was in general clear, cool, and pleasant. After the middle, and towards the latter end, it became more variable and rainy: on the 6th and 17th, there were severe storms of rain and a high N.

E. wind; on the first of which days, in several parts of Virginia and Maryland, destructive effects were produced by it on the plantations. In this city, it was much more moderate. Accounts from Elizabeth town, Poughkeepsie, Hartford and Danbury, mention that on the 12th considerable damage was received at

those places, by a hurricane. The weather here, however, was clear and cool. A letter from Northumberland informs us, that the snow was two feet deep there on the 18th.

In the latter end of the month catarrhs became extremely frequent; and in a number of instances were so violent, as to threaten consumptions, especially where they had for some time been neglected. So very common were they, that whole families were afflicted with them at the same time; and this so apparently from contagion, that it was by many believed that the influenza with which we had been so lately visited, had appeared a second time.

This month was remarkable for the death of several very old people, among whom was the venerable patriot and philosopher dr. Franklin, who expired on the 17th, in consequence of the excessive discharge from an abscess in his lungs, which succeeded a pleurisy.

Many hundred children were inoculated for the small pox, all of whom, as far as my observations extended, had the disease very favourably: the cool regimen for the most part was strictly observed: the patients were ordered to be in the open air, and had cold water for their drink. This treatment, however, was not indiscriminately used: on the contrary, a moderate heat, diet rather nourishing than otherwise, and avoiding the cold, were enjoined to many, and with considerable advantage. It was only in those cases where the patients were disposed to the sthenic or inflammatory diathesis, that the debilitating plan was pursued: for in some, though few, the disease assumed a contrary appearance; about the time of the eruptive fever, the patients complaining of chilliness, expressing a desire to be kept warm, having a weak pulse, and a delirium occurring; in which cases the disease would, in probability, have degenerated into the confluent kind, had the usual cool regimen, &c. been pursued.

Having mentioned the article consumption, it may not be improper here to remark, as a hint to those whose office it is to make out the annual bills of

mortality, that people are very often said to die of consumptions, when in fact they have lingered for a considerable time under some other complaint, which in as much as it may have been a general wasting of the body, might, with the greatest propriety, be termed a consumption, although very different from the true pthisis pulmonalis, by which name only is understood among physicians the disease called in English consumption. The name, therefore, of the original disease, which caused the consumption, ought to be mentioned, and by no means the cause be attributed to the effect. The mistake, with respect to this matter, arises in this manner: the nurses or attendants, from whom the name of the disease, with which the person died, is usually obtained, observe the emaciated state of the deceased, and knowing this circumstance universal, suppose it to be the same disease. Several instances have occurred within the writer's notice, where not only the disorder in question, but various others have been mistaken; and of course false reports handed to the enquirer. The proper person to receive information of, the attending physician, from whom alone the true name of the disease can be obtained; and to whom recourse should always, if possible, be had, as it is attended with any additional trouble; and especially when it is considered that the utility of bills of mortality must depend solely on their accuracy, which it is impossible to attain to, if this rule be not observed.

Philadelphia, April 30, 1790.



Letter from dr. Franklin to Michael H. Legas, esq. respecting covering houses with copper.

Dear sir, *London, March 17, 1790.*

I RECEIVED your favour of November 25, and have made enquiries, as you desired, concerning the copper covering of houses. It has been used here in a few instances only: and the practice does not seem to gain ground. The copper is about the thickness of

common playing card : and though a dearer metal than lead, I am told that as less weight serves, on account of its being so much thinner—and as slighter wood-work in the roof is sufficient to support it, the roof is not dearer on the whole than one covered with lead. It is said, that hail and rain make a disagreeable drumming noise on copper : but this, I suppose, is rather fancy : for the plates being fastened to the rafters, must in a great measure deaden such sound. The first cost, whatever it is, will be all : as a copper covering must last for ages : and when the house decays, the plates will still have intrinsic worth. In Russia, I am informed, many houses are covered with plates of iron tinned, such as our tin pots and other wares are made of, laid on over the edges of one another, like tiles ; and which, it is said, last very long ; the tin preserving the iron from much decay by rusting. In France and the Low Countries, I have seen many spouts or pipes for conveying the water down from the roofs of houses, made of the same kind of tin plates soldered together : and they seem to stand very well.

With sincere regard, I am,
your's, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.



Letter from the same to Samuel Rboads, esq. on the same subject.

London, June 26, 1770.

DEAR FRIEND,

IT is a long time since I had the pleasure of hearing from you directly. Mrs. Franklin has indeed now and then acquainted me of your welfare, which I am always glad to hear of. It is, I fear, partly, if not altogether, my fault, that our correspondence has not been regularly continued. One thing I am sure of, that it has been from no want of regard on either side, but rather from too much business and avocations of various kinds, and my having little of importance to communicate.

One of our good citizens, mr. Hillegas, anxious for the future safety of our town, wrote to me sometime since, de-

siring, I would enquire concerning the covering of houses here with copper. I sent him the best information I could then obtain ; but have since received the enclos'd from an ingenious friend, mr. Wooler, who is what they call here a civil engineer. I should be glad you would peruse it, think of the matter a little, and give me your sentiments of it. When you have done with the paper, please to give it to mr. Hillegas. I am told by lord Despencer, who has covered a long piazza or gallery with copper, that the expense is charg'd in this account too high ; for his cost but one shilling and ten-pence per foot, all charges included. I suppose his copper must have been thinner. And indeed it is so strong a metal, that I think it may well be used very thin.

It appears to me of great importance to build our dwelling houses, if we can, in a manner more secure from danger by fire. We scarcely ever hear of fire in Paris. When I was there, I took particular notice of the construction of their houses : and I did not see how one of them could well be burnt. The roofs are slate or tile : the walls are stone ; the rooms generally lin'd with stucco or plaster, instead of wainscot ; the floors of stucco or of six-square tiles painted brown ; or of flag stone, or of marble : if any floors were of wood, it was oak wood, which is not so inflammable as pine. Carpets prevent the coldness of stone or brick floors offending the feet in winter : and the noise of treading on such floors overhead, is less inconvenient than that on boards. The stairs, too, at Paris, are either stone, or brick, with only a wooden edge or corner for the step : so that, on the whole, though the Parisians commonly burn wood in their chimneys, a more dangerous kind of fuel than that used here, yet their houses escape extremely well ; as there is little in a room that can be consumed by fire, except the furniture. Whereas in London, perhaps scarcely a year passes, in which half a million of property, and many lives are not lost by this destructive element. Of late, indeed, they begin here to leave off wainscotting their

rooms ; and instead of it, cover the walls with stucco, often form'd into pannels like wainscot, which, being painted, is very strong and warm. Stone staircases too, with iron rails, grow more and more into fashion here. But stone steps cannot in some circumstances be fixed : and there, methinks, oak is safer than pine ; and I assure you that in many genteel houses here, both old and new, the stairs and floors are oak, and look extremely well. Perhaps solid oak for the steps would be still safer than boards : and two steps might be cut diagonally out of one piece. Excuse my talking to you on a subject with which you must be so much better acquainted than I am. It is partly to make out a letter, for renewing our correspondence ; and partly in hope that by turning your attention to the point, some methods of greater security in our future building may be thought of, and promoted by you, whose judgment I know has deservedly great weight with our fellow citizens. For though our town has not hitherto suffered very greatly by fire ; yet I am apprehensive, that some time or other, by a concurrence of unlucky circumstances, such as dry weather, hard frost, and high winds, a fire then happening may suddenly spread far and wide over our cedar roofs ; and do us immense mischief. I am,

Yours, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

Of covering roofs with copper.

THE carpentry of the roof being formed with its proper descents, is in the first place sheeted or covered with deals, nail'd horizontally upon the rafters, after the same manner as when intended to be covered with lead. The sheets of the copper for this covering are 2 feet by 4 ; and for covering the slopes of the roof, are cast so thin, as to weigh 8 or 9 pounds, and for covering the flats or gutters, 10 or 11 pounds each, or about 11b. or $1\frac{1}{4}$ lb. to the superficial foot.

A skin of strong cartridge paper (overlapping a little at its joints) is regularly tacked down upon the sheeting, under

the copper covering, as the work proceeds from eaves to ridge. It prevents the gingling sound of hail or rain falling upon the roof, and answers another purpose to be mentioned by and by.

In order to shew the regular process of laying down the roof, we must begin with fastening two sheets together lengthwise. The edges of two sheets are laid down so as to lap or cover each other an inch : and a slip of the same copper, about three and an half inches broad, called the reeve, is introduced between them. Four oblong holes or flits are then cut or punched through the whole : and they are fastened or riveted together by copper nails, with small round shanks and flat heads. Indents are then cut $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch deep upon the seam at top and bottom. The right hand sheet and the reeve are then folded back to the left. The reeve is then folded to the right : and the sheets being laid on the roof in their place, it is nailed down to the sheeting with flat headed short copper nails. The right hand sheet is then folded over the reeve to the right, and the whole beat down flat upon the cartridge paper covering the sheeting, and thus they are fastened and laid in their places, by nailing down the reeve only ; and, by reason of the oblong holes through them and the reeve, have a little liberty to expand or contract, with the heat and cold, without raising themselves up from the sheeting, or tearing themselves or the fastening to pieces. Two other sheets are then fixed together, according to the first and second operations above ; and their seam, with the reeve, introduced under the upper ends of the seam of the former, so as to cover down about two inches upon the upper ends of the former sheets ; and so far the cartridge paper is allowed to cover the two first sheets. This edge of the paper is dipt in oil or in turpentine so far, before its application ; and thus a body between the sheets is formed impenetrable to wet ; and the reeve belonging to the two last sheets, is nailed down to the sheeting, as before, and the left hand sheet is turned down to the right : four sheets are now laid down with the seam

or joint rising to the ridge; and thus the work is continued both vertically and horizontally till the roof be covered, the sides and ends of each sheet being alternately each way undermost and uppermost.

The price for copper, nails, and workmanship, runs at about 8l. 10s. per cwt. or 2s. 3d. per foot superficial, exclusive of the lappings—and about 2s. 8d. per foot upon the whole; which is rather above half as much more as the price of doing it well with lead.



Advantages of the culture of silk and of the mulberry tree.—*Extracted from a pamphlet, written “by a citizen of Philadelphia,” which is now in the press, and will be published in a few days, by Mr. Cruikshank.*

Of silk.

THE silk worms require about six weeks time to hatch, grow, spin, and complete their pods for reeling: two or three weeks more are sufficient for reeling, washing, colouring, and weaving the silk: so that the fabric is finished and ready for use or sale, in two months from the first hatching the eggs. These are quick profits, and of course are better than the same profits would be, if derived from any business, which might require perhaps a year, and sometimes two or three, before the profits could be realized.

II. The whole process requires very little stock to set up with: a quantity of eggs, worth a dollar, will, with common success, produce seventy pounds of raw silk, which are worth SEVENTY GUINEAS; but if manufactured, may be increased to double or treble that sum.

III. The labour is not expensive: for a family of six persons, allowing four of them to be children, from eight to fourteen years old, are enough to raise sixty pounds of raw silk, worth sixty guineas, in one season.

IV. The buildings, furniture, and accommodations are not costly; as any room, capable of being kept in proper heat and purity of air, is sufficient: i. e. where the heat and air are capable of

being corrected with fires, windows, &c. as occasion requires.

V. This business will employ many thousands of old people, women, and children, whose time would otherwise probably pass with little or no use, either to themselves or the public: and of course their labour will be a clear saving to themselves, increase the trade and wealth of the state, lessen the poor tax, and prevent much idleness and vice.

Of the mulberry tree.

I. The white mulberry may be raised from the seed or by layers, which are small trees or limbs bent down and buried in the ground; in which method they make mulberry hedges of long duration and great use for fences.

II. The growth is strong and rapid. In seven years it will grow from the seed to a trunk of six inches diameter, and bear plenty of fruit. The timber is very firm, as durable as red cedar, and very suitable for ship-timber, posts to be set in the ground, &c.

III. The tree is very favourable to vegetation, as the droppings of it fertilize the ground beneath: and it is found by certain experience, that an upland meadow, lined on its edges with these trees, with a few cross rows, will produce nearly double the quantity of hay, and of much superior quality, to what it used to do without them.

IV. The fruit of these trees is very rich; is the most nourishing food for hogs, fowls, &c.; and not only fattens those animals very fast, but adds a peculiar sweetness and fine flavour to their flesh.

V. These trees form a most delightful shade to shelter a dry soil, which is apt to suffer from a too great exposure to the sun; and for the same reason are excellent when planted on the sides of roads, where, in the summer heats, they will afford a protection, which is oftentimes very necessary, and exceedingly refreshing both to man and beast, when travelling in hot weather.



To the Editors of the American Museum,

THE late acquisitions of machinery, that is capable of performing

those parts of the manufactory of various fabrics, which formerly required *manual* labour, are of so much consequence to the united states, that a brief account of them, will doubtless please your readers. The jenny for spinning at the rate of forty, sixty, and eighty yarns of cotton by one hand, and the machine for carding cotton, have been some time known among us. They were obtained within a year after the importance of labour-saving machines first suggested itself to the people of this country. But at this early day in the pursuit of the inestimable object of *machinery*, we find ourselves possessed at once of more than was thought within the verge of possibility when the scheme of manufacturing by these means was first taken up. A complete miniature system of the cotton mill, invented by the English *Arkwright*, has found its way to this city: and a working model, fit for a part of a water mill upon the largest scale, has been made from it, by our workmen, under the direction of the gentleman, who possesses it. The capacity of this machinery has been proved by manufacturing some spools of cotton yarn. Its importance to the southern states, and to our East India trade, is manifest, and very great. Besides this cotton machine, a complete working system of the full size of a water mill for roping and spinning combed wool, hemp, and flax, has been constructed here by an ingenious English workman, and is now in the possession of a gentleman of this city also. To our interior and western country, this machinery must become in due time of immense importance: as it will render their hemp and flax (by spinning them into yarns before transportation) capable of carriage at one fourth of the present expense, according to their value*.

NOTE.

* We are happy to be able to inform our readers, that the cotton-mill mentioned above by our correspondent, is in the possession of William Pollard, esq. and that the mill for roping combed wool, hemp, and flax, is possessed by Tench Coxe, esq.

Both these mills are however of great present value to the populated counties of the Atlantic states, in which cotton, hemp, flax, and wool, are now produced: and it is certain that plans for setting them at work, will, in a very short time, be commenced. Z.



For the *American Museum*.

GOOD and cheap vessels are objects of universal desire among the maritime nations of the world. Long experience has established a preference in favour of *oak* ships: and though the Baltic powers appear to have considerable quantities of fir, pine, and larch, it is certain that oak timber and plank are absolutely scarce among them. The kingdom of Prussia is the only country, that has a sufficiency of oak for its merchantmen; all the others, from Spain in the south, to Sweden and Russia in the north purchase *oak* or *oak ships* for their navy and private trade. This fact it is my desire to make known to my countrymen through the channel of the Museum that the proprietors of timber lands near navigable water, may not let those land slip through their hands for a trifle, to wholesale foreign purchasers. As the mulberry, live-oak, cedar, and pitch pine are our most valuable timbers, the hint is most particularly recommended to the consideration of the inhabitants of the southern states. A TRADER.

Philadelphia, April 29, 1790.



ONE day a *Jew* broker told Dr. Chovet (who affected to give credit to accounts of the misfortunes of the British during the war) that Lord Cornwallis had been taken—and asked him, with an air of triumph, did he believe that? “Go—you unbelieving rascal,” replies the doctor, “go—believe in Jesus Christ—and save your soul.”

DR. Franklin, when a child, found the long graces used by his father before and after meals very disagreeable. One day after the winter's provision had been salted, “I think, father,” said Benjamin, “if you said *grace* over the whole *cash*—once for all—it would be *vast saving of time*.”

Account of the flour exported from Philadelphia from the 1st day of January to the 31st of Dec. 1786, inclusive; and the several places for which the same was cleared out at the naval office, the quantity cleared for each place, and the number of vessels in which it was shipped.

Cleared for	barrels	Vessels.
Jamaica,	22,279	38
Antigua,	4,843	17
St. Christopher's,	2,773	5
Barbadoes,	2,701	12
Grenada,	1,183	2
Tortola,	441	3
Dominica,	571	2
Nevis,	286	1
St. Vincent,	1,335	3
Bermuda,	852	5
New Providence,	1,621	9
West Indies,	5,055	13
Newfoundland,	1,178	2
St. John's	180	1
Halifax,	4,734	9
Gibraltar,	1,021	1
Cape François,	1,425	3
Port au Prince,	250	1
St. Bartholomew,	133	1
St. Orient,	21	1
St. Croix,	4,783	17
St. Thomas,	2,683	6
St. Eustatia,	14,655	26
Curaçoa,	2,305	8
St. Martin's,	804	4
Demarara,	905	4
Surinam,	131	2
Augustine,	530	1
Musquito shore,	8	1
Cadiz,	12,080	8
Bilboa,	1,927	2
St. Andero,	3,260	2
Madeira,	2,620	7
Teneriffe,	1,926	2
Malaga,	1,118	3
Canaries,	231	2
Azores,	150	1
Lisbon,	1,600	1
Hamburg,	595	1
Bremen,	30	1
Boston,	18,348	37
Newbury Port,	3,049	11
Rhode Island,	2,300	10
Nantucket,	1,874	6

Salem,	1,101	6
Portsmouth,	957	4
Piscataway,	240	1
Falmouth,	200	1
Bedford,	12	1
Plymouth,	75	1
Newhaven,	8	1
Norwich,	2	2
New York,	2,017	9
Virginia,	653	21
North Carolina,	430	25
South Carolina,	16,061	37
Georgia,	918	9

To	barrels	
To British ports,	51,053	
To French	1,829	
To Spanish,	17,805	
To Dutch,	18,800	
To Danish,	7,466	
To Portuguese,	7,645	
To Hamburg,	595	
To Bremen,	30	
To ports of the united states	48,245	

Total 153,468



Memoirs of the life, character, and writings of the late professor Winthrop of Cambridge.

JOHN WINTHROP, L. L. D. and F. R. S. was descended from John Winthrop, the first governor of Massachusetts, born in Boston, December 19, 1714, and received his first degree in 1732, at Harvard college, where he had made remarkable proficiency in literature, particularly in mathematics and natural philosophy. When the professorship of those sciences, founded by Thomas Hollis, esq. became vacant, by the resignation of mr. Greenwood, the corporation made choice of mr. Winthrop for his successor, which choice being confirmed by the board of overseers, he was solemnly inaugurated in the college hall, on the second of January 1739, on which occasion he delivered an elegant Latin oration. The propriety of this appointment was demonstrated by the penetration and perspicuity, which characterised his lectures, and by the accuracy of his astronomical

observations. On the third of May, 1740, he observed a transit of the planet Mercury, and sent his observations to the royal society of London, who returned him thanks, and published them in the forty-second volume of the philosophical transactions. These observations are also recorded in the memoirs of the royal academy of sciences at Paris, for the year 1756.

On occasion of the great earthquake in 1755, he read and published a lecture on the subject, in which he accounted for that surprising phenomenon, in a manner which does honour to his enquiries into the history of nature; and in a masterly manner refuted an hypothesis, concerning earthquakes, which had been advanced by a respectable character, in discredit of the then newly-received theory of electricity.

On the appearance of the comet of 1759, he delivered and published two lectures on comets, wherein he solved the most remarkable phenomena of those singular celestial bodies, according to the principles of the Newtonian philosophy. Mr. Winthrop was highly gratified by the appearance of that comet, the first which had ever been predicted, upon astronomical principles. Some years after, he wrote another treatise in Latin on the same subject, in which by "a theory, entirely his own, he demonstrated the quantity of matter in the nucleus of a comet, from the diameter of its capillium."

In 1761, he made a voyage to Newfoundland, at the expense of the province, to observe the transit of Venus, on the sixth of June, that being the only part of America where the egress of the planet could be observed. Of this rare phenomenon he was happy in obtaining a distinct and accurate observation, an account of which he published. In 1769, he had a repetition of the same pleasure, by a full and exact observation of another transit of Venus, made at his own house in Cambridge—an event which he had contemplated with the most earnest expectation, and concerning which he had previously published two lectures.

It was much wished by the friends of science, that an observation of this phenomenon could have been made as far westward as Lake Superior. Had Mr. Winthrop's health permitted, he would gladly have undertaken the journey. He exerted himself to the utmost to accomplish the business, and met with considerable encouragement; but upon the whole found, "that in literary expeditions, as well as others, there were insurmountable difficulties. A perfect observation was not likely to be obtained: an imperfect one would be of little service: and thus the proposal failed of being carried into execution."

His own observations of this and the former transit, were duly transmitted to the royal society, who had elected him a fellow; and the philosophical society at Philadelphia had done him the like honour. In 1771, the university of Edinburgh gave him the honorary degree of doctor of laws: and in the following year the same due tribute of respect was paid him by his own university.

Being a firm yet prudent friend to the rights and liberties of his country, he took an early and decided part in the measures which were used to secure it from the oppressive power which threatened its subjugation: and in 1773, when the dispute with Britain rose high, he was elected into the legislative council. For the integrity and inflexibility of his conduct in this public capacity, he received the singular honour of being negatived at the second election by the then governor GAGE, in company with some other gentlemen of the same patriotic stamp, by the express mandate of the BRITISH KING: but as soon as the people assumed the power of government, he was re-elected, and continued at the council board for two years. He was also appointed judge of probate for the county of Middlesex, which office he held till his death, which happened on the third of May, 1779, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

Dr. Winthrop's intellectual powers enabled him to penetrate the most dif-

scult arcana of science. He was master of the most abstruse parts of Newton's principia, and having completely digested his whole system, was eminently skilled in the business of his profession. With peculiar strength of mind were united great quickness of apprehension, critical judgment, and a retentive memory. He had a rare talent of communicating his thoughts in the most easy and elegant language, both in his private conversation and public lectures; by which the youth, who enjoyed the benefit of his instructions, were always highly entertained and delighted.— Though his temper had sufficient sensibility, it was under so much command, that with the mildest expressions, he reserved the strictest authority: and a word or a look from him was always obeyed with the most profound respect. His wisdom and steadiness greatly strengthened the government of the college: and his literary character gained reputation abroad: to this circumstance the speedy reparation of the library and apparatus, after being desolated by fire, may in a great measure be ascribed.

He was an eminent classic scholar: he wrote Latin with elegance and purity, and few surpassed him in the Greek and Hebrew. He was also well versed in several of the modern languages of Europe. He was thoroughly acquainted with ancient theology, with the literature and philosophy of Egypt, Chaldea, and Greece; with the *jus civile*, and the politics of ancient and modern times.

His literary researches had the most noble effect on his mind, leading him up to the contemplation of the glorious author of nature: and it was the drift and design of his instructions, to instil into his pupils devout sentiments of their Creator. So far was he from contenting himself with the natural knowledge of God, that he venerated and studied divine revelation, with the same accuracy and attention as the works of nature. He vindicated the gospel on all occasions, and not only received with reverence its sublime discoveries, but

regulated his life and manners by its benevolent precepts. In every department of life he sustained the character of the philosopher, the gentleman, and the christian. In frequent and distressing sickness, no complaint was heard from his lips. He supported with serenity and fortitude the approach of death; and the day before his departure, gave his dying testimony to the truth of the christian religion in the following words, which were penned from his mouth.

“ I view religion as a matter of very great importance. The wise men of antiquity set themselves to work to prove the reality of a future state: they caught at every thing that had the shadow of probability. They gave a degree of plausibility to the arguments: they were sensible of the need they stood in of such a doctrine. In opposition to the wise men of antiquity, the wise men of modern times have employed their abilities in undermining every argument in favour of immortality, and in weakening the only hope that can sustain us. But the light thrown on this subject by the glorious gospel, with me amounts to demonstration. The hope that is set before us, in the new testament, is the only thing, that will support a man in his dying hour. If any man build on any other foundation, in my apprehension his foundation will fail.”



An account of the influenza, which prevailed in the autumn of 1789, in different parts of North America. By one of the faculty.

FROM the best accounts, which I have been able to procure, the influenza, or contagious catarrh, which spread over the greatest part of North America, in the autumn of 1789, made its appearance first in the province of Canada, from whence it proceeded to New York; from thence to Philadelphia, and every quarter of Pennsylvania. From Pennsylvania, it spread to all the southern states. It was first observed at Philadelphia the latter end of September, about the time of the friends' yearly

meeting. The time of its continuance in Philadelphia was about six weeks from which it appears to have affected people in succession, after the manner of infection: but its progress was too rapid and extensive, to have been communicated in that way alone: hence I conclude, it was a contagious disease, occasioned by some subtle matter floating in, and blended with, the atmosphere.

It began with symptoms of lassitude and sense of debility, accompanied with chilly sensations, succeeded by feverish heat, fullness and stricture about the precordia, aching in the head and small of the back, and a troublesome teasing cough, with an excretion and expectoration of thin acrid mucus, from the bronchiæ, and a similar discharge from the nose.

The pulse was very different in different persons; but generally more frequent than natural. In some the soreness and uneasiness in the breast, and the fever were considerable—in others scarcely perceptible.

For the first two or three days, the pulse was always accelerated—but seldom hard or even full: but the heat of the skin was always greater than natural. About the fourth or fifth day, the fever, as well as the violence of all the other symptoms, began to abate, and generally went off entirely in a few days. A diaphoresis generally took place, upon the abatement of the feverish symptoms—a proof that the preternatural action was diminished. When the action of the pulse is either considerably above or below a healthy state no perspiration can take place for reasons known to every physiologist.

This complaint was not attended with either vomiting or diarrhœa: but the appetite always failed.

People of all ages, sexes, and temperaments, and even infants, at the breast, were subject to it; but the delicate, the relaxed, and the infirm, suffered most, and some consumptive patients were hurried to the grave by it. But it proved mortal in no other cases that I know of.

The following method of treating

the influenza succeeded best with me as well as with several other physicians in this city.

The patient's chamber was frequently refreshed by the admission of cool air: and himself allowed to sit up out of bed as long as it did not fatigue him. He was directed to drink freely of mild tepid mucilaginous drinks, either in form of decoction, or tea, acidulated to his taste, with the juice of limes, or other vegetables, and a diet of an antiphlogistic nature enjoined. The only medicines found necessary, were mild, saline laxatives with small doses of antimonials: These always diminished the excess of action, and mitigated the inflammatory and feverish symptoms.

The pulse was seldom so full or hard or the pain in the breast so acute, as to indicate bleeding; owing to the relaxed state of the system, in consequence of the influence of the heat, and dryness of the preceding summer.

Opiates were some times given with view to relieve the cough: but they were always found to aggravate the pain in the head, and the feverish heat, till the inflammatory symptoms subsided. I met with no cases which appeared to require blisters.

As soon as the inflammatory irritation on and fever subsided, the patients generally became very relaxed and languid. Under these circumstances, a strong decoction of the bark, the elixir of vitriol, and other tonics, with the moderate use of port wine, and a more substantial and nutritious regimen, and exercise adapted to the patients strength commonly proved restorative.

The characteristic symptoms of the influenza prove it to be of an inflammatory nature, influenced and varied perhaps like the small pox and measles by climate, season and constitution. Be whether the contagious matter which occasioned this disease, was derived from the exhalation of stagnant putrid water decaying and fermenting vegetable substances, or from some other source is matter which must rest on mere conjecture; or at least on such probability only as are afforded by analogy. But

every effect must have a cause—and as no other can be assigned for the disease in question—it is reasonable to ascribe it to some contagious substance suspended in the air. A physician, who is acquainted with the philosophy of medicine, can never be at a loss to discover the nature of any disease from the symptoms, and of course will be able to perceive the indications necessary to be pursued in order to effect a cure, whether he have ever seen the identical disease before or not; so that it is of little consequence whether he know the remote causes or not. The pernicious consequences of practising physic without a sufficient knowledge of the principles on which it is founded, must be obvious to every person of common sense.

Why then are not some measures taken by the legislature, to prevent the lives of so many useful citizens from being destroyed almost every day by the ignorance and presumption of pretenders and unqualified practitioners, who swarm over every part of the united states, to the prejudice of the community, the disgrace of a profession, which has for its object the most invaluable of blessings, health and its attendant comforts? Ridicule may be sufficient to check religious fanaticism: but it requires the force of law to restrain medical empiricism.



Information to Europeans who are disposed to migrate to the united states, in a letter from a citizen of Pennsylvania, to his friend in Great Britain.

DEAR SIR,

AGREEABLY to your request contained in your letter of the 29th of August, 1789, I have at last set down to communicate such facts to you, upon the subject of migration to this country, as have been the result of numerous enquiries and faithful observation. I am aware that this subject has been handled in a masterly manner by doctor Franklin, in his excellent little pamphlet, entitled “Advice to those who would wish to remove to America,” but as that valuable little work is very ge-

neral, and as many important changes have occurred in the affairs of the united states since its publication, I shall endeavour to comply with your wishes, by adding such things as have been omitted by the doctor, and shall accommodate them to the present state of our country.

I shall begin this letter by mentioning the descriptions of people, who ought not to come to America.

I. Men of independent fortunes who can exist only in company, and who can converse only upon public amusements, should not think of settling in the united states. I have known several men of that character in this country, who have rambled from state to state, complaining of the dulness of each of them, and who have finally returned and renewed their former connexions and pleasures in Europe.

II. Literary men, who have no professional pursuits, will often languish in America, from the want of society. Our authors and scholars are generally men of business, and make their literary pursuits subservient to their interests. A lounge in book stores, breakfasting parties for the purpose of literary conversation, and long attic evenings, are as yet but little known in this country. Our companies are generally mixed, and conversation in them is a medley of ideas upon all subjects. They begin as in England with the weather—soon run into politics—now and then diverge into literature—and commonly conclude with facts relative to commerce, manufactures and agriculture, and the best means of acquiring and improving an estate. Men, who are philosophers or poets, without other pursuits, had better end their days in an old country.

III. The united states as yet afford but little encouragement to the professors of most of the fine arts. Painting, and sculpture flourish chiefly in wealthy and luxurious countries. Our native American portrait painters who have not sought protection and encouragement in Great Britain, have been obliged to travel occasionally from one state to another in order to support themselves.

The teachers of music have been more fortunate in America. A taste for this accomplishment prevails very generally in our large cities: and eminent masters in that art who have arrived here since the peace, have received considerable sums of money by exercising their profession among us.

I shall now mention those descriptions of people, who may better their condition by coming to America.

I. To the cultivators of the earth the united states open the first asylum in the world. To ensure the success and happiness of an European farmer in our country, it is necessary to advise him either to purchase, or to rent a farm which has undergone some improvement.

The business of settling a new tract of land, and that of improving a farm, are of a very different nature. The former must be effected by the native American, who is accustomed to the use of the axe and the grubbing hoe, and who possesses almost exclusively a knowledge of all the peculiar and nameless arts of self-preservation in the woods. I have known many instances of Europeans who have spent all their cash in unsuccessful attempts to force a settlement in the wilderness, and who have afterwards been exposed to poverty and distress at a great distance from friends and even neighbours. I would therefore advise all farmers with moderate capitals, to purchase or rent improved farms in the old settlements of our states. The price and rent of these farms are different in the different parts of the union. In Pennsylvania, the price of farms is regulated by the quality of the land—by the value of the improvements which are erected upon it—by their vicinity to sea ports and navigable water—and by the good or bad state of the roads which lead to them. There is a great variety, of course, in the price of farms: while some of them have been sold for five guineas—others have been sold at lower prices, down to one guinea, and even half a guinea per acre, according as they were varied by the above circumstances.

It is not expected that the whole

price of a farm should be paid at the time of purchasing it. An half, a third, or a fourth, is all that is generally required. Bonds and mortgages are given for the remainder, (and sometimes without interest) payable in two, three, five, or even ten years.

The value of these farms has often been doubled and even trebled, in a few years, where the new mode of agriculture has been employed in cultivating them: so that a man with a moderate capital, may, in the course of fifteen years, become an opulent and independent freeholder.

If, notwithstanding what has been said of the difficulties of effecting an establishment in the woods, the low price of the new lands should tempt the European farmer to settle in them, then let me add, that it can only be done by associating himself in a large company, under the direction of an active and intelligent American farmer. To secure even a company of European settlers from disappointment and want in the woods, it will be necessary to clear a few acres of land the year before, and to sow them with grain, in order to provide subsistence for the company, till they can provide for themselves, by clearing their own farms. The difficulties of establishing this new settlement, will be further lessened, if a few cabins, a grist and a saw mill be erected, at the same time the preparations are made for the temporary subsistence of the company. In this manner, most of the first settlements of the New England men have been made in this country. One great advantage, attending this mode of settling, is, a company may always carry with them a clergyman and a schoolmaster, of the same religion and language with themselves. If a settler in the wood should possess a taste for rural elegance he may gratify it without any expense by the manner of laying out his farm. He may shade his house by means of ancient and venerable forest-trees. He may leave rows of them standing, to adorn his lanes and walks—or cluster of them on the the high grounds of his fields, to shade his cattle. If he should

ix upon any of those parts of our western country, which are covered with the sugar-tree, he may enclose a sufficient number of them to supply his family with sugar; and may confer upon them at the same time the order and beauty of a fine orchard. In this manner, a highly improved seat may be cut out of the woods in a few years, which will surpass both in elegance and value a farm in an old settlement, which has been for twenty years the subject of improvements in taste and agriculture. To contemplate a dwelling-house—barn—stables—fields—meadows—an orchard—a garden, &c. which have been produced from original creation by the labour of a single life, is, I am told, to the proprietor of them, one of the highest pleasures the mind of man is capable of enjoying. But how much more is pleasure be increased, when the regularity of art is blended in the prospect, with the wildness and antiquity of nature?

It has been remarked in this country, that clearing the land of its woods, sometimes makes a new settlement unhealthy, by exposing its damp grounds to the action of the sun. To obviate this evil, it will be necessary for the settler either to drain and cultivate his low grounds, as soon as they are cleared, or to leave a body of trees between his dwelling house, and the spots from whence the morbid effluvia are derived. The last of these methods has, in no instance that I have heard of, failed of preserving whole families from such diseases as arise from damps or putrid exhalations.

To country gentlemen, who have been accustomed to live upon the income of a landed estate in Europe, it will be necessary to communicate the following information, viz. that farms, in consequence of the unproductive woodland, which is generally connected with them, seldom yield more than three or four per cent. a year in cash, except in the neighbourhood of large cities. Besides, from the facility with which money may be obtained in a few years, to purchase land in this country, tenants will not accept of

long leases: and hence they are not sufficiently interested in the farms they rent, to keep them in repair. If country gentlemen wish to derive the greatest advantage from laying out their money in lands, they must reside in their vicinity. A capital of five thousand guineas, invested in a number of contiguous farms, in an improved part of our country, and cultivated by tenants under the eye and direction of a landlord, would soon yield a greater income than double that sum would in most parts of Europe. The landlord in this case must frequently visit and inspect the state of each of his farms: and now and then he must stop to repair a bridge or a fence in his excursions through them. He must receive all his rents in the produce of the farms. If the tenant find his own stock, he will pay a half of all the grain he raises, and sometimes a certain proportion of vegetables and live stock, to his landlord. The division of the grain is generally made in the field, in sheaves or stacks, which are carried home to be thrashed in the barn of the landlord. An estates gentleman, who can reconcile himself to this kind of life, may be both happy and useful. He may instruct his tenants by his example, as well as precepts in the new modes of husbandry: he may teach them the art and advantages of gardening: he may inspire them with habits of sobriety, industry, and economy; and thereby become the father and protector of a dependant and affectionate neighbourhood. After a busy summer and autumn, he may pass his winters in the bosom of society, in any of our cities, and in many of our country villages.

But should he be disinclined to such extensive scenes of business, he may confine his purchases and labours to a single farm, and secure his superfluous cash in bonds and mortgages, which will yield him six per cent.

Under this head, it is proper to mention, that the agricultural life begins to maintain the same rank in the united states, that it has long maintained in Great Britain. Many gentlemen of education among us have quitted liberal

professions, and have proved, by their success in farming, that philosophy is in no business more useful or profitable, than in agriculture.

II. MECHANICS and MANUFACTURERS, of every description, will find certain encouragement in the united states. During the connexion of this country with Great Britain, we were taught to believe that agriculture and commerce should be the only pursuits of the Americans: but experiments and reflexion have taught us that our country abounds with resources for manufactures of all kinds; and that most of them may be conducted with great advantage in all the states. We are already nearly independent of the whole world for iron work, paper, and malt liquors: and great progress has been made in the manufactories of glass, pot-ash, and cloths of all kinds. The precarious state of credit, under our late confederation, has rendered it difficult as yet to employ large capitals in those manufactories: but I am persuaded that if a few European adventurers would embark in them with capitals equal to the demand for those manufactures, they would soon find an immense profit in their speculations. A single farmer in the state of New York, with a capital of five thousand pounds, has cleared one thousand a year by the manufacture of pot-ash alone.

Those mechanical arts, which are accommodated to the infant and simple state of a country, will bid fairest to succeed among us. Every art connected with cultivating the earth—building houses and ships, and feeding and clothing the body, will meet with encouragement in this country. The prices of provisions is so different in the different states, and even in the different parts of the same state, and varies so much with the plenty and scarcity of money, that it would be difficult to give you such an account of them, as would be useful. I need only remark that the disproportion between the price of labour and of provisions, is much greater in every part of the united states, than in any part of Europe: and hence our tradef-

men every where eat meat and butter every day: and most of them realize the wish of Henry IV. of France, for the peasants of his kingdom, by dining not only once, but two or three times, upon poultry, in every week of the year.

It is a singular fact in the history of the mechanical arts in this country that the same arts seldom descend from father to son. Such are the profits even the humblest of them, that the sons of mechanics generally rise from the lower to the more respectable occupations and thus their families gradually ascend to the first ranks in society among us. The influence, which the prospects of wealth and consequence have on invigorating industry in every line of mechanical business, is very great. Many of the first men in America, are the sons of reputable mechanics or farmers. But I may go farther, and add that many men, who distinguished themselves both in the cabinet and field in the late war, had been mechanics. I know the British officers treated the American cause with contempt, from this circumstance: but the event of the war shewed, that the confidence of America was not misplaced in that body of citizens.

III. LABOURERS may depend upon constant employment in the united states both in our towns and in the country. When they work by the day, they receive high wages: but these are seldom continued through the whole year. A labourer receives annually, with his boarding, washing, and lodging, from fifteen to eighteen guineas, in the middle states. It is agreeable to observe that this class of men frequently raised by their industry from their humble stations into the upper ranks of life, in the course of twenty or thirty years.

IV. PERSONS who are willing to indent themselves as servants for a few years, will find that humble station no obstacle to a future establishment in the country. Many men, who came to America in that capacity, are now in affluent circumstances. Their former situation, where they have behaved well

does not preclude them from forming respectable connexions in marriage, nor from sharing, if otherwise qualified, in the offices of our country.

V. The united states continue to afford encouragement to gentlemen of the **LEARNED PROFESSIONS**, provided they be prudent in their deportment, and of sufficient knowledge: for since the establishment of colleges and schools of learning in all our states, the same degrees of learning will not succeed among us, which succeeded fifty years ago.

Several lawyers and physicians, who have arrived here since the peace, are now in good business: and many clergymen, natives of England, Scotland, and Ireland, are comfortably settled in good parishes. A minister of the gospel in a country place must not expect to have all his salary paid in cash: but he will notwithstanding seldom fail of obtaining a good subsistence from his congregation. They will furnish him with a portion of all the live stock they raise for their own use: they will shoe his horses—repair his implements of husbandry—and assist him in gathering-in his harvests, and in many other parts of the business of his farm. From these aids, with now and then a little cash, a clergyman may not only live well, but, in the course of his life, may accumulate an handsome estate for his children. This will more certainly happen, if he can redeem time enough from his parochial duties, and the care of his farm, to teach a school. The people of America are of all sects: but the greatest part of them are of independent, presbyterian, episcopal, baptist, and methodist denominations. The principles held by each of these societies in America, are the same as those which are held by the protestant churches in Europe, from which they derive their origin.

VI. **SCHOOLMASTERS** of good capacities and fair characters, may expect to meet with encouragement in the middle and southern states. They will succeed better, if they confine their inclinations to reading, writing, English grammar, and the sciences of number and

quantity. These branches of literature are of general necessity and utility: and of course every township will furnish scholars enough for the maintenance of a schoolmaster. Many young men have risen by means of the connexions they have formed in this useful employment, to rank and consequence in the learned professions in every part of this country.

From this account of the united states, you will easily perceive, that they are a hot-bed for industry and genius in almost every human pursuit. It is inconceivable how many useful discoveries necessity has produced within these few years, in agriculture and manufactures, in our country. The same necessity has produced a versatility of genius among our citizens: hence we frequently meet with men who have exercised two or three different occupations or professions in the course of their lives, according to the influence which interest, accident, or local circumstances have had upon them. I know that the peculiarities, which have been mentioned in the American character, strike a European, who has been accustomed to consider man as a creature of habit, formed by long established governments, and hereditary customs, as so many deviations from propriety and order. But a wise man, who knows that national characters arise from circumstances, will view these peculiarities without surprise, and attribute them wholly to the present state of manners, society, and government in America.

From the numerous competitions in every branch of business in Europe, success in any pursuit, may be looked upon in the same light as a prize in a lottery. But the case is widely different in America. Here there is room enough for every human talent and virtue to expand and flourish. This is so invariably true, that I believe there is not an instance to be found, of an industrious, frugal, prudent European, with sober manners, who has not been successful in business, in this country.

As a further inducement to Europeans to transport themselves across the Ocean, I am obliged to mention a fact

that does little honour to the native American; and that is, in all competitions for business, where success depends upon industry, the European is generally preferred. Indeed, such is the facility with which property is acquired, that where it does not operate as a stimulus to promote ambition, it is sometimes accompanied by a relaxation of industry in proportion to the number of years or generations which interpose between the founder of an American family and his posterity. This preference of European mechanics arises likewise from the improvements in the different arts, which are from time to time imported by them into our country. To these facts I am happy in being able to add, that the years of anarchy, which proved so disgusting to the Europeans who arrived among us immediately after the peace, are now at an end, and that the united states have at last adopted a national government which unites with the vigour of monarchy and the stability of aristocracy, all the freedom of a simple republic. Its influence already in invigorating industry, and reviving credit, is universal. There are several peculiarities in this government, which cannot fail of being agreeable to Europeans, who are disposed to settle in America.

1. The equal share of power it holds forth to men of every religious sect. As the first fruits of this perfection in our government, we already see three gentlemen of the Roman catholic church, members of the legislature of the united states.

2. Birth in America is not required for holding either power or office in the federal government, except that of president of the united states. In consequence of this principle of justice, not only in the national government, but in all our state constitutions, we daily see the natives of Britain, Ireland, and Germany, advanced to the most respectable employments in our country.

3. By a late act of congress, only two years residence in the united states are necessary to entitle foreigners of good character to all the privileges of citizenship. Even that short period of time

has been found sufficient to give strangers a visible interest in the stability and freedom of our governments.

It is agreeable to observe the influence which our republican governments have already had upon the tempers and manners of our citizens. Amusement is every where giving way to business; and local politeness is yielding to universal civility. We differ about forms and modes in politics: but this difference begins to submit to the restraint of moral and social obligation. Order and tranquility appear to be the natural consequence of a well-balanced republic: for where men can remove the evils of their governments by frequent elections, they will seldom appeal to the less certain remedies of mobs and arms. It is with singular pleasure that I can add further, that notwithstanding the virulence of our dissensions about independence and the federal government, there is now scarcely a citizen of the united states, who is not satisfied with both, and who does not believe the country to be in a happier and safer situation, than it was, in the most flourishing years of its dependence upon Great Britain.

The encouragement held out to European emigrants, is not the same in all the states. New England, New York and New Jersey, being nearly filled with cultivators of the earth, afford encouragement chiefly to mechanics and labourers. The inhabitants of New England have far surpassed the inhabitants of the other states, in the establishment of numerous and profitable manufactories. These wonderful people discover the same degrees of industry in cultivating the arts of peace, that they did of enterprize and perseverance in the late war. They already export large quantities of wrought iron, hardware, women's shoes, cheese, and linen and woolen cloth. The state of New York has likewise discovered a laudable spirit for manufactures and domestic improvements. European artists, therefore, cannot fail of meeting with encouragement in each of the above states. Pennsylvania affords an equal asyly

to all the descriptions of people that have been mentioned, under the second head of this letter. Agriculture, manufactures, and many of the liberal arts seem to vie with each other for pre-eminence in this state. Each of them is under the patronage of numerous and respectable societies. No state in the union affords greater resources for ship-building, malt liquors, maple sugar, sail cloth, iron work, woolen and linen cloths, potash, and glass. Coal, likewise, abounds on the shores of the Susquehanna, a large river which runs through half the state. The variety of sects and nations, which compose the inhabitants of this state, has hitherto prevented our having any steady traits in our character. We possess the virtues and weaknesses of most of the sects and nations of Europe. But this variety has produced such a collision in opinions and interests, as has greatly favoured the progress of genius in every art and science. We have been accused of being factious by our sister states. This must be ascribed chiefly to our state constitution, which was established by violence in the beginning of the late war, and which was never assented to by a majority of the people. But that majority have at length asserted their power. A convention, composed of an equal representation of the people, has met and formed a new constitution, which comprehends in it every principle of liberty and just government. From the excellency of this constitution—from the harmony it has restored to our citizens—from the central situation of our state—from the number and courses of our rivers—from the facility with which we are able to draw the resources of the lakes to the Delaware—from the wealth of our capital—and above all, from the industry and sober habits of our citizens—there can be no doubt that Pennsylvania will always maintain the first rank, for national prosperity and happiness, in the united states.

There is one circumstance, peculiar in a great degree to Pennsylvania, which cannot fail of directing the eyes of the

inhabitants of several of the European nations to this state—and that is, the natives of Britain, Ireland, Germany, France, Switzerland, and Holland, may here meet with their former fellow subjects, and receive from them that welcome and assistance, which are the natural consequences of the tie of country. So strongly does this principle operate in America, that the natives of Germany and Ireland have formed themselves into societies in the city of Philadelphia, for the express purpose of protecting, advising, and assisting their countrymen, as soon as they set their feet upon the shores of Pennsylvania.

It has been said, that the lands in Pennsylvania are dearer than in some of our sister states. They sell, it is true, for a greater nominal sum, than the lands of the neighbouring states: but in the end, they are much cheaper. The soil is deep, rich, and durable, and from the superior industry and skill of our farmers, our lands are more productive than those of our neighbours; hence their higher price: for the price of lands is always in a ratio to their quality, produce and situation: hence likewise, we are able to tell the value of a farm in any part of the state, by first finding out the quantity of grain an acre will produce, and the price of this grain at the nearest mill or store, making some little allowance for the improvements which are connected with the farm. This remark is so universally true, that a farmer never mistakes the application of it in purchasing land. There is a certain instinct, which governs in all purchases and sales of farms, and which arises out of the principle I have mentioned: it is in general as accurate, as if it arose out of the nicest calculation. It is from an ignorance or neglect of this principle, that so many of our citizens have migrated to Kentucke, under a delusive expectation of purchasing lands cheaper than in the old states. They are, in fact often much dearer, when you estimate their price by the profit of the grain which is cultivated upon them. For instance: an acre of land in Kentucke, which sells for a quarter of

a guinea, and yields 30 bushels of corn, at four pence sterling per bushel, is dearer than land of the same quality in Pennsylvania, at a guinea per acre, that yields the same quantity of corn, which can be sold at the nearest mill or store for two shillings sterl. per bushel. To cure this passion for migrating to the waters of the Ohio, there is but one remedy, and that is, to open the navigation of the Mississippi. This, by raising the price of produce, will raise the value of land so high, as to destroy the balance of attraction to that country. This truth is at present a speculative one; nor do I suppose it will be reduced to practice, if nations continue to be what they have been, until the waters of the Ohio and Mississippi have been dyed with the blood of two or three hundred thousand men.

The states to the southward of Pennsylvania possess immense resources for political happiness: but while they tolerate negro slavery, they can never be an agreeable retreat for an European. This objection applies chiefly to the sea-coasts of those states; for in the western parts of them, the land is cultivated chiefly by freemen. The soil and climate of the extensive western country of those states is kind and mild to a very great degree. There Europeans may prosper and be happy.

Thus, sir, have I complied in a few words with your request. In communicating many of the facts contained in this letter, I have not considered you simply as a citizen of London, or a subject of the crown of Britain. The whole family of mankind, I know are your brethren: and if men be happy, I am sure it is a matter of indifference to you whether they enjoy their happiness on this side or on the other side of the Atlantic ocean.

From a review of the facts that have been mentioned, you will perceive that the present is the age of reason and action in America. To our posterity we must bequeath the cultivation of the fine arts and the pleasures of taste and sentiment. The foreigners who have visited and described our country, without making allowances for those peculiarities which a-

rise from our present state of society, have done as little honour to their understandings, as they have done to human nature. Nor have those Europeans discovered more wisdom, who have blended with the American character, the accidental disorders, which were the offspring of our late public commotions. They resembled the swelling of the sea, which succeeds a storm. At present, they have as perfectly subsided as the disorders produced by the civil wars in England, in the last century.

It is somewhat remarkable that in every age, great inventions and great revolutions in human affairs have taken place in a quick succession to each other. The many curious machines for lessening labour, which have lately been discovered in Europe, will necessarily throw many thousand artificers out of employment. Perhaps the late successful application of the powers of fire and water to mechanical purposes in your country, was delayed until the present time, only that the sanctuary of our national government might be perfectly prepared to receive and protect those industrious bodies of people, who formerly lived by the labour of their hands, and who might otherwise become a burden to the countries in which they had been deprived of the means of supporting themselves. Perhaps, too, the revolutions, which are now going forward in several of the governments on the continent of Europe, have occurred at the present juncture for a purpose equally wise and benevolent. The first effect of the establishment of freedom in those countries, will be to promote population, by reducing taxes, disbanding standing armies, and abolishing the vows and practices of celibacy: for I take it for granted that military institutions in the time of peace, and monasteries of all kinds, must yield to the present force and cultivated state of human reason, in those countries, which are now the theatre of revolutions in favour of liberty. This increase of population will require an increase of territory, which must be sought for in the united states: for it is

not probable that men who have once tasted of the sweets of liberty, will ever think of transporting themselves to any other country. This outlet for super-numerary inhabitants from the nations of Europe, will eventually promote their own interests and prosperity: for when a country is so much crowded with people, that the price of the means of subsistence is beyond the ratio of their industry, marriages are restrained: but when emigration to a certain degree takes place, the balance between the means of subsistence and industry is restored, and population thereby revived. Of the truth of this principle there are many proofs in the old countries of all the American states. Population has constantly been advanced in them by the migration of their inhabitants to new or distant settlements.

In spite of all the little systems of narrow politicians, it is an eternal truth, that universal happiness is universal interest. The divine government of our world would admit of a controversy, if men, by acquiring moral or political happiness, in one part, added to the misery of the inhabitants of another part, of our globe.

I shall conclude this long letter by the two following remarks:

I. If freedom, joined with the facility of acquiring the means of subsistence, have such an influence upon population—and if existence be a title to happiness—then think, sir, what an ocean of additional happiness will be created, by the influence which migration to the free and extensive territories of the united states will have, upon the numbers of mankind.

II. If wars have been promoted in all ages and countries, by an overproportion of inhabitants to the means of easy subsistence, then think, sir, what an influence upon the means of supporting human life, migration to America, and the immense increase of the productions of the earth, by the late improvements in agriculture, will probably have, in lessening the temptations and resources of nations to carry on war. The promises of heaven are of-

ten accomplished by means in which there is no departure from the common operations of nature. If the events, which have been alluded to, should contribute in any degree to put an end to wars, it will furnish a noble triumph to your society*, by showing how much enlightened policy and national happiness are connected with the dictates of christianity.

I am,

Dear Sir,

With great respect,

And sincere regard,

Yours very affectionately

Philadelphia, April 26, 1790.

The history of Amelia Stanford, written by herself. P. 191.

THE impressions made on the mind of us all, by such an event, may be pourtray'd by fancy—but cannot by language—My father, who was a man of warm feelings, and a most affectionate disposition, was in a degree frantic. He was still through the day: now and then he would break out into violent fits of weeping, which would subside again and leave him composed, and melancholy: but at night he had no sooner closed his eyes, than he became wild and flighty—we were obliged to keep a light in his room, and to have a servant with him all night. He needed consolation, but who could impart it? we were all so depressed by the sudden misfortune, that neither could give comfort to the other—For my own part, I felt myself so overwhelmed by the stroke, that my heart literally died within me. I felt for my own situation but if possible I suffered more for my father's—I considered myself, indeed, as deprived of my best friend and instructress, I foresaw the loss I should sustain in the want of her advice, and guidance: and I shuddered at the snares and difficulties I might be exposed to in early life, thus destitute of her patronage, and society

NOTE.

* The gentleman to whom this letter is addressed, is of the society of the people called quakers.

—but what were these, compared to my father's feelings! to have the nearest friend of his bosom thus torn away—the friend he had early and long loved as himself—thus wrested from his arms forever—was a state of forlorn wretchedness from which human nature recoils and which he was not calculated to endure. Indeed, such was the effect this event had on him, that he closed his accounts—withdrew from business, and purchased a small country seat not far from his son-in-law's, to which he immediately retired.

On his first retreat, his spirits utterly abandoned him—he lost the vivacity, which once distinguished him, became fond of solitary walks, and was much alone in his chamber. Depressed as I was myself, I found it necessary to make exertions to draw him into conversation, and to prevent his mind from poring over subjects that were too melancholy and dejecting.

My sister and my brother-in-law often visited us—and by their conversation and tenderness relieved my father's mind greatly of its depressive gloom. Time, however, did more for him, than our exertions: the traits of grief faded from his heart gradually—till, within the compass of a year, he began at times to resume something of his former gaiety and sprightliness: yet shortly after a turn of gaiety, he would relapse into dejection. He was never sprightly, without being afterwards proportionally grave. He now began however to find himself able to converse of my departed mother—to recall her memory—to praise her virtues—and to recommend them to my imitation. Indeed this was less necessary than he imagined: they had deeply impressed my mind, though I knew it not, till she was gone.

I was not the only person however with whom he conversed of his lamented wife. There was a neighbouring widow lady, who lived about half a mile from us, to whom he us'd often to unfold his heart and to disclose its sorrows—she heard him always with attention—assented to the praises he bestow'd on his lost con-

fort—admir'd his affection—and sympathized in his distress. At first, he us'd to resort there but seldom: her society, however, I found every day became more necessary to him—little did I at first imagine what would be the result of these visits: but when he began to request me to visit her with him, I conjectured that his views extended further than ordinary friendship. Yet this idea was not an obvious one: for although the lady was apparently a discreet, amiable, managing woman, yet the disparity between her age and my father's, (she being the older by several years) her singular want of beauty, her having two or three children, and being rather in low circumstances, would have led one to believe she never could be my father's choice: but heaven had decreed otherwise—my father had fixed his heart upon the matter: and reason was to have nothing to say on the subject. He accordingly one day as we sat together at breakfast, in a very pensive mood, open'd the plan, and asked my opinion of the matter. Apprised as I was in my own mind of his intention, I felt myself suddenly and extremely affected by the disclosure. I was obliged to rise, and leave the room, a gush of tears succeeded, and relieved my heart: as soon as I had recovered myself, I return'd, and pursuing the subject requested he would pardon this involuntary piece of weakness—that I perfectly accorded with him in sentiment—“whatever, said I, will promote my dear father's happiness, I shall always readily acquiesce in. One parent is all I have now on earth, and should I not wish to see him happy and kind and affectionate as he has ever been to me, what an ingrate should I be, in the smallest measure to obstruct his wishes. No, my dear papa, tho' my tears would seem to express dissatisfaction at your plan, that sentiment is the farthest from my heart. If Mrs. L— be your choice, I will make her as dutiful a daughter as I trust I have been to you”—

At these words, my father could restrain himself no longer—he took me to his arms—he press'd me to his bosom—

call'd me his dear affectionate little girl—we both wept profusely—till our utterance was stopp'd and we were both obliged to part, to conceal our mutual weakness. In a word, before many weeks had elapsed, my father again became a husband, and brought home his lady and her train, and was again, in possession (to all appearance) of as much happiness as his heart could contain—but widely different was the situation of his daughter. Of little consequence in the family—slighted by my mother-in-law whenever my father was absent, and treated rudely by her children—I confined myself much to my chamber—sought consolation in my books and devotions—but would at any time have cheerfully exchanged situations with the independent sempstress or millener, whose daily bread was earned by the labour of their own hands.

I will now go back a few years, to trace a series of events that interested my heart, and became the innocent cause of all my subsequent misfortunes. Some time before the marriage of my sister, I became accidentally acquainted with a miss Stanford, who lived a few doors from my father's house. Our dispositions and taste being in a great degree similar, our frequent opportunities of seeing each other rendered us in a short time romantically intimate: a day could not pass but we must see each other: our hearts were laid bare to each other. Whatever little attention or admiration either received, was made known to the confidante—our billets doux were all preserved, and mutually communicated; in short it would have seem'd like treason to friendship and tenderness in either to have conceal'd any thought or weakness of the heart from her friend. Among other testimonies of miss Stanford's affection for me was the communication of the letters of a favourite brother, then at Oxford. Their elegance was such as pleas'd my fancy—and their warmth of expression such as touch'd my heart. My friend often gave me a description of her brother—repeated many little acts of his fraternal goodness—and in the event rais'd my curio-

sity highly to see him—I envied her those affectionate, and unremitting attentions she received. I thought nothing could be more agreeable than to possess the whole heart of such a brother, and lamented that providence had denied me one from whose society and correspondence I might derive the same benefits and pleasures, that Julia Stanford did from those of her brother Charles. While this young man was every day rising in my opinion, and my anxiety to see him encreasing—little did I imagine that Julia was endeavouring to transfuse into his bosom all the warmth of friendship for me, which she herself entertain'd.

After many weeks of tedious expectation, the vacancy at length came, when the students of the university were permitted to return to their respective homes, to see their friends, and to procure whatever articles were necessary for use or convenience at the ensuing session. Charles Stanford, at the time assigned, returned to his home. Julia his sister, had been impatiently looking out for him in the morning, but being disappointed in her prospects, she had request'd me to pass the afternoon and evening with her, as an object on which to rest her heart and relax her spirits. I must own, that, aware of her expectations, I took more pains in the decoration of my person this evening than usual; and wish'd secretly (though I durst not avow the sentiment to my own heart) that my pains might not be lost.

When I went to Mr. Stanford's, I found Julia pensive and alone. Her father was from home, and her mother up stairs: she had all things prepared for tea, and was sickening with impatience at the delay of her brother. My presence was an instant relief to her. We sat down, and began to chat seriously together: but were suddenly interrupted, by a chaise stopping at the door. Instantly a young man's voice was heard in the entry: Julia in a moment recogniz'd it to be her brother's: she flew to receive him: they met at the parlour door, as she open'd it—their joy seem'd to be unbounded. When the first transports of

affection were over, and recollection had returned the presented Mr. Stanford to me as her "dear brother" and mentioned my name to him. We gaz'd on each other with a little confusion; and often as our eyes met each other's in the course of the evening, a transient blush seem'd to overspread the face of the youth. We were able however to exchange a few words: but finding that I laid a kind of restraint on the feelings of the brother and sister, I took an early leave of Julia, not, however, with her ready acquiescence, nor without a positive promise to come and spend the next day with her.

I was as good as my word: but I was in pain lest I had assented too easily—lest Mr. Stanford should think my visit was in part on his account, though I was not dissatisfied to find the young man waiting to attend me to his sister's the next morning when I came from my dressing room into the parlour. We this day became more sociable; and I found that the representation given me by his sister, was not beyond the truth. We pass'd our time, from this period till his return to the university, very pleasantly, we saw each other every day. Many delightful rambles we took round the town—and to places of public resort—and I felt happy in finding our satisfaction with each other daily increase.

As the day approached, on which Charles Stanford was to take his leave of Bristol for some months: and to repair to Oxford, I could observe he began to grow thoughtful and silent: he lost much of the cheerfulness he possess'd on his first return from college, and devoted himself much to reading and to grave company. Just before he left home, he came to take leave of me, and as he said "to offer me his best wishes for my health, and happiness". He seem'd much embarrass'd with the task, and knew not how to proceed. When he rose to make his adieu, he could say nothing—his eyes were downcast as well as mine, once or twice we each had resolution to raise them—but on meeting, both were confused and embarrassed. Thus we stood for nearly five minutes. At length,

taking my hand he raised it with some difficulty to his lips—and at the same time left in the hand he thus took, a beautiful locket, set round with pearls on the one side of which, were the two letters C. S. worked I suppose with his own hair, on the other, a youth appearing an altar, on which was written "sacred to friendship"—with a heart in his hand as an offering, and on the small fold of paper, in which this present was wrapped, the following words were written—

Think not, Amelia, that my heart
(Though fate my person may remove)
With thy blest image e'er can part,
Or cease thy merits to approve.

Thine eye can melt the hardest heart:
Thy smile can cheer the drooping soul
The one can rob the soul of rest—
The other every care control.

Some time after Charles had gone when the flutter of my spirits had subsided, and when I was capable of reflection, I began to ponder on these strange appearances—I was painfully dubious whether or not I acted properly in keeping this present—I more than once was on the point of sending it to his sister: but as this would have wounded the feelings of my Julia, and distress'd Charles—and as it was intended only as a token of "friendship" I concluded I might retain it. Often after his departure did I resort to the drawer in which I had lock'd his gift, and many were the soft feelings it occasioned to my heart.

After his return to the university, he wrote to his sister more frequently than ever. In every letter he either made some enquiries concerning Miss Seymour, or sent some expression of friendship and recollection—I was pleas'd at heart with his attention—but never discover'd it farther than to return him my compliments. With these at first he seem'd satisfied—but with one act of attention, the wish for another arose, till at length he commissioned Julia, if possible to gain my permission for him to write to me occasionally. This, however, I then refused.

During his stay this session at col-

lege, it was that my sister was married, and that I had left home to reside with her. When on the close of his collegiate course, he returned to Bristol, and hoped to tread again the path he had pursued a few months before, his disappointment was great, to find our family in part eloped and beyond the limits of frequent attentions. Julia, however, had promised me a visit at my brother-in-law's, and as soon as Charles had returned, she availed herself of his protection and company, and with him in a post chaise performed her promise. They passed a few days with us delightfully: our evening rambles—our literary amusements thro' the day, the beauties of nature, and the charms of vocal and instrumental music, often gave a brightness to our spirits—and a rapture to our bosoms, that language could never paint.

Time, however, rolled away rapidly—our friends left us—uncertain when we should meet again. We met, however, much sooner, and on a more melancholy occasion, than fancy had conjectured—but a few weeks after this the sudden illness of our mother called us home—called us to a scene of the deepest woe, I had ever witnessed. During all our affliction, on this event, however, the attention and sympathy of Julia Stanford and her brother, were a great source of relief and comfort.

They called every day to enquire after our health, and shewed a degree of tenderness which engaged my warmest gratitude. When my father had retired into the country, after his severe loss, my mind, softened by affliction, and left vacant by solitude, was prepared to embrace any object which offered it relief. Charles Stanford continued his visits to my father's as often as the distance, to which we had removed from Bristol, would permit: nor will it be a matter of wonder, that I was happy to see him—left alone almost continually, after my father's visits to our widow-neighbour commenced, and with a heart alive to all the feelings of friendship, and preference, was it surprising, that I should, from gratitude, pass to es-

teem and tenderness for a young man of mr. Stanford's character and disposition? for though young, he was discreet, and though he had mingled with the world, his manners were free from levity and vice. He was grave, tender, and polite—he loved virtue and practised it. In point of address, he was agreeable—his person was good, and his face expressed well the feelings of his heart. Of such qualities was mr. Stanford possess'd, when our acquaintance commenced—with these, he made a tender of his heart and hand to the already too partial Amelia, at a time when she could make but a feeble resistance. While I live, I shall never forget the circumstances under which he declared to me his sentiments—nor the sensations, then excited in my bosom.

It was on one of those fine evenings of autumn, when, after the warmth of the day, the cool of eve becomes grateful to the sense—the sun was just sinking beneath the horizon; and all nature was still, and impressed on the mind the sweetest pensiveness. The moon, now almost full, was just rising into view—the clouds of heaven were romantically diversified—and a soft sweet breeze fanned the cheek of nature, and conveyed the most pleasing sensations to the bosom—under these circumstances, mr. Stanford requested me to take a ramble with him in the garden—we strolled down the main walk, at the end of which was a summer house delightfully encompassed by woodbine and honeysuckle—here, after one or two turns through the garden, we rested ourselves. Taking my hand in the most expressive and tender manner, he seated me on one of the steps by which you descend from the summer house into an extensive lawn—he himself occupied the step beneath that he had assigned to me—before us lay a beautiful stream of water, on which the moon beams played—around us the varied colours of the woods just smitten by the frost, reflected on the eye by the soft beams of retiring day, blended with the softer rays of Cythia, filled the heart with the most serene and elevated feelings. Mr. Stanford awhile be-

held this scene in silence: he then gave a deep sigh—and looking most tenderly in my face, “alas,” said he, “that happiness should be so temporary and uncertain”—“wherefore this reflexion, Charles,” said I—“is *your* happiness exposed to danger?”—“Indeed,” returned he, “it is—it hangs on a slender brittle thread. My peace of mind is suspended on the good opinion of an individual—who can bid me be cheerful, and of use to myself and others—or can by a word rob my heart of all it deems valuable in life.” Aye!”—said I, looking down (for I began from his looks and the tone of his voice to suspect the drift of his conversation) “and surely no one would intentionally impair your happiness.”—“No!” said he, his eye brightening as he spoke. “No, surely,” replied I—“there can be none so savage as to give pain to others, unless to avoid it themselves.” “If then the destiny of my life were in the power of the amiable miss Seymour,”—continued he—at the same time pressing my hand, which he still held, most tenderly to his lips—“would *she* sport with or impair it?” “That cannot be,” replied I withdrawing my hand from his—“your happiness, Mr. Stanford, is not in my power”—“will Miss Seymour believe me,” he returned with an earnestness of look and of voice—“when I assure her that it is—that my esteem—my friendship—my heart, she has long possessed? but I feared to unfold to her this truth. My life is of no value to me without her approbation—Oh commiserate the sorrows of a bosom, which is occupied by thyself alone.” I was too much affected and embarrassed, to support this scene any longer. I hastily arose, and walked toward the house. He followed by my side—my heart was too full to reply—his no less so. This prevented a continuation of his sentiments.

When I reached the house, I was obliged abruptly to leave him—retiring a few minutes to my chamber, I gave full vent to the feelings of my heart, and presently returned to him, quite composed. I found him walking the room with his

handkerchief in his hand and the tear still rising in his eye. I seated myself on the sofa, to which he immediately approached with a look of anxiety and sorrow, and seated himself by my side. He delicately enquired whether or not he might continue what he had introduced I could not return him an answer—he then ask’d what construction he should put on my silence—“what you please sir”—was all I could utter—he pressed my hand again to his lips, with great ardour. Our further intercourse at present was stopped by the sound of my father’s foot on the piazza—his entrance gave a little blush to our cheeks: indeed I felt as if I had committed some offence which merited disapprobation and punishment. Mr. Stanford’s looks expressed the same feelings—his tongue was mute. Sensible of the irksomeness of the situation, he presently after took his leave of us, and departed. All the evening night was I kept awake in revolving the scene, that had taken place. Sometimes I was satisfied, and again out of temper with what had pass’d. On the whole, however, I was of opinion, that of all the youth I had ever been acquainted with, Charles Stanford was one most to my taste—that his character, his talents, family, and prospects of life were such as accorded with my temper, and such as promised to render me as happy as the changing state of humanity admits.

On his next visit, he found me in the garden alone, with my work and book. He approached with his usual delicacy and diffidence: we talked for some time on general topics, till the palpitations occasioned by such a meeting, subsided—when he again introduced the subject, which, he said, “lay nearest his heart”—I now found myself more capable of expressing my sentiments than before—I told him, that on a matter of such delicacy and importance as the present, I had ever conceived a gentleman was entitled to a speedy and candid explanation; that he must have observed from my manners, that I had showed him a preference, above an ordinary acquaintance—that in candour now I

would acknowledge his merits had gained my esteem—but more than this I dare not say at present—that my father had a negative, on my choice of a friend or life—and that his approbation must be obtained, before any further step could be taken.

Mr. Stanford understood me—his

eye, his voice and his manner expressed his satisfaction—he said he would take the earliest opportunity, of obtaining a parent's consent to his attentions, in which if he were successful, he would indeed, be one of the most happy men in existence.

(To be continued.)



SELECTED PROSE.

An essay on the causes of the variety of complexion and figure in the human species. By the rev. Samuel Smith, D. D. vice president of, and professor of moral philosophy in, the college of New Jersey—and M. A. P. S.—
Concluded from page 208.

SINCE America is better known, we find no canibals in Florida; no men in Guiana with heads sunk into their breasts; no martial Amazons. The giants of Patagonia have likewise disappeared: and the same fate would have attended those of the Larrone islands, whom Buffon, after Gaielli Carreri, has been pleased to mention. Tavernier's tales of the smooth and hairless bodies of the Mogul women, may be ranked with those which have so long and so falsely attributed his peculiarity to the natives of America. The same judgment may we form of those histories, which represent nations without natural affection; without ideas of religion; and without moral principle. In a word, the greater part of those extraordinary deviations from the laws of climate, and of society, which formerly obtained credit, are discovered, by more accurate observation, to have no existence. If a few marvellous phenomena be still retailed by credulous writers, a short time will explode them all, or shew that they are misunderstood; and enable philosophers to explain them on the known principles of human nature.

Leaving such pretended facts, and the reasonings to which they have given rise, to deserved contempt, I shall consider a few apparent deviations from the preceding principles, which have been ascertained. It will not be necessa-

ry to go into an extensive detail of minute differences. These might be tedious and unimportant: I shall propose only the most conspicuous, persuaded that, if they be satisfactorily explained, every reasonable enquirer will rest convinced that natural causes exist in every country, sufficient to account for smaller distinctions.

In tracing the same parallels from east to west, we do not always discern the same features and complexion. In the countries of India, and on the northern coasts of Africa, nations are mingled together, which are distinguished from one another by great varieties. The torrid zone of Asia is not marked by such a deep colour, nor by such parched hair, as that of Africa: and the colour of tropical America is, in general, lighter, than that of Asia.

Africa is not uniform. The complexion of the western coast is a deeper black than that of the eastern. It is even deeper on the north of the equator, than on the south. The Abyssinians form an exception from all the other inhabitants of the African zone: and when we go beyond the zone to the south, the Hottentots seem to be a race by themselves;—in their manners the most beastly—and in their persons, and the faculties of their minds, approaching nearest to brutes, of any of the human species.

For the explication of these varieties, it is necessary to observe, that the same parallel of latitude does not uniformly indicate the same temperature of heat and cold. Vicinity to the sea, the course of winds, the altitude of lands, and even the nature of the soil, create great

differences in the same climate: The state of society, in which any nation takes possession of a new country, has a great effect in preserving or in changing its original appearance. Savages necessarily undergo great changes by suffering the whole action and force of climate without protection. Men in a civilized state enjoy innumerable arts by which they are enabled to guard against its influence, and to retain some favourite idea of beauty, formed in their primitive seats. Yet every migration produces a change. And the combined effects of many migrations, such as have been made by almost all the present nations of the temperate zone, must have great influence in varying the human countenance. For example: a nation, which migrates to a different climate, will, in time, be impressed with the characters of its new state. If this nation should afterwards return to its original seats, it would not perfectly recover its primitive features and complexion, but would receive the impressions of the first climate, on the ground of those created in the second. In a new removal, the combined effect of the two climates, would become the ground, on which would be impressed the characters of the third. This exhibits a new cause of endless variety in the human countenance.

These principles will serve to explain many of the differences, which exist in those countries which have been the subjects of most frequent conquest*. India and the northern regions of Africa, have been often conquered: and many nations have established colonies in these countries for the purposes of commerce. All these nations, before their migrations, or their conquests, were, in a less or greater degree, civilized. They were able, therefore, to preserve, with some success, their original features against

NOTE.

* Especially if religion, manners, policy, or other causes, prevent people from uniting freely in marriages, and from submitting to the same system of government and laws.

the influence of the climate. Their diet their habits, their manners, and their arts, all would contribute to this effect. As these causes are capable of creating great varieties among men; much more are they capable of preserving varieties already created. The Turks, therefore the Arabs, and the Moors, in the north of Africa, will remain, forever, distinct in their figure and complexion, as long as their manners are different. And the continent and islands of India will be filled with a various race of people while the productions of their climate continue to invite both conquests and commerce. The climate will certainly change, in a degree, the appearance of all the nations who remove thither: but the difference in the degree and the combination of this effect, with their original characters, will still preserve among them essential and conspicuous distinctions †.

Another variety, which seems to form

NOTE.

† From the preceding principles, we may justly conclude that the Anglo-Americans will never resemble the native Indians. Their civilization will prevent so great a degeneracy. But were it possible that they should become savages the resemblance could never be complete because the one would receive the impressions of the climate on a countenance the ground of which was formed in Europe, and in a state of improved society: the other has plainly received them on a countenance formed in Tatar. And yet the resemblance becomes near and striking in those persons who have been captivated by the Indians in infancy, and have grown up among them in the habits of savage life. The principles likewise will lead us to conclude that the Samoiedes are Tartars degenerated by the effects of extreme cold—and that the empire of China, and most of the countries of India, have been peopled from the north: for the countenance of the natives seems to be composed of the soft feature of the Low Asia, laid upon a ground formed in the Upper Asia.

an exception from the principles hitherto laid down—but which really establishes them—is, that the torrid zone of Asia is not marked by such a deep colour, nor, except in a few countries, by such curled hair, as that of Africa. The African zone is a region of burning sand, which augments the heats of the sun to a degree almost inconceivable. That of Asia consists chiefly of water, which, absorbing the rays of the sun, and filling the atmosphere with a cool and humid vapour, creates a wind comparatively temperate, over its numerous islands and narrow peninsulas. The principal body of its lands lies nearer to the northern tropic than to the equator. In summer, the winds blow from the south, across extensive oceans; in the winter, from continents which the sun has long deserted*. Yet, under all the advantages of climate, which Asia enjoys, we find in Borneo and New Guinea, and perhaps in some others of those vast insular countries, which, by their position and extent, are subject to greater heats than the continent, or, by the savage condition of the inhabitants, suffer the influence of those heats, in a higher degree, a race of men resembling the African negroes. Their hair, their complexion, and their features, are nearly the same. At the distance of more than three thousand miles across the Indian ocean, it is impossible that they should have sprung from the savages of Africa, who have not the means of making such extensive voyages†. Similarity of climate, and of manners, has created this striking resemblance, between people so remote from one another.

The next apparent exception we discover in Africa itself. Africa, like Europe and Asia, is full of varieties,

NOTES.

* The monsoons are found to blow over the whole Asiatic zone.

† The Europeans were highly civilized before they discovered the continent of America, which is not so remote from their shores as Borneo or New-Holland is from the coast of Africa.

arising from the same causes, vicinity to the sun, elevation of the land, the heat of winds, and the manners of the people. But the two principal distinctions of colour, under which the rest may be ranged, that prevail from the northern tropic, or a little higher, to the cape of Good-Hope, are the Caffre and the negro. The Caffre complexion prevails along the eastern coast, and in the country of the Hottentots; the negro, on the western coast between the tropics. The negro is the blackest colour of the human skin: the Caffre is much lighter, and seems to be the intermediate grade between the negro and the native of India. The cause of this difference will be obvious to those who are acquainted with that continent. The winds, under the equator, following the course of the sun, reach the eastern coast of Africa, cooled by blowing over immense oceans; and render the countries of Ajan, Zanguebar, and Monomotapa, comparatively temperate. But after they have traversed that extensive continent, and, in a passage of three thousand miles, have collected all the fires of the burning desert, to pour them on the countries of Guinea, of Sierra-Leona, and of Senegal‡, they glow with an ardor unknown in any other portion of the globe. The intense heat, which, in this region, makes such a prodigious change in the human constitution, equally transforms the whole race of beasts and of vegetables. All nature bears the marks of a powerful fire||.

NOTES.

‡ These countries receive the wind after blowing over the widest and hottest part of Africa; and consequently suffer under a more intense heat than the countries of Congo, Angola, or Loango—to the south of the equator. Accordingly, we find the people of a deeper black in the northern than in the southern section of the torrid zone.

|| The luxuriancy of the trees and herbage along the banks of the great rivers, has deceived some travellers, who have represented Africa as a rich and fertile country. As soon as you leave

And the negro is no more changed from the Caffre, the Moor, or the European, than the proportional laws of climate, and of society, give us reason to expect. Above the Senegal we find, in the nation of the Foulies, a lighter shade of the negro colour; and immediately beyond them to the north, the darkest copper of the Moorish complexion. There is a smaller interval between the copper colour and the perfectly black on the north than on the south of the torrid zone: because the Moors, being more civilized than the Hottentots, are better able to defend themselves against the impressions of the climate. But the Hottentots, being the most savage of mankind, suffer the influence of their climate in the extreme. And they endeavour, by every mean, to preserve the features and the complexion of the equator, from whence, it is probable, they derived, with their ancestors, their ideas of beauty. It is more easy to preserve acquired features or complexion, than to regain them after they have been lost. The Hottentots preserve with some success, those which they had acquired under the equator. They flatten, by violence, the nose of every child soon after it is born: they endeavour to deepen the colour of the skin by rubbing it with the most filthy unguents, and by exposing it to the influence of a scorching sun: and their hair they burn up by the vilest compositions. Yet, against all their efforts, the climate, though it is but a few degrees declined from the torrid zone, visibly prevails. Their hair is thicker and longer than that of the negroes: and their complexion, near the Cape, is

NOTE.

the rivers, which are very few, you enter on a parched and naked soil. And the whole interior parts of that continent, as far as they have been explored, are little else than a desert of burning sand, which often rolls in waves like the ocean. Buffon mentions a nation in the centre of Africa, the Zuinges, who, the Arabian writers say, are often almost entirely cut off, by hot winds that rise out of the surrounding deserts,

the lightest stain of the Caffre colour. Allowing for the effects of their savage condition, and of their brutal manners, they are marked nearly with the same hue, which distinguishes the correspondent northern latitudes*.

As you ascend along the eastern coast from Cafraria to Aian, the complexion becomes gradually deeper, till suddenly you find, in Abyssinia, a race of men resembling the southern Arabians. Their hair is long and strait, their features tolerably regular, and their complexion a very dark olive, approaching to the black. This singularity is easily explained, on the principles already established: and it is an additional confirmation of these principles, that they are found to reach all the effects to which they are applied. The Abyssinians are a civilized people, and bear evident marks of Asiatic origin. They are situated in the mildest region of tropical Africa; and are fanned by the temperate winds, which blow from the Indian ocean. Abyssinia is likewise a high and mountainous country; and is washed, during half the year, by deluges of rain, which impart unusual coolness to the air. It is, perhaps, one of the most elevated regions on earth, as, from its mountains spring two of the largest and the longest rivers in the world, the Niger and the Nile †. This altitude of the lands,

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* With regard to other peculiarities, which have been related of this people, and which reduce them in their figure the nearest to the brute creation, of any of the human species, great part of them are false; others exaggerated; and those which are true, are the natural offspring of their brutal manners.

† The prodigious and incessant deluges of rain, which fall in Abyssinia, during six months in the year, are the cause of the overflowing of the Nile. They render the atmosphere temperate, and are a proof of the elevation of the country, no less than the length of the rivers, which originate in its mountains. The greatest quantity of rains usually falls on mountains and the highest lands;

raises it to a region of the atmosphere that is equivalent to many degrees of northern latitude*. Thus, the civilization of the people, the elevation of the country, the temperature of the winds, and incessant clouds and rain, during that season of the year in which the sun is vertical, all contribute to create that form and colour of the human person in Abyssinia, which is considered as a prodigy in the torrid zone of Africa.

Having considered the principal objections to the preceding theory, existing in India and Africa, it may be expected that I should not omit to mention the white negroes of Africa, and the white Indians of Darien, and of some of the oriental islands, which are so often quoted upon this subject. Ignorant or interested writers have endeavoured to magnify this phenomenon into an argument for the original distinction of species. But those who have examined the fact with greater accuracy, have rendered it evident, that their colour is the effect of some distemper. These whites are rare: they have all the marks of an extreme imbecility: they do not form a separate race, or continue their own species; but are found to be the accidental and diseased production of parents who themselves possess the full characters of the climate.†

NOTES.

and their elevation may, in a great measure, be determined by the length of the rivers which issue from them.

* Some writers inform us that the barometer rises in Abyssinia, on an average, no higher than 20 inches. If this be true, that kingdom must be situated more than two miles above the level of the sea. But if we should suppose his account to be exaggerated, still we must judge its altitude to be very great, considering that it is almost entirely a region of mountains, which are the sources of those vast rivers.

† Mr. James Lind, a physician of great reputation, has recorded a similar deviation from the law of climate in a black child born of white parents. The fact he assures us occurred to his own

It now remains only to account for the aspect of the savage natives of America, which varies from the examples we have considered, in the other portions of the earth. Their complexion is not so fair as that of Europe or of Middle Asia. It is not so black as that of Africa, and many of the oriental islands. There is a greater uniformity of countenance throughout this whole continent, than is found in any other region of the globe of equal extent.

That the natives of America are not fair, is a natural consequence of the principles already established in this essay; in which it has been shewn, that savages, from their exposure, their hardships, and their manner of living, must, even in temperate climates, be discoloured by different shades of the tawny complexion.

The uniformity of their countenance

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observation. See phil. trans. of roy. soc. London, No. 424.

The small tribe of red people, which Dr. Shaw, in his travels, relates that he saw in the mountains of Aurefs, a part of the vast ridge of Atlas, are probably a remnant of the Vandals, who, in the fifth century, conquered the northern countries of Africa. Their manners, and the altitude of their situation, in those cold mountains, may have contributed to preserve this distinction between them and the Moors and Arabs, who live in the low lands. Lord Kaimes, who writes with infinite weakness on this subject, exclaims with an air of triumph, if the climate in a thousand years has not changed these people into a perfect resemblance of the aborigines, we may safely pronounce it never will change them: I confess it, if they preserve their present elevation. But, to conclude that the climate cannot change them on the plains, because it has not changed them on the mountains, is the same kind of reasoning as it would be to conclude that the sun could not melt snow at the bottom of *Ætna* or *Pambamarca*, because it continues eternally frozen at the top.

results in some degree from that of the climate, which is the less various, as America possesses the coolest tropical region in the world. But it results principally from their state of society, their manners, their means of subsistence, the nature and limitation of their ideas, which preserve an uncommon resemblance from Canada to Cape Horn. Though complexion is less diversified in America than in other regions of the earth; yet there is a sensible gradation of colour||, till you arrive at the darkest hue of this continent in the nations on the west of Brazil. Here the continent being wider, and consequently hotter, than in any other part between the tropics, is more deeply coloured. And the Toupinamboes and Toupayas, and other tribes of that region, bear a near resemblance, in their complexion, to the inhabitants of the oriental zone. We find indeed no people in America so black as the Africans. This is the peculiarity that attracts most observation and enquiry: and the cause, I propose now to explain.

The torrid zone of America is uncommonly temperate. This effect arises in part from its shape; in part from its high mountains, and extensive lakes and

NOTE.

|| In travelling from the great lakes to Florida or Louisiana, through the Indian nations, there is a visible progression in the darkness of their complexion. And at the councils of confederate nations, or at treaties for terminating an extensive war, you often see sachems and warriors of very different hues. But the colour of the natives of America, though diversified, is less various than in other quarters of the globe of equal extent of latitude. And as the same state of society universally prevails, there is a system of features that results from this, which is every where similar. These features, giving the predominant aspect to the face, and being united with a complexion less various than in Africa or Asia, form what is called the uniformity of the American countenance.

and in part from its uncultivated state. All uncultivated regions, covered with forests and with waters, a naturally cold*. The torrid zone of America is narrow—its mountains and its rivers are immense—and Amazon may be considered, during a great proportion of the year, as one extensive lake†. Let us advert to the influence of these circumstances. The empire of Mexico is a continued isthmus of high and mountainous lands. Cool by the elevation, they are fanned on each side by winds from the eastern and western oceans. Terra Firma is a hilly region, shaded by boundless forests, and cooled by the numerous waters which flow in the largest rivers in the world. The mildness of its atmosphere is augmented by the perpetual east wind that blows under the equator. This wind having deposited in the Atlantic ocean the heat acquired in its passage across the continent of Africa, regains a moderate temperature before it arrives at the American coast. In America it continues its course over thick forests and innumerable waters, to the mountains of the Andes. The Andes are colder than the Alps. And the empire of Peru, defended, on one side, by these frozen ridges, is fanned on the other by a perpetual wind from the Pacific ocean—and covered by a canopy of dense vapour through which the sun never penetrates with force—enjoys a temperate atmosphere. The vast forests of America are an effect of the temperature of the air, and contribute to promote it. Extremities

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* The difference, in point of climate, which cultivation has produced between modern and ancient Europe, is well known. And it is probable that, if civilization shall, in future time, be introduced into Tartary, that frozen climate will be mollified, and the desolated Tartars may, with change of climate and of manners, become respectable men.

† On account of its numerous rivers and its flooded lands.

heat parches the soil, and converts it into an arid sand : luxuriant vegetation is the fruit of a moist earth, and a temperate sky. And the natives inhabiting perpetual shade, and respiring in the grateful and refrigerating effluvia of vegetables, enjoy, in the midst of the torrid zone, a moderate climate.

These observations tend to shew that, as far as heat is concerned in the effect, the colour of the American must be much less deep than that of the African, or even of the Asiatic zone. And to me it appears, and, I doubt not, to every candid and intelligent enquirer, that the co-operation of so many causes is fully adequate to account for the differences between the complexion of the negro and the Indian.

Thus have I concluded the examination, which I proposed, into the causes of the principal varieties of person which appear in the different nations of the earth. And I am happy to observe, on this subject, that the most accurate investigations into the power of nature, ever serve to confirm the facts, vouched by the authority of revelation. A just philosophy will always be found to be coincident with true theology. The writers who, through ignorance of nature, or through prejudice against religion, attempt to deny the unity of the human species, do not advert to the confusion which such principles tend to introduce. The science of morals would be absurd ; the law of nature and nations would be annihilated ; no general principles of human conduct, of religion, or of policy could be framed ; for human nature, originally, infinitely various, and, by the changes of the world, infinitely varied, could not be comprehended in a system. The rules, which would result from the study of our own nature, would not apply to the natives of our countries, who would be of different species ; perhaps not to two families in our own country, who might be sprung from a dissimilar composition of species. Such principles tend to confound all science, as well as piety ; and leave us in the world uncertain whom to trust, or what opinions to frame of

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others. The doctrine of one race removes this uncertainty, renders human nature susceptible of system, illustrates the powers of physical causes, and opens a rich and extensive field for moral science. The unity of the human race I have confirmed by explaining the causes of its variety. The first and chief of these I have shewn to be climate ; by which is meant, not so much the latitude of a country from the equator, as the degree of heat or cold, which depends on many connected circumstances. The next is the state of society, which greatly augments or corrects the influence of climate, and is itself the independent cause of many conspicuous distinctions among mankind. These causes may be infinitely varied in their degree, and in their combinations with other principles. And in the innumerable migrations of mankind, they are modified by their own previous effects in a prior climate, and a prior state of society*. Even where all external circumstances seem to be the same, there may be secret causes of difference, as there are varieties in the children of the same family. The same country often exhibits differences among individuals, similar to those which distinguish the most distant nations. Such differences prove, at least, that the human constitution is susceptible of all the changes which are seen among men. It is not more astonishing that nations, than that individuals should differ †. In the one case,

NOTES.

* Vide page 248.

† It would be lawful, if it were necessary, to have recourse to accidental causes to account for the varieties of nations ; and to suppose that a country might have, at first, been peopled by some ancestor most like the natives in features and in figure. It would not be a strained supposition, because we frequently see deformed persons in civil society resemble almost every savage nation. And those who are acquainted with American migrations know, that, commonly, the most poor, and lazy, and deformed, are the first to push their for-

we know with certainty, that the varieties have arisen out of the same origin: and, in the other, we have reason to conclude, independently on the sacred authority of revelation, that from one pair sprung all the families of the earth.



Extract from an oration, delivered July 4, 1790, at the presbyterian church, in Arch street, Philadelphia, by the rev. William Rogers, A. M. professor of English and oratory, in the college and academy of Philadelphia. Page 163.

FROM what has been advanced, I am naturally led to a consideration of the origin and principles of the society of the Cincinnati—an institution founded upon a basis the most honourable, with views the most friendly, humane, and patriotic! But it will be greatly advantageous to the consideration of this subject, in the first instance to advert to the origin and nature of some of the principal orders, which have been established in Europe: for, while the society of the Cincinnati, on the one hand, commands approbation and respect, we shall hardly conceive, on the other, how men, endowed with reason, should have introduced those orders at all, much less, that they should ever become the stamp of pre-eminence, and the emblem of nobility.

By the wild enthusiasm of the holy wars, many orders were generated: these were principally of a complicated design—to administer relief to the wants and maladies of the holy forces, as well as to co-operate in their military exertions against the common enemies of christianity. To such (of which the Teutonic order and the order of St. Lazarus were the most distinguished,) and to other classes of religious and humane associations, which have obtained the name, forms, and distinctions of orders, I wish to avoid any particular allusion: for pious ardour, though too

NOTE.

tune in a rude and savage wilderness, where they can live, without labour, by fishing and hunting.

frequently misguided, is nevertheless entitled to respect.

The marriages of sovereigns have also been a fertile source, from which orders have proceeded. The golden fleece of Spain—and the elephant of Denmark, are of this description. The former was probably emblematical of the riches of the bride (Isabella of Portugal) and the latter may have been chosen, as typical of the qualities which should adorn the matrimonial union—intelligence and generosity of temper on the part of the husband, meekness and complacency on the part of the wife.

Victories have likewise produced many orders. Among these the genet France, which continued for a season in much repute, commemorated the conquest of Martel over an Arabian army. And the wing of St. Michael was established by Alphonso of Portugal, in gratitude for the supposed aid afforded him by the angel Michael, to which Alphonso ascribed his success in an important battle.

The orders of military merit are common throughout Europe. The voice of power has called them into existence, instruments of its own preservation. But by far the most numerous list of orders, has arisen from the whim, of perfidious, or gallantry of their founders. The order of the Holy Ghost was instituted, because mere chance produced on a Whitsunday three great events in the life of Henry III. of France—namely, his birth—his election as king of Poland—and his accession to the Gallic throne. The trifling incident of a lady dropping her garter was the origin of the most celebrated order of England. At Venice, an order once existed, called, the knights of the stocking, because the members wore a motley-coloured stocking on the right leg, and green one on the left. From the accident of bathing, the knights of the bath received their name. The thistle was instituted in memory of a cross, which it is alleged, appeared in the heavens like the cross of St. Andrew. In the very titles and badges of some

ders, might fairly excite ridicule and contempt. I shall not trespass on your patience in enumerating them, as the most striking one of this species may properly include the whole: I mean the order of fools, founded by Adolphus, count of Cleves, on the feast of St. Rumbert.

I am persuaded that the mind of every hearer, has already anticipated the contrast between such institutions, and that to which the independence of America has given birth. The society of the Cincinnati stands on a basis, equally new and interesting: and, although suspicion or prejudice may, for a time, endeavour to misrepresent or pervert its principles; yet while fortitude, patriotism, and benevolence, are cherished by mankind—this association must flourish, as the great model of those virtues. To recapitulate the fundamental objects of our institution is, indeed, to pronounce its best panegyric: for, though it derives no aid or influence from a regal fiat (that vital spark of European orders) it nevertheless shines resplendent with the native dignity of its own character. To commemorate the revolution of these united states, is the prominent feature of our society: and whether we regard the causes which led to the revolution—the means by which it has been accomplished—or the effects thereby produced—who, for a moment, can withhold a tribute of reverence and of gratitude?

To have struggled successfully against oppression—to have purchased liberty and independence, by all the horrors of a dreadful war—are only local benefits, which form but an inconsiderable part of the triumphs of America. On the rights of mankind, which heretofore were a theme of mere speculation, she has furnished a practical lesson to the world. In every quarter, with honest pride, she may trace the improvement of social life, the advancement of useful knowledge, and the general increase of human happiness, as the result of her auspicious example. To France she has made a noble return of services, by inspiring those sentiments, which have

introduced a milder administration of government—and emancipated the great body of the people from the thralldom of the nobles.

The spirit, which has excited so universal a detestation of the slave trade, and of slavery, originated in America: and even that country which resisted to the utmost all our well-founded claims, seems, at length, inclined to make some atonement, by yielding to our exertions in favour of the violated rights of others. “It is thou, Liberty! whom all, in public or in private, worship—whose taste is grateful, and ever will be so, till nature herself shall change. No tint of words can spot thy snowy mantle, or chymic power turn thy sceptre into iron. With thee to smile upon him, as he eats his crust, the swain is happier than his monarch, from whose court thou art exiled.” And why should not Africa’s sons be happy too?—May each one of us adopt the poet’s language, and with him sing—

“I would not have a slave to till my
ground,
To carry me, to fan me while I sleep,
And tremble when I wake, for all the
wealth
That sinews, bought and sold, have
ever earn’d.
No, dear as freedom is, and in my
heart’s
Just estimation priz’d above all price,
I had much rather be myself the slave,
And wear the bonds, than fasten them
on him.”



*Letter from William Penn to his friends
in London, giving a description of
Pennsylvania.—continued from Vol.
VI. page 48.*

XI. **T**HE natives I shall consider in their persons, language, manners, religion, and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons, they are generally tall, strait, well-built, and of singular proportion: they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin. Of complexion, black, but by design, as the gypsies in England. They grease them-

elves with bears' fat clarified : and using no defence against sun or weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is little and black, not unlike a strait-looking Jew. The thick lip and flat nose, so frequent with the East Indians and blacks, are not common to them : for I have seen as comely, European-like faces among them, of both as on your side the sea : and truly an Italian complexion hath not much more of the white : and the noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.

XII. Their language is lofty, yet narrow : but, like the Hebrew, in signification full : like short-hand in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer—imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections. I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion : and I must say, that I know not a language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in accent and emphasis, than theirs : for instance, octocockon, rancocas, oricton, shak, marian, poquesian ; all which are names of places, and have grandeur in them. Of words of sweetness, anna is mother ; issimus, a brother ; netcap, friend ; usque oret, very good ; pane, bread ; metfa, eat ; matta, no ; hatta, to have ; payo, to come ; sepassen, passion, the names of places ; tamane, secane, menanse, secaterous, are the names of persons. If one ask them for any thing they have not, they will answer, matta ne hatta, which to translate is, not I have, instead of, I have not.

XIII. Of their customs and manners, there is much to be said. I will begin with children. So soon as they are born, they wash them in water ; and while very young, and in cold weather to choose, they plunge them in the rivers, to harden and embolden them. Having wrapt them in a clout, they lay them on a strait, thin board, a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and twaddle it fast upon the board, to make it strait : wherefore all Indians have flat

heads ; and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go very young, at nine months commonly. They wear only a small clout round their waist, till they are big : if boys, they go a fishing till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen : then they hunt : and after having given some proofs of their manhood, by a good return of skins, they may marry ; else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burdens ; and they do well to use them to that young, which they must do when they are old : for the wives are the true servants of the husbands ; otherwise the men are very affectionate to them.

XIV. When the young women are fit for marriage, they wear something upon their heads, for an advertisement, but so as their faces are hardly to be seen, but when they please. The age they marry at, if women, is about thirteen and fourteen ; if men, seventeen and eighteen : they are rarely elder.

XV. Their houses are mats, or barks of trees, set on poles, in the fashion of an English barn, but out of the power of the winds : for they are hardly higher than a man. They lie on reeds or grass. In travel, they lodge in the woods, about a great fire, with the mantle of duffils they wear by day, wrapt about them, and a few boughs stuck round them.

XVI. Their diet is maize, or Indian corn, divers ways prepared ; sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with water, which they call homince. They also make cakes not unpleasant to eat : they have likewise several sorts of beans and pease, that are good nourishment ; and the woods and rivers are their larder.

XVII. If an European come to see them, or call for lodging at their house or wigwam, they give him the best place, and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an Itah, which is as much as to say, good be to you ; and set them down, which is mostly on the ground, close to their heels, their legs upright : it may be, they speak not a

word, but observe all passages. If you give them any thing to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask: and be it little or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased; else they go away sullen, but say nothing.

XVIII. They are great concealers of their own resentments, brought to it, I believe, by the revenge that hath been practised among them. In either of these they are not exceeded by the Italians. A magical instance fell out since I came into the country. A king's daughter, thinking herself slighted by her husband, suffering another woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, plucked a root out of the ground, and eat it, upon which she immediately died; and for which, last week, he made an offering to her kindred for atonement, and liberty of marriage; as two others did to the kindred of their wives, who died a natural death. For till widowers have one so, they must not marry again. Some of the young women are said to take undue liberty before marriage, for a portion; but when married, chaste. When with child they know their husbands no more, till delivered: and during their month, they touch no meat they eat, but with a stick, lest they should defile it: nor do their husbands frequent them, till that time be expired.

XIX. But in liberality they excel: nothing is too good for their friend. Give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before the sticks; light of heart, strong affections but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live, feast, and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much. Wealth circulateth like the blood, all parts partake: and though one shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property. Some kings have sold, others presented me with several parcels of land. The pay, or presents I made them, were not hoarded by the particular owners, but the neighbouring kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what, and to whom they should give them. So every king, then, by the hands of a

person for that work appointed, is a proportion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that gravity that is admirable. Then that king subdivideth it in like manner among his dependents, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects. And be it on such occasions as festivals, or at their common meals, the kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little, because they want but little: and the reason is, a little contents them: in this they are sufficiently revenged on us: if they be ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains. They are not disquieted with bills of lading and exchange, nor perplexed with chancery suits and exchequer-reckonings. We sweat and toil to live. Their pleasure feeds them: I mean their hunting, fishing and fowling. And this table is spread every where. They eat twice a day, morning and evening; their seats and table are the ground. Since the Europeans came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially; and for it exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they be heated with liquors, they are restless, till they have enough to sleep; that is their cry, Some more, and I will go to sleep; but when drunk, one of the most wretched spectacles in the world!

XX. In sickness, impatient to be cured, and for it give any thing, especially for their children, to whom they are extremely natural. They drink at those times a teran, or decoction of some roots in spring-water: and if they eat any flesh, it must of the female of any creature. If they die, they bury them with their apparel, be they man or woman, and the nearest of kin sling in something precious with them, as a token of their love. Their mourning is blacking of faces, which they continue for a year. They are choice of the graves of their dead: for lest they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness.

XXI. These poor people are under a dark night, in things relating to reli-

gion, to be sure the tradition of it : yet they believe a God and immortality, without the help of metaphysics : for they say, ‘ there is a great king that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them ; and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again.’ Their worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and cantico. Their sacrifice is their first fruits : the first and fattest buck they kill goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him that performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency and labour of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their cantico, performed by round-dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by singing, and drumming on a board, direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antic, and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another. There have been two great festivals already, to which all come that will. I was at one myself ; their entertainment was a great feat by the side of a spring, under some shady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans, which they make up in a square form, in the leaves of the stem, and bake them in the ashes : and after that they fall to dance. But those that go, must carry a small present in their money, it may be six-pence, which is made of the bone of a fish ; the black is with them as gold, the white, silver ; they call it all wampum.

XXII. Their government is by kings, whom they call Sachama, and those by succession, but always of the mother’s side. For instance, the children of him, who is now king, will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign : for no woman inherits. The reason they render for this way of descent, is, that their issue may not be spurious.

XXIII. Every king hath his council and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people. Nothing of moment undertaken, be it war, peace, selling land, or traffic, without advising with them ; and which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus. The king sits in the middle of an haemicycle, and hath his council, the old and wise on each hand : behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the king orders one of them to speak to me. He stood up, came to me, and in the name of his king saluted me ; then took me by the hand, and told me, ‘ He was ordered by his king to speak to me ; and that now it was not he, but the king that spoke, because what he spoke was the king’s mind.’ He first prayed me, ‘ To excuse them, that they had not consulted with me the last time : he feared there might be some fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian nor English ; besides, it was the Indian custom to deliberate, and take up much time in council, before they resolve and that, if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay.’ Having thus introduced his matter, I fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of, and the price which now is little and dear, that which would have bought twenty miles, now buying now two. During the time that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile ; the old, grave—the young, reverend—their deportment : they speak little but fervently, and with elegance. I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help (I was going to say, the spoil) of tradition, and he will deserve the name of wise that out-wits them in any treaty about a thing they understand. When the pu-

chafe was agreed, great promises past between us, of 'kindness and good neighbourhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love, as long as the sun gave light.' Which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the sachamakers or kings; first to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them, 'To love the christians, and particularly to live in peace with me, and the people under my government; that many governors had been in the river; but that no governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such an one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong.' At every sentence of which they shouted, and said, Amen, in their way.

XXIV. The justice they have, is pecuniary. In case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts and presents of their wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the offence, or person injured, or of the sex they are of. For in case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the reason they render, is, 'That she breedeth children, which men cannot do.' It is rare that they fall out, if sober: and if drunk, they forgive it, saying, 'It was the drink, and not the man, that abused them.'

XXV. We have agreed, that in all differences between us, six of each side shall end the matter. Do not abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them. The worst is, they are the worst for the christians, who have propagated their vices, and yielded them tradition for ill, and not for good things. But as low an ebb as these people are at, and as glorious as their own condition looks, the christians have not outlived *their* sight, with all their pretensions to an higher manifestation. What good then might not a good people graft, where there is so distinct a knowledge left between good and evil? I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into these parts, to outlive the knowledge of the natives, by a fixt obedience to their greater knowledge of

the will of God; for it were miserable indeed for us to fall under the censure of the poor Indian conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

XXVI. For their original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race: I mean, of the stock of the ten tribes, and that for the following reasons; first, they were to go to "a land not planted or known," which, to be sure, Asia and Africa were, if not Europe: and he, who intended that extraordinary judgment upon them, might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself, from the easternmost parts of Asia, to the westernmost parts of America. In the next place I find them of like countenance, and their children of so lively resemblance, that a man would think himself in Duke's-place, or Berry-street in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all: they agree in rites: they reckon by moons: they offer their first fruits: they have a kind of feast of tabernacles: they are said to lay their altar upon twelve stones: their mourning a year, customs of women, with many things that do not now occur.

So much for the natives; next the old planters will be considered in this relation, before I come to our colony, and the concerns of it.

(To be concluded in our next.)



Essay on the influence of religion in civil society. By the rev. Thomas Reefe, A. M. pastor of the presbyterian church at Salem, S. C. written in 1785.—
Page 161.

NUMBER VI.

WE proceed to the second head of argument. "If truth and utility coincide, or, to speak more plainly, if truth be productive of utility, and utility indicative of truth," christianity must be, of all religions, the most useful to civil society. Ancient politicians and philosophers held, that "many things in religion are true, which are not useful, and *vice versa*." Some moderns, illustrious for their political writings, have adopted the same opinion, at

least in part. The celebrated Montesquieu, speaking of certain religious opinions, which were taught among the Persians, subjoins: "Thee doctrines were false, but extremely useful." And in several other places, he supposes, that doctrines, in themselves false, may be productive of much utility in government. Beccaria, an author whom I revere, and whose very errors appear amiable, because he pleads the cause of humanity, hath the following extraordinary passage. "The first religious errors, which peopled the earth with false divinities, and created a world of invisible beings, to govern the visible creation, were of the utmost service to mankind. The greatest benefactors to humanity were those who dared to deceive and lead pliant ignorance to the foot of the altar."

If this author mean, that a religion, though blended with much error and superstition, is better for civil society, than none, I agree with him: but if he mean, as his words seem plainly to import, that the invention or propagation of falsehoods, or that religious errors, in doctrine or worship, have a tendency to promote the happiness of mankind, in a state of society, I take the liberty to differ from him. I cannot persuade myself, that religious, or political, or even military lies, can be, upon the whole, useful to mankind, or even to a particular society. "Honesty is the best policy." The propagation of falsehoods may sometimes be attended with a partial, particular, private, or temporary utility, but can never be upon the whole advantageous. The good, arising from them, is generally more than counterbalanced by the mischief they do, in destroying mutual confidence among men. To suppose otherwise, is plainly to level truth with falsehood: for if truth be more excellent than falsehood, as is generally acknowledged, that superior excellence must lie in its utility, or tendency to promote human happiness. Suppose falsehood to have the same general tendency, and, I think, it will be hard to give a reason, why we should prefer the former to the

latter. When we give it as our opinion, that the religion of the heathens was of real service to civil government, we do not suppose, that their religious errors—their false notions concerning certain invisible powers—their idolatry and superstition—produced that utility; but the substantial truths involved with those falsehoods. Those important religious truths, which were of general belief in all well-policed states, and not the mighty mass of superstition with which they were interwoven, were useful to the state. Thus, when some sovereign drug is combined with others of useless, or somewhat pernicious quality, a salutary effect may be produced: but that effect is not to be attributed to the useless or baneful qualities of the latter, but the salutary efficacy of the former. Idolatry, superstition, and religious falsehoods, are not only useless, but pernicious to civil society; and tend to allay that good, of which religious truth is productive. On a critical view of the history of those civil societies which have existed in the world, it will be found, that, *ceteris paribus*, those have enjoyed the greatest share of political happiness, whose religions have been least mingled with superstition. It is religious truth, therefore, and not religious lies, which we suppose useful to civil government. The christian religion therefore, in its native purity and simplicity, as taught by its first founders, and unadulterated with those superstitious mixtures which have deformed its beauty, and counteracted its salutary influence, must be, of all religions, the most favourable to civil society.

"Mr. Bayle," says the illustrious Montesquieu, "after having abused all religions, endeavours to fully christianity: he boldly asserts, that true christians cannot form a government of any duration. Why not?" replies the baron. "Citizens of this sort being infinitely enlightened with respect to the various duties of life, and having the warmest zeal to perform them, must be perfectly sensible of the rights of natural defence. The more they believe themselves indebted to religion, the more

they would think due to their country. The principles of christianity, deeply engraven on the heart, would be infinitely more powerful than the false honour of monarchies, than the humane virtues of republics, or the servile fear of despotic states."

This is a noble testimony in favour of christianity, from one who thought for himself, and who made the nature of government and laws, the principal study of his life.

In order to shew the influence of the christian religion on civil society, it will be necessary to consider—the doctrines it teaches—the worship it enjoins—and the precepts it inculcates. The two first shall be treated briefly: the last requires a more ample discussion.

I. Of the doctrines which christianity teaches.

Under this head it will not be necessary to treat all the doctrines of our religion, but merely those which more immediately and directly tend to the benefit of society. Such are those concerning the nature of the Deity, his providence, and a future state of rewards and punishments.

In those sacred writings which contain our religion, we have such a representation of the nature and attributes of the great first cause, as gives us the most grand, noble, and worthy conceptions of him. The divine character, as there drawn, is suited to inspire ideas at once the most august and awful, the most venerable and lovely. His irresistible power, inflexible justice, and tremendous majesty—his infinite knowledge and immaculate purity—tend to fill us with the most profound awe and reverence; to deter us from every thing, which might provoke him; and consequently to restrain us from every kind of immorality. These perfections of the Deity leave the impenitent and persisting rebel no hope of escaping the righteous vengeance of heaven. His diffusive benevolence, the riches of his goodness, the extent of his mercy, his patience and readiness to pardon the repenting and returning sinner, are calculated to inspire us with sentiments of

love and gratitude, encourage us to renounce our vicious practices, and hope in his mercy. In a word, the due consideration of his attributes, as represented in our religion, necessarily tends to restrain us from all vice, and excite us to walk in the paths of piety and virtue; and consequently to promote our happiness as social beings.

It must be confessed, even by those who are inclined to think most favourably of the ancient heathens, that, with few exceptions, they entertained very gross and unworthy notions of their deities; and such as plainly tended to corrupt their morals, and encourage them in an indulgence of the sensual passions, very pernicious to civil society. Their gods, as the poet well expresses it, were

“Gods partial, changeful, passionate,
unjust,
Whose attributes were rage, revenge, or
lust.”

The amorous intrigues, the rapes, quarrels, thefts, &c. for which they were celebrated, are justly reckoned scandalous among mortal men. There was scarcely any vice, the practice of which was not countenanced by some of their deities, male or female. Indeed when we consider the immoralities ascribed to the gods of the heathens, it is surprising they were not more corrupt and dissolute in their manners. There must have been some powerful antidote in their civil institutions, which counteracted the influence of religious errors, so destructive of all morality. The idea, which christianity gives us of the infinite purity of that God whom we worship, has a quite contrary tendency. In a word, the perfections of the Deity, held up to view in divine revelation, are such, that the serious consideration and devout contemplation of them, must necessarily fill us with an abhorrence of all impurity and vice of every kind. The more nearly we resemble him, and the more perfectly we imitate him, the more virtuous we are, and the more disposed to discharge all the social duties.

The doctrines, which christianity teaches, concerning the divine provi-

dence, give us the most exalted conceptions of the Deity. They are perfectly consonant to, and indeed the necessary consequence of, his attributes. What a sublime idea do they give us of the great Jehovah, when we consider him as “ruling in the army of heaven, and amongst the inhabitants of this lower world!”—exercising an absolute, supreme, and universal dominion over all his creatures—sustaining them by his power—directing them by his wisdom—and supplying them by his bounty? The God, whom we are taught to worship, is no local deity, like those of the heathens, presiding over this or that portion of nature—the guardian of this or that particular city or country—inhabiting this or that particular river, grove, or mountain. He fills the vast and complicated machine of the universe, touches every spring, moves every wheel, and adjusts every motion. He is the fountain not only of being, but of all operation—the source of all that beauty, order, and harmony, which are diffused over the wide creation, and fill the attentive beholder with such inexpressible delight. His providence extends to the least as well as the greatest of his works. None of his creatures, however insignificant, escape his notice: he regards them all with an equal and impartial eye. They are all the objects of his parental care—all the subjects of his governing power and wisdom. With what beauty and emphasis does the inspired poet set forth the exuberant goodness of the Creator, in the ample provision he makes for the various tribes of animals, which inhabit this spacious earth! “The Lord is good to all; and his tender mercies are over all his works. The eyes of all wait upon thee: and thou givest them their meat in due season. Thou openest thy hand, and satisfiest the desire of every living thing.” But although his beneficence is extended to all his creatures, those, who devote themselves to his service, are the objects of his peculiar care. “The young lions may lack and suffer hunger: but those, who seek the Lord, shall not want any good thing. Their bread shall be given them:

their water shall be sure.” He, who “feeds the young ravens, that cry, and clothes the grass of the field,” will much more give his own servants food to eat, and raiment to put on.

When the devout christian contemplates the providence of God in this view, and considers all things as under the government, and at the sovereign disposal, of a being infinitely just, wise, and powerful, whose goodness, like an overflowing fountain, is continually diffusing its streams over the whole creation—and who hath pledged his truth, that “all things shall work together for his good”—it cannot fail to inspire confidence and tranquility, and afford him consolation under the heaviest calamities. He looks up to the bounty of his heavenly Father, who, with a benignant hand, pours out the blessings of his providence. In the use of the appointed means, he depends upon his parental care and munificence, nor dreads approaching poverty or want. Contented with that portion of temporal good things which providence hath allotted to him, he is not disposed to encroach upon the property of others, either by fraud or violence. Satisfied with the station, though humble, in which heaven hath fixed him, he envies not the rich or the great, nor is anxious for change. With such a temper as this, he cannot fail of being an honest, quiet, and peaceable member of society. Such a disposition, especially in governments which enjoy a great share of liberty, is, perhaps, of more importance than is generally imagined. Discontentment with our present condition, envy of wealth and power, and an immoderate fondness of change, are the source of innumerable evils in society. At least, it is certain they were so in the republic of Rome, which was continually embroiled by the fierce disputes between the patricians and the plebeians. And, if I mistake not, much of the present uneasiness, strife, and political contention in America, may be traced to the same source. If every citizen, with a christian temper, would acquiesce in that wise plan of providence, which ordains a

certain subordination of rank and office in the political body—and consider that in this very thing the beauty, order, and even the excellence of society, very much consists, we would not have so many factious and turbulent spirits amongst us. We would not then see so many, who, prompted by ambitious and aspiring passions, are continually grasping after power, and wealth, and high stations, endeavouring to pull down all who are above, and oppress all below them. A just view of providence, as taught by our religion, would lead us to consider, that in every government, there must be high and low, rich and poor. This would make us easy and contented with the lot which heaven has assigned to us, and convince us, that in acting our part well, whether it be a high, or a low one, “all the honour lies.”

(To be continued.)



Letter on the effects of lead upon the human body. From dr. Franklin to a friend.

Philadelphia, July 31, 1786.

DEAR FRIEND,

I Recollect, that when I had the great pleasure of seeing you at Southampton, now a twelvemonth since, we had some conversation on the bad effects of lead taken inwardly; and that at your request I promised to send you in writing a particular account of several facts I then mentioned to you, of which you thought some good use might be made. I now sit down to fulfil that promise.

The first thing I remember of this kind, was a general discourse in Boston, when I was a boy, of a complaint from North Carolina, against New England rum, that it poisoned their people, giving them the dry-belly-ach, with a loss of the use of their limbs. The distilleries being examined on the occasion, it was found, that several of them used leaden still-heads and worms: and the physicians were of opinion that the mischief was occasioned by that use of lead. The legislature of Massachusetts there-

upon passed an act, prohibiting under severe penalties, the use of such still-heads and worms thereafter.

In 1724, being in London, I went to work in the printing house, of mr. Palmer, Bartholomew-cloze, as a compositor. I there found a practice, I had never seen before, of drying a case of types, (which are wet in distribution) by placing it sloping before the fire. I found this had the additional advantage, (when the types were not only dried but heated) of being comfortable to the hands working over them in cold weather. I therefore sometimes heated my case when the types did not want drying. But an old workman observing it, advised me not to do so; telling me, I might lose the use of my hands by it, as two of our companions had nearly done; one of whom, who used to earn his guinea, a week, could not then make more than ten shillings; and the other, who had the dangles, but seven and sixpence. This, with a kind of obscure pain, that I had sometimes felt, as it were in the bones of my hand, when working over the types made very hot, induced me to omit the practice. But talking afterwards with mr. James a letter-founder in the same cloze, and asking him, if his people, who worked over the little furnaces of melted metal, were not subject to that disorder—he made light of any danger from the effluvia; but ascribed it to particles of the metal, swallowed with their food, by slovenly workmen, who went to their meals, after handling the metal, without well washing their fingers, so that some of the metalline particles were taken off by their bread, and eaten with it. This appeared to have some reason in it. But the pain I had experienced, made me still afraid of those effluvia.

Being in Derbyshire, at some of the furnaces, for smelting of lead ore, I was told, that the smoke of those furnaces was pernicious to neighbouring grass and other vegetables: but I do not recollect to have heard any thing of the effect of such vegetables, eaten by animals. It may be well to make the enquiry.

In America, I have often observed,

that on the roofs of our shingled houses, where moss is apt to grow, in northern exposures, if there be any thing on the roof painted with white lead—such as balusters, or frames of dormant windows, &c. there is constantly a streak on the shingles, from such paint down to the eaves, on which no moss will grow : but the wood remains constantly clean and free from it. We seldom drink rain-water that falls on our houses : and if we did, perhaps the small quantity of lead descending from such paint, might not be sufficient to produce any sensible ill effect on our bodies. But I have been told of a case in Europe, I forget the place, where a whole family was afflicted with what we call the dry-belly-ach, or *colica piciorum*, by drinking rain-water. It was a country seat, which, being situated too high to have the advantage of a well, was supplied with water from a tank which received the water from the leaded roofs. This had been drunk several years without mischief ; but some young trees, planted near the house, growing up above the roof, and shedding their leaves upon it, it was supposed that an acid in those leaves, had corroded the lead they covered, and furnished the water of that year with its baneful particles and qualities.

When I was in Paris, with sir John Pringle, in 1767, he visited *La charité*—an hospital particularly famous for the cure of that malady : and brought from thence a pamphlet, containing a list of the names of persons, specifying their professions or trades, who had been cured there. I had the curiosity to examine that list, and found that all the patients were of trades that some way or other use or work in lead ; such as plumbers, glaziers, painters, &c. excepting only two kinds, stone-cutters and soldiers. In them, I could not reconcile to my notion that lead was the cause of that disorder. But on my mentioning this difficulty to a physician of that hospital, he informed me that the stone-cutters are continually using melted lead to fix the ends of iron balustrades in stone ; and that the soldiers had been employed

by painters as labourers in grinding of colours.

This, my dear friend, is all I can at present recollect on the subject. You will see by it, that the opinion of this mischievous effect from lead, is at least above sixty years old : and you will observe, with concern, how long a useful truth may be known, and exist, before it is generally received and practised on.

I am, ever, your's most affectionately.

B. FRANKLIN.



Letter from dr. Franklin to mr. Landriani, on the utility of electric conductors.

I HAVE received, sir, your excellent dissertation on the utility of electric conductors, which you have had the goodness to send me : and I have read it with much pleasure, I beg leave to return you my sincere thanks for it.

I found, on my return to this country, that the number of conductors was much increased ; the utility of them having been demonstrated by several experiments, which shewed their efficacy in preserving buildings from lightning. Among other examples, my own house one day received a severe shock from lightning : the neighbours perceived it, and immediately hastened to give assistance, in case it should be on fire : but it sustained no damage. They only found the family much frightened by the violence of the explosion.

Last year, when I was making some addition to the building, it was necessary to take down the conductor : I found, upon examination, that its copper point, which was nine inches in length, and about one-third of an inch in diameter, in the thickest part, had been almost entirely melted, and very little of it remained fixed to the iron rod. This invention, therefore, has been of some utility to the inventor : and to this advantage is added, the pleasure of having been useful to others.

Mr. Rittenhouse, our astronomer, has informed me, that having observed, with his excellent telescope, several conductors, which were within his view, he perceived that the points of a certain

umber of them had been in like manner
 uted. There is no instance, where a
 use furnished with a complete con-
 ctor, has suffered any considerable
 mage : and even those which had
 ne, have been very little injured, since
 nductors have become common in the
 y.

B. FRANKLIN.

Philadelphia, Oct. 14, 1787.



Letter from dr. Franklin, on the death of
 his brother, mr. John Franklin, to
 miss Hubbard.

CONDOLE with you : we have
 lost a most dear and valuable rela-
 tion : but it is the will of God and na-
 ture, that these mortal bodies be laid
 aside, when the soul is to enter into real
 life. This is rather an embryo state—a
 preparation for living : a man is not com-
 pletely born, until he be dead. Why
 then should we grieve that a new child
 born among the immortals—a new
 member added to their happy society ?
 We are spirits. That bodies should be
 laid aside, while they can afford us plea-
 sure—assist us in acquiring knowledge—
 doing good to our fellow creatures,
 is a kind and benevolent act of God.
 When they become unfit for these pur-
 poses—and afford us pain instead of
 pleasure—instead of an aid, become an
 encumbrance—and answer none of the
 intentions for which they were given,
 it is equally kind and benevolent, that
 the way is provided by which we may get
 rid of them. Death is that way. We
 ourselves in some cases, prudently
 choose a partial death. A mangled pain-
 ful limb, which cannot be restored, we
 willingly cut off. He, who plucks out
 a tooth, parts with it freely, since the
 pain goes with it : and he, who quits
 the whole body, parts at once with all
 the pains, and possibilities of pains and
 diseases, it was liable to, or capable of
 making him suffer.

Our friend and we were invited abroad
 on a party of pleasure, which is to last
 some time. His chair was first ready : and
 he is gone before us. We could not all
 conveniently start together : and why
 should you and I be grieved at this,

since we are soon to follow, and know
 where to find him ?

Adieu, B. FRANKLIN.



A petition to those who have the super-
 intendency of education. Ascribed to
 dr. Franklin.

I Address myself to all the friends of
 Youth, and conjure them to direct
 their compassionate regards to my un-
 happy fate, in order to remove the pre-
 judices of which I am the victim. There
 are twin sisters of us : and the two eyes
 of man do not more resemble, nor are
 capable of being upon better terms with
 each other, than my sister and myself,
 were it not for the partiality of our pa-
 rents, who make the most injurious
 distinctions between us. From my in-
 fancy, I have been led to consider my
 sister as a being of a more elevated rank.
 I was suffered to grow up without the
 least instruction, while nothing was spar-
 ed in her education. She had masters to
 teach her writing, drawing, music, and
 other accomplishments : but if by chance
 I touched a pencil, a pen, or a needle,
 I was bitterly reprov'd : and more than
 once I have been beaten for being auk-
 ward, and wanting a graceful manner.
 It is true, that my sister associated me
 with her upon some occasions : but she
 always made a point of taking the lead,
 calling upon me only from necessity,
 or to figure by her side.

But conceive not, sirs, that my com-
 plaints are insigated merely by vanity :
 no, my uneasiness is occasioned by an
 object much more serious. It is the prac-
 tice in our family, that the whole busi-
 ness of providing for its subsistence falls
 upon my sister and myself. If any in-
 disposition should attack my sister—and
 I mention it in confidence upon this oc-
 casion, that she is subject to the gout,
 the rheumatism, and cramp, without
 making any mention of other accidents,
 —what would be the fate of our poor fa-
 mily ? Must not the regret of our pa-
 rents be excessive, at having placed so
 great a difference between sisters, who
 are so perfectly equal ? Alas, we must
 perish from distress, for it would not be

in my power even to scrawl a suppliant petition for relief, having been obliged to employ the hand of another in transcribing the request which I have now the honour to prefer to you.

Condescend, sirs, to make my parents sensible of the injustice of an exclusive tenderness, and of the necessity of distributing their care and affection among all their children equally.

I am, with a profound respect,
SIR S,

Your obedient servant,
THE LEFT HAND.

..♦♦◊◊◊♦♦..

*Short account of dr. Franklin's last illness :
by his attending physician.*

THE stone, with which he had been afflicted for several years, had for the last twelve months, confined him chiefly to his bed : and during the extremely-painful paroxysms, he was obliged to take large doses of laudanum to mitigate his tortures. Still, in the intervals of pain, he not only amused himself with reading and conversing cheerfully with his family and a few friends, who visited him, but was often employed in doing business of a public as well as private nature, with various persons, who waited on him for that purpose ; and in every instance displayed, not only the readiness and disposition to do good, which were the distinguishing characteristic of his life, but the fullest and clearest possession of his uncommon mental abilities : he not unfrequently indulged himself in those *jeux d'esprit* and entertaining anecdotes, which were the delight of all who heard him.

About sixteen days before his death, he was seized with a feverish indisposition, without any particular symptoms attending it, till the third or fourth day, when he complained of a pain in his left breast, which increased till it became extremely acute, attended with a cough and laborious breathing. During this state, when the severity of his pains drew forth a groan of complaint, he would observe, that he was afraid he did not bear them as he ought ; acknowledged his grateful sense of the many

blessings he had received from that Supreme Being, who had raised him, from small and low beginnings, to such high rank and consideration among men, and made no doubt, his present afflictions were kindly intended to wean him from a world, in which he was no longer fit to act the part assigned him. In the frame of body and mind he continued till five days before his death, when pain and difficulty of breathing entirely left him : and his family were flattered themselves with the hopes of his recovery, when an imposthumation, which formed itself in his lungs, suddenly burst, and discharged a great quantity of matter, which he continued to throw while he had sufficient strength to do so, but, as that failed, the organs of respiration became gradually oppressed—calm lethargic state succeeded—and the 17th instant, about eleven o'clock at night, he quietly expired, closing a long and useful life of eighty-four years : three months.

It may not be amiss to add to the above account, that dr. Franklin, in the year 1735, had had a severe pleurisy which terminated in an abscess of the left lobe of his lungs : and he was then almost suffocated with the quantity and suddenness of the discharge. A second attack of a similar nature had happened some years after this, from which he soon recovered, and did not appear to suffer any inconvenience in his respiration from these diseases.

Philadelphia, April 21, 1790.

..♦♦◊◊◊♦♦..

*Remarks on the diseases of the teeth.
mr. James Gardette, dentist.*

THE causes of the various diseases to which the teeth are incident are numerous, both internal and external. Their conformation may be injured, in the earliest infancy. Fathers and mothers, and even nurses may communicate to children scrophulous, scorbutic or venereal taints : to say nothing of such diseases as the small and chicken-pox, the malignant humours of which may operate on the teeth, and produce a bad formation of them.

The air we breathe, especially if it be warm and moist, coarse, impure, or charged with noxious humours—water of a bad quality, great vicissitudes from heat to cold, an acrimonious saliva, impregnated with corrosive salts; the retention of aliment which remains in the crevices of the teeth, the different agents which are used to whiten (often retaining acid and corrosive particles, &c.) contribute in a great measure, to render them carious: and it is to such causes they mostly owe their destruction. Though covered with an enamel of a very hard texture, which in some measure protects them, yet the above-mentioned circumstances cause them to be penetrated, corroded, and dissolved, if the hand of a skilful dentist do not immediately stop their progress. Sometimes the caries in the enamel penetrates the membrane, which lines the interior part of the tooth, and lays bare the nervous fibres which are there distributed: these being exposed to the action of the air, of the aliment, and of other external bodies, insupportable pains are produced, and we are obliged to make a sacrifice of the carious teeth.

The tartar, which first shews itself under the form of a tenacious slime, and which tarnishes the whiteness and polish of the teeth, is not a less terrible scourge to them: it is generally the result of a rancid saliva, and of acid vapours which rise from the stomach. At its first appearance, it may be easily removed: but if suffered to continue, the more fluid parts evaporate, and leave behind an earthy and hard crust, which the hand of the dentist is scarcely able to remove, and which, if suffered to remain, will cause a great variety of diseases. It compresses the gums, impedes the circulation of the fluids, inflames, ulcerates, and finally destroys them. It prevents the due renovation of the liquids, which, stagnating, become corrupted, and prove detrimental both to the tooth and to the membrane which envelopes it: the gums, which were before of a good colour, now become soft, spongy, and overcharged with blood: they generate a corrupt matter,

and produce such an offensive smell, as makes our approach disagreeable to all around us. The teeth become painful and loose: the gums separate from them, and leave us no other wish than to be relieved from them as speedily as possible. But this last resource is reserved for desperate cases, when all other means have failed: and even in this case, a skilful dentist finds in his art, what will partly repair the loss, which long neglect and the obstinacy of the disease have rendered indispensable.

The present improvements in the profession of the dentist now enable us to substitute artificial teeth, which, far from being attended with any inconveniences, often indemnify us both in utility and agreeableness. To a loose, carious, and irregular set of teeth, it is in our power to substitute another set, which to symmetry unite cleanliness and whiteness—which execute with ease all the necessary motions for mastication and pronunciation—and support the features in that natural form so necessary to beauty. But there is scarcely an operation in the whole scope of the surgical art, which requires greater address and sagacity. It is not alone sufficient for a dentist, who wishes to succeed, to possess the mechanical knowledge necessary for the forming artificial teeth with taste, and fitting them with due proportion: but he must be endowed with judgment to give the tooth he substitutes, the size and form of that, instead of which it is introduced: and he must have an experienced and dextrous hand to place these facitious teeth in a solid and neat manner, without giving pain; or he will produce disagreeable consequences: for it must be allowed, disagreeable consequences do sometimes follow: in general these are imputed to the insufficiency of the art, when on the contrary they should be attributed to the incapacity of the artist. Many having been the victims of ignorant dentists, it has been concluded that all operations of the kind are attended with danger: an unjust and precipitate conclusion, which will never be drawn by those who reflect, and know how to esti-

mate talents. From hearing many converse on this subject, we might be induced to suppose, that to permit the steel to approach the teeth would be a certain sacrifice of them; that to have them filed up or filed, is to accelerate their ruin; that to have them cleaned with an instrument, is to destroy their enamel, and diminish their solidity: but these are gross errors, originating in prejudice or ignorance, and amply refuted by experience.

I do not pretend to say, that to preserve and keep the teeth in good order, it is absolutely necessary always to apply to a dentist: this is a daily care, which every person is capable of taking upon himself, and to perform which a quill tooth-pick, a tooth-brush, water, and sometimes a proper dentifrice may be sufficient: if the mouth were thus daily examined, it would be easy to discover, in their origin, the diseases which attack the teeth: and there would be no occasion to wait, till warned by pain, that we must have recourse to remedies, almost always insufficient when we have delayed the use of them too long.

But, if the assistance of the dentist be not always wanted, there are an hundred cases in which his care is absolutely necessary—when the teeth begin to make their appearance, or to shed—when they are carious or decayed—when they are covered with tartar—when they become troublesome, by irregularity or looseness—when they are hollow, &c. &c.—in all these different cases, who but a skilful dentist—a master of his art—will be able to give the necessary and suitable assistance?



Account of the ugly club, held in Charleston, and their usual mode of procuring new members.

BY a standing law, their club room must always be in the ugliest house in the whole town, and in the most indifferent room in that house. The only furniture allowed in this room, is a number of chairs, contrived with the worst taste imaginable—a round table made by a back-woodman—and a Dutch

looking glass, full of veins; one looking into which would convince even a handsome man that he is a perfect fright. This glass is frequently sent to unqualified gentlemen, as are rather refractory, that they may no longer be in doubt of their qualifications. When an ill-favoured gentleman arrives, with a view of settling himself, or making a permanent residence in the city, he is first waited upon, in a civil and familiar manner, by some of the members of the club, and informed that they would be glad of his company on the next evening of their meeting.

The gentleman, immediately upon this, commonly thanks the member for the attention of the club, to one so unworthy as himself, and promises to consider on the matter, and wait upon them in a very short time.

Several days now elapse, and the strange gentleman thinks no more of the club; having, since his being waited upon, repeatedly looked into his glass, and wondered what, in the name of heaven, the club could have seen in his face, that should entitle him to so considerable a share of their regard.

He is, soon after, waited upon a second time, by one of the most respectable members of the whole body, with a note from the president, requesting him not to be dissident of his abilities, and earnestly desiring, “that he would not fail to attend the club the very next evening;” adding, “that they still think themselves highly honoured by the presence of one who has already attracted the notice of the whole society by his uncommon talents.”

“Zounds!” cries he, upon perusing the billet, “what do they mean by teasing me in this manner? I am not so ugly neither,” walking to his glass, “as to attract the notice of the whole town almost at my first setting foot on the wharf!”

“Your nose is very long,” cries a member, who has brought the note. “Noses,” answers the other, “are the criterion of ugliness. ’Tis true, the end of mine would form an acute angle with a base line drawn horizontally from

my under lip: but I defy the whole club to prove, that acute angles were ever reckoned ugly, from the days of Euclid down to this moment, except by themselves."

"Ah sir," answers the messenger, "how liberal has nature been in bestowing upon you so elegant a pair of antern jaws! believe me, sir, you will be a lasting honour to the club."

"My jaws," says the ugly man, in a pet, "are such as nature made them: and Aristotle has asserted that all her works are beautiful."

Thus ends the conversation, for the present. The member now leaves the new candidate to his own reflexions; and wishes him to consider further upon the matter.

About a fortnight then passes, during all which time the ugly man is not disturbed by any of the club: and in this interval, presuming they have forgotten him, he commonly re-assumes his *petit maitre* airs, and begins to make advances to young ladies of fortune and beauty. When the fortnight is expired, he receives a letter from some pretended female (it being a trick of the club) in the following words:

"My dear sir,

"There is such a congeniality between your countenance and mine, that cannot help thinking you and I were destined for each other, from the earliest ages of the world. I am at present unmarried, and have a considerable fortune in pine-barren land, which, with myself, I wish to bestow upon some deserving man: and, from seeing you pass several times by my window, I know of no one better entitled to both than yourself. I am now almost two years beyond my grand climacteric: and am four feet four inches in height; rather less in circumference; am a little dropical; have lovely red hair and a fair complexion: and if the doctor do not deceive me, I may hold out 20 years longer. My nose is, like yours, rather longer than common: but then to compensate, I am universally allowed to have charming eyes. They are indeed somewhat inclined to squinting: but

this, in my idea, is no blemish. The sun himself looketh obliquely upon us in the winter: and no one thinks the worse of him. Dear sir, I expect you to wait upon me to-morrow evening.

"Yours till death, &c. M. M."

"Curse her!" cries the ugly gentleman, "what does all this mean? Was ever man tormented in this manner—ugly clubs—ugly women—imps and devils, all in combination to persecute me, and make my life miserable! I must be ugly, it seems, whether I will or not."

At this moment the president of the club, who is the very pink of ugliness itself, steps in and takes him by the hand. "My dear sir," says he, "you may as well walk with me to the club as not. Nature has designed you for us, and us for you. We are a set of men who have resolution enough to dare to be ugly: and have long let the world know, that we can pass the evening, and eat and drink together with as much social glee and real good humour, as the prettiest of them. Look into this Dutch glass, sir, and be convinced that we cannot do without you."

"God's will be done," cries the ugly gentleman: "since there seems to be no avoiding it, I will even do as you say!"



Premium for the manufacture of cheese, offered by the Burlington Society for the promotion of agriculture and domestic manufactures.

WHEREAS it appears, that every improvement, in the quality of our cheese, is of the greatest importance to the agricultural interest of this country, and highly deserving the attention of this society—therefore

Resolved, That for the quantity of the best-flavoured, driest, and richest cheese—not less than 300lb. weight—which shall be made, in the ensuing season, on any one farm in this county, and produced to this society at or before their annual meeting in January, 1791, a silver medal of three pounds value (or the like sum in specie, at the option of the

candidate) shall be given. And the society farther engage to purchase the same, at the price of one shilling specie per pound.

Burlington, April 3, 1790.

Experiments and observations on the use of plaster of Paris, communicated to the Burlington society for the promotion of agriculture.

EXPERIMENT I.

MR. Jonathan Woolston, of Buck's county, Pennsylvania, prepared 14 acres of good new land, in the fall of 1787, upon which he sowed white wheat. In the beginning of March 1788; he sowed 4lb. of clover seed, and three bushels of plaster of paris, upon every acre of this ground. It produced 16 bushels of clean wheat per acre. Soon after the harvest, a series of rainy weather came on, which lasted fourteen days. During that time, the clover grew as high as the wheat stubble; and some time after fully blossomed. When ripe, he cut and thrashed it: the produce was twenty-one bushels of clean seed, which, with the wheat, he sold for £140—the price he had given for the land. Mr. Woolston thinks, that the poorest of the land produced more in proportion than the richest; and that by the use of the plaster, clover may be kept in the ground three years longer than its usual period. On a rough sward, it will be necessary to lay on four or five bushels to the acre. It meliorates and lightens the soil, turning it to a darker colour, so as to be plainly visible; and produces clover. He thinks that strewing it over the whole ground, is better for Indian corn, than putting it on the hills, as, when the fine roots, by which the nourishment is received, push themselves into a poorer soil, they must dwindle, for want of that nourishment which the plaster affords. Mr. Woolston tried ashes in the proportion of ten bushels for one of the plaster: the success was great: but he does not think in that proportion it is equal to the plaster. The soil was a light loam.

EXPERIMENT II.

Mr. Longstreth, of Warminster

township, Buck's county, planted fifty acres of Indian corn, on thirty acres of which he put plaster of Paris, after the corn had come up, and before it was harrowed; about one-eighth of a gill to a hill. The soil was a light loam; the hills five feet three quarters, by four feet, asunder. On the thirty acres, he computes there was an increase of two hundred bushels of corn more than the land would have produced without the plaster of Paris, judging from the produce of the twenty acres on which no plaster was put. He put twenty six bushels of the plaster on the thirty acres. Mr. Longstreth has tried the plaster on clover and oats, and has found it to make a considerable difference in each.

Published by order of the society,

WILLIAM COXE, jun. sec'y.

Burlington, April 13, 1790.

Observations on the cultivation of Indian corn, communicated to the Burlington agricultural society by Mr. John Shepard, of Greenwich, Cumberland county, New Jersey.

HAVING heard it suggested, that Indian corn might be improved by a careful attention to plant only the seed gathered from those stalks which produced two ears; in the fall of 1786 I collected a quantity of such ears, sufficient for my next crop. In the spring of 1787, I planted this seed; and was well pleased to find my crop increase much beyond the quantity I had been accustomed to, even to ten bushels per acre: and by following the same rule in saving my seed, my crops have increased to sixty bushels per acre, and I have three or four ears upon a stalk.

Published by order of the society,

WILLIAM COXE, jun. sec'y.

Burlington, April 20, 1790.

Premiums proposed by the Philadelphia society for promoting agriculture, for the year 1790.

FOR the best experiment, made of course of crops, either large or small, on not less than four acres, agree

ably to the English mode of farming—a piece of plate, of the value of two hundred dollars, inscribed with the name and the occasion: and for the experiment, made of a course of crops, next in merit—a piece of plate, likewise inscribed, of the value of one hundred dollars. Certificates to be produced by the 20th of December, 1790.

II. The importance of complete farm or fold-yards, for sheltering and folding cattle—and of the best method of conducting the same, so as to procure the greatest quantities of compost, or mixed dung and manure, from within the farm, induces the society to give, for the best design of such a yard, and method of managing it, practicable by common farmers—a gold medal: and for the second best—a silver medal. The design to be presented to the society by the 20th of December, 1790.

III. For the best method of raising hogs, from the pig, in pens or sties, from experience—their sometimes running in a lot or field not totally excluded, if preferred—a gold medal: and for the second best—a silver medal. To be produced by the 20th of December, 1790.

IV. For the best method of recovering worn-out fields to a more hearty state, within the power of common farmers, without dear or far-fetched manures—but, by judicious culture, and the application of materials common to the generality of farmers—founded in experience—a gold medal: and for the second best—a silver medal. To be produced by the 20th of December, 1790.

V. For the best experiment, soil and other circumstances considered, in trench-ploughing, not less than ten inches deep, and accounts of the effects thereof—already made, or to be made, on not less than one acre—a gold medal: and for the second best—a silver medal. To be produced by the 20th of December, 1791.

VI. For the best information, the result of actual experience, for preventing damage to crops by insects—especially the Hessian-fly, the wheat-fly, or fly-weevil, the pea-bug, and the

corn chinch-bug or fly—a gold medal: a silver medal for the second best. To be produced by the 10th of January, 1790.

VII. For the best comparative experiments on the culture of wheat, by sowing it in the common broad-cast way—by drilling it—and by setting the grain, with a machine, equidistant—the quantities of seed and produce proportioned to the ground, being noticed—a gold medal: for the second best—a silver medal. The account to be produced by the 10th of January, 1791.

VIII. For an account of a vegetable food which may be easily procured and preserved, and which best increases milk in cows and ewes, in March and April, founded on experiment—a gold medal: for the second best—a silver medal. To be produced by the 10th of January, 1791.

IX. For the greatest quantity of ground, not less than one acre, well fenced, producing locust trees, growing in 1790, from seed sown after April 5th, 1785—the trees to be of the sort used for posts and trunnels, and not fewer than 1500 per acre—a gold medal: for the second—a silver medal. To be claimed in December, 1790.

X. The society, believing that very important advantages would be derived from the general use of oxen, instead of horses, in husbandry and other services—and being desirous of facilitating their introduction into all these states—persuaded, also, that the comparative value of oxen and cows must very much depend on the qualities of their sires and dams—and that by a careful attention to the subject, an improved breed may be obtained—they propose a gold medal for the best essay, the result of experience, on the breeding, feeding, and management of cattle, for the purpose of rendering them most profitable for the dairy, and for beef, and most docile and useful for the draught: and for the next best—a silver medal. To be produced by the 1st of January, 1791.

N. B. Among other things, the essay should notice the different breeds of cattle, and their comparative qualities;

as their sizes, strength, facility in fattening, quantity of milk, &c.

XI. It is a generally received opinion, that horses in a team travel much faster than oxen: yet some European writers on husbandry mention many instances, in which it appeared, not only that oxen would plough as much ground as an equal number of horses, but also travel as fast with a loaded carriage; particularly when, instead of yokes and bows, they were geared in horse-harness, with such variations as were necessary to adapt it to their different shape. To ascertain the powers of oxen in these particulars, and the expense of maintaining them, the society deem matters of very great moment: and are therefore induced to offer a gold medal for the best set of experiments, undertaken with that view; and for the next best, a silver medal. In relating these experiments, it will be proper to describe the age and size of the oxen, their plight, the kinds and quantities of their food—the occasions, manner, and expense of shoeing them—in travelling, the kinds of carriages used, and weight of their loads, and seasons of the year, and the length and quality of the roads—and, in ploughing, the size and fashion of the plough, the quality of the soil, the depth of the furrows, and the quantities ploughed—and, in every operation, the time expended, and number and sorts of hands employed in performing it—with any other circumstances which may more fully elucidate the subject. These experiments will enable the essayist to determine what will be the best form and construction of yokes and bows, and what of ox-harness, to enable oxen, with the best carriage of their bodies and heads, the most ease, and quickest step, to draw the heaviest loads—a description of each of which sort of gears, explained on mechanical principles, must be subjoined to the account of experiments. To be produced by the 1st day of January, 1791.

XII. For the best method, within the power of common farmers, of recovering old gullied fields to a hearty state, and such uniformity, or evenness of surface, as will again render them

fit for tillage—or, where the gullies are so deep and numerous as to render such recovery impracticable, for the best method of improving them, by planting trees, or otherwise, so as to yield the improver a reasonable profit for his expenses therein, founded on experiment—a gold medal: and for the next best—a silver medal. To be produced by the first of January, 1791.

XIII. For the greatest quantity, not less than five hundred pounds weight, of cheese, made on one farm in any of these states, equal in richness and flavour, to the Gloucestershire cheese, hitherto usually imported from England, and which shall be produced to the society by the 1st day of January 1791—a gold medal: and for the next greatest quantity, not less than two hundred and fifty pounds weight, of like quality—a silver medal.

XIV. For the best method, deduced from experience, of raising the American white-thorn from the seed, for hedges, and the greatest number of plants raised in a space not less than half an acre—a gold medal: for the second best—a silver medal. To be produced by the first of December, 1790.

XV. The society, believing that the culture of hemp on some of the low rich lands in the neighbourhood of this city, may be attempted with advantage, do hereby offer a gold medal for the greatest quantity of hemp raised within ten miles of the city of Philadelphia—the quantity not to be less than three ton: for the second greatest quantity—a silver medal. The claim to be made by the first of December, 1791.

* * * It will be left to the choice of those successful candidates for prizes, who may be entitled to the plate or gold medals, to receive the same either in plate or medals, or the equivalent thereof in money.

The claim of every candidate for a premium, is to be accompanied with, and supported by, certificates of respectable persons, of competent knowledge of the subject. And it is required, that the matters, for which premiums are offered, be delivered in without names,

or any intimation to whom they belong; that each particular thing be marked in what manner the claimant thinks fit—such claimant sending with it a paper sealed up, having on the outside a corresponding mark, and on the inside the claimant's name and address.

Respecting experiments on the products of land, circumstances of the previous and subsequent state of the ground, particular culture given, general state of the weather, &c. will be proper to be in the account exhibited. Indeed, in all experiments and reports of facts, it will be well to particularise the circumstances attending them. It is recommended, that reasoning be not mixed with the facts: after stating the latter, the former may be added, and will be acceptable.

Although the society reserve to themselves the power of giving, in every case, either one or the other of the prizes, or premiums) as the performance shall be adjudged to deserve—or of withholding both, if there be no merit—yet the candidates may be assured, that the society will always judge liberally of their several claims.

Published by order of the society,
S. P. GRIFFITTS, sec.
Philadelphia, March 9th, 1790.



Process of preparing seed wheat, communicated by mr. Cartier, to the directors of the Quebec branch, Dec. 21, 1789.

LET the wheat, intended for seed, be thrice thoroughly washed: and let the water drain from it after the third washing. Then steep it eighteen hours in brine strong enough to float an egg, and spread it on the floor, to let the brine run off: but whilst the wheat is wet with moisture, let quick lime be equally sifted over it—stirring it very well with a shovel; and continue sifting on more lime, until the wheat be equally dusted with it, in the proportion of half a gallon for every bushel of wheat. By stirring it well with a shovel, the wheat will soon be dry and fit for sowing.

Some exceedingly smutty wheat, or

what the inhabitants call *bled charbonné*, was prepared by mr. Cartier in the manner above directed, and immediately sown: the sample, sent to the directors of this branch, as the produce of that very smutty wheat, was good, clean, well-filled grain.

By order of the directors,
HUGH FINLAY, sec.



Short account of the character of the rev. Matthew Wilson, D. D. who died March 31, 1790, in Lewes, Delaware, aged 61.

THE reverend doctor Wilson was a native of Chester county, in the state of Pennsylvania. His education was directed by dr. Francis Allison, one of the first, both in time and estimation, who introduced and patronized learning in the American world. With this great man, doctor Wilson's advancement, both in the languages and the sciences, marked an extensive genius and a studious mind. It justified the most flattering expectations of his friends, and caused him to be respected and distinguished, even when he had persons to rival him in claims of literary advancement and honours, who have been long estimated as philosophers of the most celebrated name in America.

His own inclination, in concurrence with the advice of his friends, gave his studies a particular direction to the profession of divinity: and in this he was as eminently successful, as in his classical and philosophical studies. The synod of New-York and Philadelphia, of which he was a member for more than thirty-five years, and to which he was always an ornament and an honour, will bear a full and affectionate attestation to the virtues, the abilities, and the usefulness of their deceased brother.—Accurate in his enquiries, profound in his learning, and yet politely diffident of impressing his own sentiments on others, the liberality of his mind, and the utility of his assistance, were peculiarly manifested in that assembly, in difficult investigations of ecclesiastical history and polemic di-

vinity. We need no farther testimony of his usefulness and uncommon estimation, in important synodical transactions, than his being a principal member of the committee appointed to prepare the "new constitution of the presbyterian church in the united states."

But his mind was too large in the objects it comprehended, and his benevolence too extensive in the modes of exercise it solicited, to be contented with the services he could render society, in the objects embraced by only one profession. He began the study of medicine, when laboriously engaged already in the active duties of the ministry. Ordinary abilities are frequently seen to be overcome and depressed, by the important and extensive duties of one of those professions: but his ardent industry, and the comprehension of his mind, reduced every obstacle, and embraced every object of knowledge. In the practice of physic he acquired an eminence of reputation in his own county, and elsewhere, which gratitude from those who have been patients under his restoring hand, will oblige them to remember and acknowledge.

For a number of years previously to his death, in addition to all his other employments, he engaged in the direction and care of an academy. Here his communicative and amiable disposition was of infinite advantage. It attracted the love, secured the obedience, and allured the attentive application of his pupils. In connexion with uncommon learning, we too often observe a conscious self-importance, and a rigorous austerity, which discourage and depress the timid mind of the diffident pupil. Nothing but the entire reverse of this could adequately represent doctor Wilson's character. He was invariably mild and affable, courteous and amiable.

In those three important employments doctor Wilson laboured with a constancy and an ardour, unequalled even by those, who have ambition to excite them. His indeed was an ambition of the noblest kind. Its enlarged embrace included the whole family of mankind

—its means were the unwearied effort of active benevolence—its objects the happiness of his fellow creatures. Every day awakened him to the discharge of some additional interesting duty. He lived and laboured for the public—not for himself.

In his friendships, he was sincere, cordial, and constant. In his domestic connexions, he was yet more amiable. As a husband, he was endeared by the tender sensibilities, and kind attentions, which can improve and complete matrimonial happiness. As a father he was remarked by others, and loved by his children, for the constant and engaging discharge of all those paternal offices, which are generally seen to attract love, and command respect: and as a master, he was exemplarily humane and indulgent, considering and treating those in his service as equals by nature, and only inferiors by fortune.



Of the extent and value of the late North Carolina cession.

FROM the Stone Mountain by the line, which divides North Carolina from Virginia, to the clear Fork of Cumberland river,

The distance is	112
From the clear fork to the first crossing of Cumberland river, above the mouth of Obey river is	105
Thence to the second crossing of Cumberland river,	130
Thence to the Tennessee river,	9
Thence to the Mississippi river,	60

The whole distance 416

The general course of the Stone Mountain, or the Iron Mountain, which the ceded territory is divided from North Carolina, is south, 59 or 60 degrees west. The course of the river Mississippi from lat. 36 degrees, 30 minutes, the northern boundary of North Carolina, to lat. 35, which is the southern boundary, is generally south, 25 or 26 degrees west. It may however be stated south, 20 degrees west.

The width of the state is 1 degree, 30 minutes, or 104 miles. This gives 24,570,240 acres nearly. The amount of land, entered in the office of John Armstrong, since it was opened in 1783, of which some part is to the eastward of the Iron mountain, is 4,464,195 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres. Of the lands granted to officers and privatees of the North Carolina line, a correct return is not come to hand: but the highest estimation is 3,000,000 acres. Pre-emptions, guards, and commissioners' rights are estimated at 500,000 acres. The amount granted is 7,964,195 acres. There remain for the united states above 16,606,045 acres.

Of this there may be mountainous or barren land 5,000,000 acres, which is a great allowance, in so fine and fertile a country. There will remain fit for cultivation and sale, at least 11,606,045 acres.

This land, or so much of the same as is, or shall be ceded by the Indians, may be immediately sold at half a dollar the acre, in national securities. It is worth that sum in specie.



THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR.

NUMBER XVI.

By the rev. Joseph Lathrop.

Labor omnia vincit

Improbis, et duris urgens in rebus egestas.

MOST of the evils, which are matters of complaint at the present day, are such as are in our own power to remedy. If we would be as virtuous as a people may be, we should be as happy as a people need be. Virtue would remove many of our grievances, and enable us to bear the rest. It will be replied, 'virtue generally prevailing, might do great things: but this is not to be expected.' Will you then look for happiness in some other way? You cannot succeed, unless the course of nature, and the plan of the supreme government, should be reversed. 'But, will it avail for me singly to be virtuous; when I cannot expect the generality will be so?' Make the experiment: perhaps others will be as wise as you: your example may possibly have some influence:

at least, you may relieve your own mind, and lighten your own burdens. If general virtue help society, private virtue will help the individual: and is there not another world, where your virtue will turn to your account, though it should do you but little good here? 'but what are the virtues of immediate use to society, and of chief importance at the present day?' Industry is undoubtedly one. This is a country, which affords all the means not only of subsistence, but of wealth. But means must be applied, or the end is not attained. Greater industry may be necessary here, than in some other climes: but this is no unhappiness. A people, that grow rich suddenly, and without much labour, soon become luxurious and effeminate. They presently sink again into poverty: or their wealth is confined to a few. They lose their strength, and vigour, and the spirit of liberty; and fall an easy prey to the first powerful invader, or ambitious usurper. A habit of industry is first acquired by necessity: and, once acquired, it may continue for a while, after the necessity abates, unless circumstances alter too suddenly. It strengthens the body, braces the mind, and aids other virtues. It gives patience in adversity, courage in danger, and perseverance in difficulty. No people ever maintained their liberty long, after they ceased to be industrious, and became dissolute and luxurious. Agriculture ought to be one main object of industry, in such a country, and at such a time, as this. Our lands are our chief source of wealth: but lands uncultivated, are like gold sleeping in the mines. It is culture only that makes them useful. Too great attention to commerce will soon introduce idleness and luxury: and though it may enrich a few particular persons, it will impoverish the country.

Our husbandry ought to be directed into such a channel, that, after supplying our own necessary consumption, the surplus may bring us not merely luxuries, but such foreign articles as will be really useful, and a sufficiency of silver and gold, for a medium. Grain of various kinds, flax, sheep, pork, beef,

butter, and cheefe, are commodities that may be turned to much better advantage, than those cargoes of horses and lumber, which are shipped for the West Indies, only to bring in upon us a flood of ardent spirits, to drown our vitals and our morals.

To agriculture we must join the necessary arts of life, and the more useful, and important branches of manufacture. We may purchase many articles cheaper than we can manufacture them : but if we purchase them, they must be paid for : if we make them, they are our own. Manufactures will promote industry : and industry contributes to health, virtue, riches and population. If we purchase our clothing, one half of our women must be idle, or only trifling : how, then, will those young women, who depend on their labour, procure the next suit, when they have worn out the present ? If we manufacture, our men will be employed in procuring and preparing the materials ! and our women will not be under a necessity of spending five afternoons in a week in giving and receiving visits, and chatting round the tea-table. What they do, is so much added to the wealth of the country. When industry becomes reputable among ladies in higher life, it will of course take place among all ranks. And the rosy cheek, the ruby lip, and the sparkling eye, will then be deemed more beautiful, than the pale, sickly countenance. Vivacity, strength, and activity will not then be thought too indelicate, coarse, and masculine for a fine lady : nor will affected timidity, artificial faintings, and laboured shrieks and startings be supposed to have charms.

Springfield, Massachusetts.

Anecdote.

THE late honourable judge Sewell went into a hatter's shop, one day, in order to procure a pair of second-hand brushes, for the purpose of cleaning his shoes. The master of the shop presented him with a couple which had become unfit for his own use. "What is your price?" says the judge : "if they will answer your purpose,"

replies the other, "you may have them and welcome." The judge hearing this, laid them down on the plank, and with a graceful bow, directly went out at the door. At which, the mechanic said to him. "Pray, sir, your honour has forgotten the principal design of your visit." "By no means," replies the judge "if you please to set your price, I stand ready to purchase. But ever since it has fallen to my lot to occupy a seat on the bench, I have studiously avoided receiving a single copper, by way of donation, lest in some future period of my life, it might have some kind of influence in determining my judgment."

Bon mot.

AN American loyalist, who has been asked to purchase a ticket for general Burgoyne's benefit, at one of the theatres in London—replied—"I have paid enough for his sword in America—and am determined to give nothing for his pen in England."

Bon mot.

A FEW days since, a gentleman on hearing that the general assembly of Rhode-Island had appointed a day of thanksgiving, observed that he could not conceive what they had to be thankful for. Another gentleman present replied, "they have reason to be thankful that they are all out of hell."

Anecdote.

THE late dr. Magrath being called upon to visit a sick man, asked him, as he entered the room, how he did? "O doctor," replied the man, in a plaintive tone, "I am dead." The doctor immediately left the room, as reported in the neighbourhood, that the man was dead. The report was at first believed and circulated : but as soon as the mistake was discovered, the doctor was asked, "why he had propagated false report?" He replied, that "he did it upon the best authority : for he had it from the man's own mouth."



T H E
A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

O R , U N I V E R S A L M A G A Z I N E ,

F o r J U N E , 1 7 9 0 .



C O N T E N T S .



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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Mr. Theodore Dwight is informed that the verses he mentions, were given the editor with his name prefixed.

Biographical sketches of dr. Franklin, intended for the present number, are postponed, in order to render them more complete.

N. W.'s communications will be highly acceptable.

Italian sonnets on general Washington and dr. Franklin—shall appear as far as possible.

The verses signed L. are too incorrect for publication.

The meteorological observations made at Warrentown, North Carolina, are too lengthy for insertion. Had they been all made at the same hours of each day, the result would have been taken, and inserted. But the variation of the hours renders a just result impossible.

The constitution of the American medical society has been unavoidably postponed. It shall appear in our next.

Letter from a Philadelphia merchant to an American in London, shall also appear in our next.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BOOKBINDERS.

The appendixes to this volume, are to be taken apart from each number, and bound together at the end of the volume. The signatures of the first appendix are [a] [b] [c] [d] [e] [f] : those of the second are [A] [B] [C] [D] [E] [F] those of the third are [AA] [BB] [CC] [DD] [EE] [FF] : those of the fourth are [aa] [bb] [cc] [dd] [ee] [ff]. The binders are particularly requested to pay attention to these directions ; and to observe that the appendix to the sixth volume is to be taken apart in the same manner.

Meteorological observations made at Philadelphia, May 1790.

Date	Barometer.				Thermom.		Anemo- meter. Prevail. wind.	Weather.		
	Phosphoric ☿ English foot				Farenheit					
	In. $\frac{7}{12} \frac{1}{16}$		In. $\frac{1}{12} \frac{1}{16}$		D. $\frac{1}{16}$ °					
1	30	3	8	30	2	6	45 5	65 7	SW	clear, cloudy,
2	30	2		30		4	50	78 3	SSW	clear, overcast,
3	29	10	8	29	9	9	63	79 2	SSW	overcast,
4	30		5	30	1	12	63 5	66 9	NW	overcast, and rain,
5	30	2	13	30	1		55 8	74 3	SE	overcast,
6	30		10	30			52 2	64 6	N	overcast, rain,
7	30	3	12	30	3	13	45 5	63 5	NE	overcast, fair,
8	30	6	6	30	5	12	41	65 3	ESE	clear, cloudy,
9	30	5	13	30	5		48 9	70 2	SE	overcast,
0	30	4	4	30	2	12	50	82 6	SW	clear, cloudy,
1	30	2	12	30	2	3	65 7	90 5	SW.NE	clear, thunder, [rain,
2	30	1	14	30	1		60 8	90 5	NE.SE	cloudy, warm, thunder
3	30	1	2	29	11	12	59	81	NE.E	overcast, new moon,
4	30	1	2	29	10	14	54 5	78 1	NW.W	clear,
5	29	10	6	29	8	13	52 2	79 2	NW	clear, windy,
6	29	9	4	29	9	7	51 1	74 7	NW	cloudy,
7	29	10	4	29	11		52 2	69 1	NW.E	cloudy,
8	30	1	10	30	1		47 7	73 6	W.SW	clear,
9	30	1	8	30		14	54 5	72 5	SSW.SE	overcast, small rain,
0	29	10	9	29	8	14	53 4	66 9	SE.S	rainy, overcast,
1	29	7	9	29	6	11	59	79 2	NW.W	cloudy, clear,
2	29	7	3	29	7	8	59	72 5	NW	cloudy, calm, clear,
3	29	8	3	29	7	5	60 1	81 5	W.NW	clear,
4	29	8	4	29	7	3	62 4	86	W	cloudy,
5	29	9	8	29	10		64 6	75 9	NE	clear,
6	29	11	9	29	10	12	60 1	86	SW	clear and warm, rain,
7	29	10	13	29	10	2	65 7	81 5	E.W	clear, thunder, rain,
8	29	11	5	30	1	5	61 2	65 7	NW.NE	clear, rainy, overcast,
9	30	1	4	30	1	3	54 5	62 4	E	overcast, rainy,
0	30	1	5	30	1	11	56 7	63 5	E	rainy, overcast,
1	29	10	10	29	10		60 1	77	E.SW	rainy, flying clouds,

RESULT.	Barometer.			Thermometer.		NW and SW clear, variable, and rainy.	
	8th greatest elevat.	30	6	6	8th greatest deg. cold		41
	21st least elevat.	29	6	11	11th greatest deg. heat		90 5
	Variation,		11	11	Variation,		49 5
Mean elevation,	30		3	Mean degree,	65 3		

EXPLANATION OF THE ABOVE TABLE.

“As the height of the barometer is never just or exact but when Reaumur’s thermometer, placed at the centre of the tube of the barometer, marks the freezing point or 32d degree on Farenheit’s scale; in order, therefore, to rectify this column of ☿ in the barometer, it will be necessary to subtract as many sixteenths of a line from the height of the mercury, as Reaumur’s thermometer, placed at its centre, marks degrees above the freezing point; and to add as many as shall appear under or below the said point of congelation.

“The cypher, placed at the head of the 4th column, is the point at which the scale separates both in Farenheit’s and Reaumur’s scale.

“ All the degrees followed by 0 in that column, are degrees under the 0 of Fahrenheit : but if no 0 follow, they are degrees above Fahrenheit's 0.

“ The variation is the difference of the highest and lowest elevation of the barometer, and of the greatest degree of heat and cold in every month.

“ The mean degree, or mean elevation, of both thermometer and barometer is found by adding the highest and lowest observation in each together, and dividing them by 2 : but if the degrees of one observation be followed by 0, the must be subtracted from the other, and the remainder divided by 2 : if nothing remain, the temperature of the day will be 0. The same rule is observed, to discover the temperature of the month and year.”



*Observations on the weather and diseases
for May 1790.*

A Considerable portion of April was very wet ; this month, however, has been very dry ; there having been but 7 days in which any rain fell, in the whole month. The weather was clear, calm, and pleasant : several very warm days, however, were felt. The thermometer, on the 11th, was up to 90° 5. The barometer was in general high, 29 0 11 being the lowest point, and 30. 0 3 its mean elevation. Accounts from Albany inform us of there being a very violent storm, at that place, on the 3d inst. which did considerable damage to several public and private buildings.

During this month, some children were inoculated for the small pox. These, however, were few in number, as the greatest part of those who had not had the disease, had received it in the course of the preceding month. After the complaint was over, the patients were always recommended to be purged once or twice : where this, however, happened to be neglected, disagreeable abscesses in various parts of the body, and troublesome sore eyes, were often the consequences. In the preparation of the body, some practitioners still continued to employ mercury ; and although that medicine is supposed to render the disease light by promoting an equable and free perspiration, or possessing some antivariolous properties ; yet as far as my experience goes, it is by no means decisive in favour of it ; for from the closest attention paid to that subject, not the least advantage was observed to be obtained by those who took mercury, over others who used jalap, rhubarb,

magnesia, or the butternut pill, all of which I have given with equal success. I am therefore disposed to believe, that the good effects, supposed to be derived from mercury, in the dose usually given in the small pox, depend solely upon the evacuation of the intestines, produced by it, an effect to be equally well obtained by the other purgatives mentioned, and which have this advantage attending the use, that no danger can be apprehended from the patients' exposing themselves freely to the cold air, and drinking cold drinks, which are of so much consequence, in order to prevent or lessen the inflammatory state of the system, and thereby have the disease mild, neither of which, however, can be done, if mercury be used, without risk being run of their sustaining injury by it. Does this therefore evince either wisdom or propriety to continue a practice originating from a false theory, and from which no benefit, but on the contrary danger often derived ?



*Extracts from the last will and testament
of his excellency Benjamin Franklin.*

WITH regard to my books, those I had in France and those left in Philadelphia, being now assembled together here, and a catalogue made of them, it is my intention to dispose of the same as follows :

My history of the academy of sciences, in sixty or seventy volumes quarto I give to the philosophical society of Philadelphia, of which I have the honour to be president. My collection in folio, of *Les arts & les metiers*, I give to the American philosophical society established in New England, of which

I am a member. My quarto edition of the same *arts & metiers*, I give to the library company of Philadelphia. Such and so many of my books, as I shall mark in the said catalogue, with the name of my grandson Benjamin Franklin Bache, I do hereby give to him; and such and so many of my books, as I shall mark in the said catalogue, with the name of my grandson William Bache, I do hereby give to him: and such as shall be marked with the name of Jonathan Williams, I hereby give to my cousin of that name. The residue and remainder of all my books, manuscripts, and papers, I do give to my grandson William Temple Franklin. My share in the library company of Philadelphia I give to my grandson Benjamin Franklin Bache, confiding that he will permit his brothers and sisters to share in the use of it.

I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar schools established there. I therefore give one hundred pounds sterling to my executors, to be by them, the survivors, or survivor of them, paid over to the managers or directors of the free schools in my native town of Boston, to be by them, or the person or persons, who shall have the superintendance and management of the said schools, put out to interest, and so continued at interest for ever; which interest annually shall be laid out in silver medals, and given as honorary rewards annually, by the directors of the said free-schools, for the encouragement of scholarship, in the said schools, belonging to the said town, in such manner as to the discretion of the select men of the said town shall seem meet.

Out of the salary, that may remain due to me, as president of the state, I give the sum of two thousand pounds to my executors, to be by them, the survivors, or survivor of them, paid over to such person or persons as the legislature of this state, by an act of assembly, shall appoint to receive the same, in trust, to be employed for making the river Schuylkill navigable.

During the number of years I was in business as a stationer, printer, and postmaster, a great many small sums became due to me, for books, advertisements, postage of letters, and other matters, which were not collected, when, in 1757, I was sent by the assembly to England as their agent—and by subsequent appointments continued there till 1775—when, on my return, I was immediately engaged in the affairs of congress, and sent to France in 1776, where I remained nine years, not returning till 1785: and the said debts not being demanded in such a length of time, are become in a manner obsolete; yet are, nevertheless, justly due. These, as they are stated in my great folio ledger E. I bequeath to the contributors of the Pennsylvania hospital, hoping that those debtors, and the descendants of such as are deceased, who now, as I find, make some difficulty of satisfying such antiquated demands, as just debts, may however be induced to pay or give them as charity to that excellent institution. I am sensible that much must inevitably be lost: but I hope something considerable may be recovered: it is possible, too, that some of the parties charged may have existing old unsettled accounts against me; in which case the managers of the said hospital will allow and deduct the amount or pay the balance, if they find it against me.

I request my friends, Henry Hill, esq. John Jay, esq. Francis Hopkinson, esq. and Mr. Edward Duffield, of Bonfield, in Philadelphia county, to be the executors of this my last will and testament, and I hereby nominate and appoint them for that purpose.

I would have my body buried with as little expense or ceremony as may be.

July 17, 1788.

C O D I C I L.

I, Benjamin Franklin, in the foregoing, or annexed last will and testament named, having further considered the same, do think proper to make and publish the following codicil or addition thereto—

It having long been a fixed political

opinion of mine, that in a democratical state, there ought to be no offices of profit, for the reasons I had given, in an article of my drawing in our constitution, it was my intention, when I accepted the office of president, to devote the appointed salary to some public use; accordingly, I had already, before I made my will in July last, given large sums of it to colleges, schools, building of churches, &c. and in that will, I bequeathed two thousand pounds more to the state, for the purpose of making the Schuylkill navigable: but understanding since, that such a sum will do but little towards accomplishing such a work, and that the project is not likely to be undertaken for many years to come—and having entertained another idea, which I hope may be more extensively useful, I do hereby revoke and annul that bequest, and direct that the certificates I have, for what remains due to me of that salary, be sold towards raising the sum of two thousand pounds sterling, to be disposed of, as I am now about to order.

It has been an opinion, that he who receives an estate from his ancestors, is under some kind of obligation to transmit the same to his posterity: this obligation does not lie on me, who never inherited a shilling from any ancestor or relation. I shall, however, if it is not diminished by some accident before my death, leave a considerable estate among my descendants and relations. The above observation is made merely as some apology to my family, for my making bequests, that do not appear to have any immediate relation to their advantage.

I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar schools, established there. I have, therefore, considered those schools in my will.

But I am also under obligations to the state of Massachusetts, for having, unasked, appointed me formerly their agent in England with a handsome salary, which continued some years: and although I accidentally lost, in their service, by transmitting governor Hut-

chinson's letters, much more than the amount of what they gave me, I do not think that ought in the least to diminish my gratitude. I have considered that among artificers, good apprentices are most likely to make good citizens; and having myself been bred to a manual art, printing, in my native town, and afterwards assisted to set up my business in Philadelphia by kind loans of money from two friends there, which was the foundation of my fortune, and of all the utility in life, that may be ascribed to me—I wish to be useful even after my death, if possible, in forming and advancing other young men, that may be serviceable to their country in both those towns.

To this end I devote two thousand pounds sterling, which I give, one thousand thereof to the inhabitants of the town of Boston, in Massachusetts, and the other thousand to the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, in trust to and for the uses, intents, and purposes herein after mentioned and declared.

The said sum of one thousand pounds sterling, if accepted by the inhabitant of the town of Boston, shall be managed under the direction of the select men united with the ministers of the oldest episcopalian congregational and presbyterian churches, in that town, who are to let out the same upon interest at five per cent per annum, to such young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as have served an apprenticeship in the said town, and faithfully fulfilled the duties required in their indentures, so as to obtain good moral character from at least two respectable citizens, who are willing to become their sureties in a bond with the applicants for the repayment of the monies so lent, with interest, according to the terms herein after prescribed, a which bonds are to be taken for Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof in current gold coin: and the manager shall keep a bound book or book wherein shall be entered the names of those who shall apply for, and receive the benefit of this institution, and of their sureties, together with the sum

lent, the dates and other necessary and proper records, respecting the business and concerns of this institution: and as these loans are intended to assist young married artificers in setting up their businesses, they are to be proportioned by the discretion of the managers, so as not to exceed sixty pounds sterling to one person, nor to be less than fifteen pounds.

And if the number of appliers so entitled, should be so large, as that the sum will not suffice to afford to each as much as might otherwise not be improper, the proportion to each shall be diminished, so as to afford to every one some assistance. These aids may, therefore, be small at first, but as the capital increases by the accumulated interest, they will be more ample. And in order to serve as many as possible in their turn, as well as to make the repayment of the principal borrowed, more easy, each borrower shall be obliged to pay with the yearly interest, one tenth part of the principal; which sums of principal and interest so paid-in, shall be again let out to fresh borrowers. And as it is presumed, that there will be always found in Boston virtuous and benevolent citizens, willing to bestow a part of their time in doing good to the rising generation, by superintending and managing this institution gratis, it is hoped, that no part of the money will at any time lie dead, or be diverted to other purposes, but be continually augmenting by the interest, in which case there may in time be more than the occasion in Boston shall require: and then some may be spared to the neighbouring or other towns in the said state of Massachusetts, which may desire to have it, such towns engaging to pay punctually the interest and the proportions of the principal annually to the inhabitants of the town of Boston. If this plan is executed and succeeds as projected, without interruption, for one hundred years, the sum will then be one hundred and thirty-one thousand pounds, of which I would have the managers of the donation to the town of Boston, then lay out at their discretion one hundred thousand

pounds in public works, which may be judged of most general utility to the inhabitants: such as fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, public buildings, baths, pavements, or whatever may make living in the town more convenient to its people, and render it more agreeable to strangers, resorting thither for health, or a temporary residence. The remaining thirty-one thousand pounds I would have continued to be let out on interest in the manner above directed, for another hundred years, as I hope it will have been found that the institution has had a good effect on the conduct of youth, and been of service to many worthy characters and useful citizens. At the end of this second term, if no unfortunate accident has prevented the operation, the sum will be four millions and sixty-one thousand pounds sterling, of which I leave one million and sixty-one thousand pounds to the disposition and management of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, and three millions to the disposition of the government of the state, not presuming to carry my views farther.

All the directions herein given respecting the disposition and management of the donation to the inhabitants of Boston, I would have observed respecting that to the inhabitants of Philadelphia; only as Philadelphia is incorporated, I request the corporation of that city to undertake the management agreeable to the said directions: and I do hereby vest them with full and ample powers for that purpose; and having considered that the covering its ground plat with buildings and pavements, which carry off most of the rain, and prevent its soaking into the earth, and renewing and purifying the springs, whence the water of the wells must gradually grow worse, and in time be unfit for use, as I find has happened in all old cities: I recommend, that at the end of the first hundred years, if not done before, the corporation of the city employ a part of the hundred thousand pounds, in bringing by pipes the water of Wissahickon creek into the town, so as to supply the inhabitants, which I apprehend may be

done without great difficulty, the level of that creek being much above that of the city, and may be made higher by a dam. I also recommend making the Schuylkill completely navigable. At the end of the second hundred years, I would have the disposition of the four million and sixty one thousand pounds divided between the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia and the government of Pennsylvania, in the same manner as herein directed with respect to that of the inhabitants of Boston and the government of Massachusetts. It is my desire, that this institution should take place, and begin to operate within one year after my decease, for which purpose due notice should be publicly given, previous to the expiration of that year, that those, for whose benefit this establishment is intended, may make their respective applications: and I hereby direct my executors, the survivors, or survivor of them, within six months after my decease, to pay over the said sum of two thousand pounds sterling to such persons as shall be duly appointed by the select men of Boston, and the corporation of Philadelphia, to receive and take charge of their respective sums of one thousand pounds each for the purposes aforesaid. Considering the accidents, to which all human affairs and projects are subject, in such a length of time, I have perhaps too much flattered myself with a vain fancy, that these dispositions, if carried into execution, will be continued without interruption, and have the effects proposed: I hope, however, that if the inhabitants of the two cities, should not think fit to undertake the execution, they will at least accept the offer of these donations, as a mark of my good will, token of my gratitude, and a testimony of my earnest desire to be useful to them, even after my departure. I wish, indeed, that they may both undertake to endeavour the execution of the project, because I think that though unforeseen difficulties may arise, expedients will be found to remove them, and the scheme be found practicable. If one of them accepts the money with the conditions, and the other refuses, my will then

is, that both sums be given, to the inhabitants of the city, accepting; the whole to be applied to the same purposes and under the same regulations directed for the separate parts: and if both refuse, the money of course remains in the mass of my estate, and it is to be disposed of therewith, according to my will, made the seventeenth day of July, 1788.

My fine crab-tree walking stick, with a gold head curiously wrought in the form of the cap of liberty, I give to my friend and the friend of mankind, general Washington. If it were a sceptre, he has merited it, and would become it.



Prices of several articles in Philadelphia, on the 15th day of May 1767 and on the same day of the year 1790

	1767	1790
F LOUR per cwt.	16s ⁶	34s ⁰
Tobacco, 15s to 30s	16s to 60s	
Rice,	17s	22s
Wheat per bushel	6s	13s
Flaxseed,	6s	4s
Beef, per barrel,	5s ⁵	4s ⁵ to 6s
Pork,	7s ⁵	5s ⁵ to 6s ⁷
Pitch,	16s	22s
Tar,	12s	13s
Turpentine,	22s	17s
Muscov. sug. cwt.	50s	57s ⁶ to 70s
Ship bread, p. cwt.	16s ⁶	26s
Middling do.	28s	45s
W. I. rum p. gal.	2s ⁸	4s
N. England, do. do.	2s	3s



Anecdote of dr. Franklin.

DURING the administration of Robert Walpole, the transportation of convicts to this country was regarded as a very great grievance. Dr Franklin wrote to the minister the thanks of the colonists for the maternal care of Britain to this country, so strongly manifested in this instance and as a satisfactory proof of American gratitude, sent him a collection of rattlesnakes, which he advised him to have introduced into his majesty's gardens at Kew, in order that they might propagate, and increase—assuring him they would be as beneficial to his majesty's English dominions, as the British *rattlesnake convicts* had been to America.

To the printers of the Museum.

GENTLEMEN,

the following cursory remarks, on the state of American manufactures and commerce, contain any useful information, you are requested to give them a place in your valuable repository. I am, gentlemen, your humble servt.

W. BARTON.

THE great importance, considered in a national point of view, of couraging manufactures and the useful arts, in this extensive and growing public, is now so generally acknowledged, as to admit of no controversy. Any able pens have been employed, demonstrating the good policy of the measure: and the essays we have made, in the establishment and progress of divers valuable branches of manufacture, within three or four years past, already evince the practicability of our succeeding upon a more enlarged scale. Experiment has justified the theories of those writers, who have uniformly asserted, that the institution of manufactories in the united states, would be so far from impeding the progress of agricultural improvements, that they would mutually benefit each other, and turn our commerce into a profitable channel—and eventually promote the wealth and prosperity of the country at large.

It cannot but afford a great degree of satisfaction to the well-wishers of the union, when they observe the spirited exertions which have been made by our citizens, since the peace, to institute many new and extensive manufactures; and the rapid advances towards perfection, in those heretofore established in several of the states. Among the most important of our manufactures, may be reckoned the following: ship-building—flour—malt liquors—fabrics of wool, flax, hemp, and cotton—iron and steel, under various modifications; the principal one of which, is the article of nails—leather, and the numerous families of this material—paper, and the printing of books; &c.—pasteboard (in-

cluding playing cards)—parchment—pot and pearl ashes*—tobacco and snuff—beaver hats of a very superior quality, and hats of other kinds—cabinet ware and carpenters' work—thread, cotton, and worsted hosiery—wool and cotton cards—cables and cordage—coaches, chariots, and carriages of other kinds—clocks and watches—printing types—brass-founders' ware—pewterers' and tin-plate workers' ware, copper smiths' ware—plumbers' work—silver-plate and jewellers' ware—glass—potters' ware—gunpowder—cheese and butter—callico, linen and cotton printing—indigo—oil†—lumber§—tar, &c. soap and candles—glue—silk—refin'd sugars—starch, and hair powder—whips and canes—book-binding—brushes of all kinds—surveyors' compasses, with a variety of mathematical and optical instruments, and mechanics' tools—musical instruments of various sorts—divers kinds of drugs—distilled liquors—cider, &c. &c. &c.

NOTES.

* The value of pot and pearl ashes exported from Boston, in the year 1787, is estimated at 103,383 $\frac{1}{2}$ dollars. In the following year, there were exported from New York, 13,124 barrels of pot-ash; which, at a very low valuation, was worth 200,000 dollars.

† Foreign snuff was imported in very considerable quantities, before the revolution; but now the country is amply supplied with this article by our own manufacturers. Anderson (in his history of commerce) asserts, that before the war, the annual import of tobacco into Great Britain, from Virginia and Maryland, amounted to 96,000 hogsheads; of which 13,500 were consumed in that kingdom, and the remaining 82,500 were exported from thence to other parts of Europe. This trade alone employed 330 ships, and 3,960 seamen.

‡ The oil exported from Boston, in the year 1787 amounted to 229,626 $\frac{2}{3}$ dollars, in value.

§ The lumber of all kinds exported from Boston, in the year 1787, is estimated at 214,367 dollars value.

Some of these* materials, which are themselves the product or fabric of manufactories, give employment to workmen in various branches of business. Thus, ship-building employs (besides the builder) carpenters, sail-makers, smiths, painters, carvers, plumbers, &c. Leather, (comprehending the several kinds of this article) is wrought up into shoes and boots, saddlery, breeches and gloves, coverings of trunks and books, &c. Paper and pasteboard are used by the printer, paper-hanging maker, book-binder, card-maker, &c. And, in this manner, the product of one manufacture serves as a material, in the fabrication of others; thus furnishing employment and a comfortable subsistence to a numerous body of valuable citizens.

The materials, employed in the greater part of our manufactories, are almost wholly the product of this country. These, if exported in their crude or unwrought state, would yield comparatively small returns. The labour and ingenuity bestowed upon the fabric, by the manufacturer, create, in most cases, the greater part of its value: and, therefore, the industry and genius of our mechanics and artisans may be considered as a valuable portion of the productive stock of our country. Their numbers add to the national strength—and their labour to the wealth of the union generally, and of our towns in particular: they defray their proportion of the public expenses, and by creating a demand for the product of our farms in a twofold point of view, give additional value to landed property.

Ship-building is a branch of manu-

NOTE.

* In the museum for September, 1787, is a list of raw materials and native productions, which now are or may be readily furnished by the united states of America; and of such articles, and branches of manufactures and the useful arts, as are best adapted to the resources and situation of this country—for home consumption and use, and for exportation.

facture which bids fair to arrive: great perfection in this country. The beauty, cheapness and excellence of the American ships, are too well known, to need any comment. This is a business that appears to be peculiarly well adapted to the American states. With in the country, are to be obtained all the materials—even the sail-cloth; which is now manufactured at Boston, in large quantities, and of a superior quality. Mr. Shaw's ship the Massachusetts of 800 tons burden, designed for the East India trade, was furnished with cordage and sail-cloth from the Boston factory; taking, of the latter article nearly 12000 yards. Besides this ship three other Indiamen have been wholly clothed with it; as well as a great number of other vessels, of different descriptions. The sail-cloth made at the Boston factory, is from no. 1 to no. 10 inclusive; and it is expected that 200000 yards, per week, will be supplied from thence.

Breweries are multiplying very rapidly; and spiritous liquors, so constructive of health, are giving way to the increasing use of porter, ale and beer—There are it is said, four hundred breweries in the city of Philadelphia alone.

The manufacture of woolen cloth as yet, quite in its infancy among us but enough has been done in this way to shew that much more may be accomplished by industry and perseverance aided by a little enterprise. Excellent cloth is made in * Connecticut: a

NOTE.

§ The increasing demand for malt liquors, has induced our farmers to cultivate larger crops of barley; and our breweries may be amply supplied with excellent malt, of home manufacture. Hops, equal to any in the world, produced in this country.

* Upwards of 5000 yards of woolen cloth were manufactured at Hartford, between the 1st of Sept. 1787 and the 1st of Sept. 1789,—some of which was of so excellent a quality, to sell for five dollars per yard. See the Museum for Jan. 1790. p. 24.

the woollen manufactory, established at Watertown in Massachusetts, under the direction of mess. Faulkner and co. promises great success. It is hoped our farmers will redouble their attention to the raising of sheep.

The manufacture of cotton is encouraged in several of the states. This commodity is the growth of the southern states; and it cannot be doubted, that they will find it their interest to promote both its culture and manufacture. In the eastern and middle states, it will answer very well to work up even the foreign cotton, into jeans, fustians, corduroys, &c.

The culture of hemp and flax deserves particular attention. From these large supplies of cordage, and * linen cloth of various kinds, may be drawn: and the flaxseed is, besides, an object of considerable importance, as an article of export.

Iron may be deemed one of the staple commodities of this country; as the united states abound with this article, of an excellent quality. This invaluable metal is of such extensive and indispensable use, that it may be justly esteemed one of the greatest sources of wealth we possess: and there is scarcely any material, that employs so great a number of artisans and mechanics, in a variety of manufactures. All the coarse and heavy manufactures of this article may be advantageously carried on among ourselves: besides which, there are many others, † lately introduced, which are found to answer very well. It is supposed, that, in the three states of

Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, there are manufactured annually, about three hundred and fifty tons of steel, and six hundred tons of plate iron and nail-rods. Nails are becoming an object of export; and this is also the case with wool and cotton cards, and several other articles of American manufacture.

Our fabrics of leather might be rendered much more valuable to the united states, than they are at present, if the farmers would employ oxen more generally in husbandry; and if buckskin breeches were as commonly worn, as their wear is economical—the manufactures of tanned leather are, notwithstanding, very prosperous.

Paper is now supplied in such large quantities, and on so good terms, principally from the paper-mills in the middle states, that the importation of foreign paper is nearly at an end. In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, there are sixty-three ‡ paper mills; in which are made, annually, about 250,000 dollars worth of paper. The enterprise and spirit of our printers deserve particular commendation: at the same time that they are promoting the useful manufactories, connected with their own business, they are a principal means of disseminating useful knowledge throughout the union. Newspapers are now established in all our considerable towns: the museum and a magazine are published, monthly in this city; and are well conducted—besides two or three miscellanies of the same

NOTE.

NOTES.

* In the year 1701, the linen and linen yarn, exported from Ireland, amounted to no more than £53,000 sterling; and, in the year 1771, the amount was £1,895,000 sterling.

† Mill saws, saws of other kinds, and files, are manufactured in the best manner (and, at least, as cheap as they can be imported) by mr. John Harper of this city. Stirrup-irons, bridle-bits, and other articles of saddlery ware—by mr. Thomas Bennett, of Lan-

caster in this state, who conducts this branch on a large scale. Locksmiths' work and cutlery are executed by many ingenious workmen, in different parts of the union, particularly in this state.

‡ 2,400 dollars, per annum, are paid for rags, to supply the paper-mills in Connecticut: and there are annually manufactured in that state, above 5,000 reams of paper, besides pasteboard, presspapers, &c. the value of which is upwards of 9,000 dollars. (See the museum for January, 1790, page 24.)

kind, in other parts of the continent: valuable European works are frequently re-printed in America: and Mr. Thomas Dobson, of Philadelphia, is now engaged in re-printing the Encyclopædia, upon an improved plan, from the last British edition of that extensive work—The *execution of the undertaking, hitherto, is in such a stile, as fully merits the liberal patronage it has obtained from a discerning public. There are actually at press in different parts of the union no less than five or six editions of the bible—one by Messrs. Hodge, Alien, and Campbell, of New York—one by Mr. Collins, of Trenton—one (it is said) by Mr. Thomas, a most excellent printer, at Worcester, Massachusetts, whose performances reflect credit on his profession, as well as on himself, and have deservedly gained him the character of the American Baskerville—one by Mr. Young of this city—and one by the printers of the museum.

Paper-hangings, equal in quality and cheapness to any imported, are manufactured in large quantities by Mr. William Poyntell and Messieurs Le Collay and Chardon, at Philadelphia; by Messieurs Mackay and Dixey, at Springfield in New Jersey; and at other places in the union.

A great progress has been made in the manufacture of hosiery, in this country; and, with proper encouragement, much more may be accomplished in that branch. Mr. Burnaby (in his travels through the middle settlements of North America, in the years 1759 and 1760) notices the high estimation in which the Germantown stockings were then held: and this gentleman mentions his having been credibly informed, that two years before that period, there were manufactured, in that town, sixty thousand dozen pair; the common retail price of which was a dol-

NOTE.

* The paper is of American manufacture—the types were cast by Messrs. Baine, of Philadelphia—and the plates are engraved by Mr. Robert Scot, also of this city.

lar per pair. This, however, is conceived to be a mistake—It is probable, that six thousand dozen pair was meant, as a redundant cypher (perhaps an error of the press) makes the difference. Admitting this to be the case—and supposing that stockings of such a quality, manufactured abroad, would have cost the importer six shillings and three pence, or five-sixths of a dollar per pair; the actual saving to the country by that number, amounted to 60,000 dollars. Besides this, a number of valuable citizens were supported by the manufacture, and the raw material were supplied from our own farms. The writer of this paper does not know what quantity of hosiery is annually made at Germantown: but great improvements are daily making there, in this manufacture—worsted, cotton, and thread stockings, of an excellent quality and fabric, may be purchased at that place (and twice a week at the market-house in this city) at very reasonable prices.

Wool and cotton cards, of American manufacture, now wholly supply the consumption of the country—they are not only superior in quality to the British but * cheaper. The principal manufacturers of this article are Messrs. Nathan and David Sellers, and Messrs. Westcott and Adgate, of Philadelphia and Messrs. Giles Richards and Co. of Boston.

Our farmers are directing their attention to dairies: and we are now furnished with large supplies of excellent American cheese.

The establishment of * glass-houses would prove so beneficial to the under-

NOTES.

* Wool cards have been exported from this country to Great Britain and our manufacturers of this article have underfold the English in their own country. (See the museum for January 1790, page 24.)

* Prior to the year 1746, Ireland imported glass from other countries. At length, the Irish began to make some progress in this manufacture; and, in 1781, they first began to export glass

takers, in many situations within the united states—that a very few years will probably place them among our most considerable manufactories.

The great and increasing consumption of window-glass and bottles, in this country, should operate as a powerful motive for encouraging the glass-manufactories already established in some of these states, and for promoting the speedy establishment of similar works in other parts of the union.—The glass manufactory on the Patowmack, it is said, gives employment to five hundred persons.

The printing of callicoës, cottons, and linens, may be expected to increase in proportion as we extend the manufactures of those articles: and the muslins and white callicoës imported from India, will likewise give employment to our callico printers. Mr. John Hewson and Mr. Robert Taylor, both in the neighbourhood of this city, are masterly workmen in this branch: the former obtained a premium from the manufacturing society, for the best specimens of printed goods.

In the state of Pennsylvania there are twenty-one powder-mills, capable of making six hundred and twenty-five tons of powder, per annum. This is retailed at five dollars per quarter, of 25lbs; and is offered for sale in larger quantities, under sixteen dollars per cwt. The English price, after deducting the bounty of $4/6$, is $75/6$ sterling; or, about sixteen dollars and seventy-eight cents, per cwt. Independently of the importance of this article, as a means of national defence, the manufacture of it in this state is worth two hundred thousand dollars per annum. It is said, that the largest gunpowder works existing any where, are those at Frankford near Philadelphia—now the property of Mr. Joseph J. Miller. The mill work is constructed on the model of Mr. Rumsey's improvement of Barker's mill; Mr. Miller having purchased a licence from the patentee.

So much is done by the sugar-refineries at Philadelphia, that although the medium of the annual import of

brown sugar, into this port, is 5,692,848 lbs. the amount of loaf sugar † imported here is only 4,480lbs. This business is also carried on, at other places in the union.

The annual amount of melasses, imported at Philadelphia, averages about 543,000 gallons; a great proportion of which is converted into spirits, in our distilleries: but, in the eastern states, this manufactory is much more extensive; insomuch that the* New England rum is a considerable article of the American commerce. It is not to be expected, that the use of ardent spirits will ever be entirely dispensed with; and, therefore, so long as we continue to import great quantities of West India rum and of brandies for our own consumption, we may wish success to our distilleries.

The culture and manufacture of silk are yet in their infancy, with us. In Connecticut, indeed, this valuable article has obtained a respectable footing; through the skill and perseverance of Mr. Nathaniel Aspinwall (who may be truly stiled the promoter of the silk-culture in that state) and under the patronage of the venerable and public-spirited Dr. Stiles. The writer of this article has

NOTES.

† From the 18th of March 1784, to the 17th of March 1785, there were imported to Philadelphia 8,406,000lbs. of brown sugar, and 58,675lbs. of loaf sugar. Of the former, were exported 667,687lbs; and, of the latter, 19,800lbs. The import of brown sugar to Philadelphia, from the 1st of November 1786, to 31st of October 1787 (inclusive) amounted to 5,616,000lbs; and of loaf sugar, but 2,362lbs—434,762lbs. of the brown sugar were exported. In the year 1787, 63,752lbs. of loaf sugar were exported from the port of Boston. The progress that is making in the manufacture of maple sugar, will greatly lessen the demand for foreign sugars.

* The New England rum exported from Boston, in the year 1787, is estimated at 223,380 dollars.

observed, with pleasure, the laudable endeavours of Mr. Aspinwall, to promote the culture of silk in Pennsylvania and New Jersey: this indefatigable person has propagated many thousands of the Italian white mulberry-tree, in the vicinity of this city: and there is good reason to expect, that, in a few years hence, the citizens of this state will derive ample profit from his labours. The mulberry tree, independently of its furnishing the best food for the silk worm—is a valuable timber for ship-building; and, had it no other advantage, would, on that account alone, be worth cultivation: it does not impoverish the soil; and its fruit is desirable on a farm, for poultry and hogs. When the citizens of the southern states, shall conceive a proper idea of the immense emoluments, which they may derive from the culture of silk, in their climate, their interests will undoubtedly impel them to the attainment of advantages so obvious, and so easily acquired.

The article of flour may be considered as a manufacture; and, though among the last noticed, it is, perhaps, one of the most important, even in that point of view. The exports of flour from the port of Philadelphia, for the last four years, amounted to 941,000 barrels; of which quantity, 369,000 barrels were exported in the last year.

The other manufactures which have been enumerated, besides many not particularised, are conducted extensively—employ numerous hands—and save large sums to the nation. There are great numbers of excellent and ingenious* artisans, distributed throughout the union: and it ought to be the pride of

NOTES.

* Among others, I cannot omit mentioning two ingenious artisans, of this city, who merit encouragement: for, although the value of the work executed by them, in their respective branches of business, cannot amount to a great deal: yet, if the demand for their manufactures should increase, they will be enabled to bring up apprentices

every American, (as it is certainly his interest) to give a liberal preference to the fabrics and manufactures of his own country. It would prove a vast source of national wealth, in a country possessed of so many advantages and auxiliary resources.

To the increase and improvement of our manufactures, the favourable turn, which the commerce of this country with foreign nations has taken, within a very few years past, may, in a considerable degree, be attributed. The imports from Great Britain alone, into those provinces which now constitute the united states, averaged, during the term of eleven years before the revolution, (viz. from Christmas 1762, to Christmas 1773) 10,792,906 dollars and sixty-six cents, per annum: and the exports from the same provinces to Great Britain, during the same term, averaged, annually, only 5,562,004 dollars and forty-four cents; leaving a balance against this country, upon that trade, of 5,230,902 dollars and twenty-two cents, per annum. In the debates of the house of representatives, on the 15th instant, Mr. Madison stated the whole of our annual imports from Europe, at 13,506,666 $\frac{2}{3}$ dollars; and from the West Indies, at 4,121,946 $\frac{2}{3}$ dollars; making in the whole, 17,628,613 $\frac{1}{3}$ dollars. The exports from the united states to Europe, he estimated at 14,233,101 $\frac{1}{3}$ dollars; and those

NOTE.

to their trades, and by that means, extend the business.—Mr. John M'Alister, whip and cane maker, manufactures large quantities of these articles—superior in taste and workmanship, and inferior in price, to those imported from Europe—His whips are plaited by a machine of his own invention, or, at least, greatly improved by him, in the construction: and both whips and cane are completely finished in his factory. Mr. William Healy, silver plater, is a masterly workman in his branch of business; and his plated work is much more substantial than that which is usually imported.

to the West Indies, at 4,184,675 $\frac{1}{2}$ dollars; amounting, together, to 18,417,776 dollars and a fraction: which leaves a balance of 789,163 dollars, in our favour.

It appeared in evidence, before the British house of commons, in the year 1775, that, in the year 1764, the four New England provinces employ'd, in their several fisheries, no less than 45,880 tons of shipping, and 6002 mariners; and, that the produce of their fisheries in the foreign markets, for that year, amounted to £.322,220 sterling*—also, that those fisheries had increased after that period. It was likewise in evidence before that body, in the year 1784, that, before the war, there was a balance of £.300,000 sterling on the West India trade, in favour of the Americans: for, the annual average value of exports from North America to the islands, as estimated at the port of importation—freight included—was stated at £.720,000; while our imports from thence, freight included, were said to be only £.420,000 sterling. Admitting, however, that both of these estimates were just, (although the statement of the American profits on their West India trade, appears greatly over-rated; which was the opinion of several respectable witnesses, who gave their testimony to the British parliament, on the same occasion) we will assume the aggregate of

those profits, as the amount of the balance that arose prior to the war, on the whole foreign commerce of this country, exclusive of its trade with Great Britain: or, in case this should not be thought a sufficient allowance, let us add, £.57,294 sterling, for the profit on our trade with Portugal, &c. And then deduct all these profits (or supposed profits) from the balance formerly against us, on the trade to Great Britain—yet, even in this case, there appears to have been a balance against us, on our whole trade, before the revolution, of about £.497,438 sterling; equal to about 2,210,837 dollars. If, therefore, our European and West India trade now yield a balance, in our favour, of 789,163 dollars (as is asserted, on so respectable an authority as mr. Madison) the difference in favour of our present commerce to those countries, is 3,000,000 of dollars per annum, compared with its state at the former period†. From christmas 1783, to christmas 1784, the imports into the united states from Great Britain, amounted to 16,213,382 dollars; and our exports, thither, were estimated at no more than 3,285,998 dollars; so that there stood, against this country, the enormous balance of 12,927,474 dollars! In the succeeding year, the imports from Great Britain were lessened 5,955,496 $\frac{1}{2}$ dollars; and the exports increased 685,628 $\frac{1}{2}$ dollars: con-

NOTE.

* The fish of all kinds exported from the port of Boston, in the year 1787, amounted, in value, to 642,469 dollars; of which sum, 595,809 dollars were the amount of the shipments to foreign ports. The oil exported from Boston to foreign ports, in that year, is estimated at 150,306 2-3 dollars—The whalebone, in like manner, at 21,933 1-3 dollars, and the spermaceti candles, at 14,200 dollars—Hence it appears that the produce of the New England fisheries exported from Boston only, to foreign markets (in the year 1787), amounted to the value of 782,249 dollars.

NOTE.

† Independently of our commerce with Europe and the West Indies, we now employ a considerable number of large ships in the East-India trade. As we are now enabled to import, directly from Asia, those commodities, which, before the revolution, we were obliged to procure at second-hand (and throughout the medium of monopolizing companies) from Europe; this trade must necessarily be an advantageous one to the united states: for, the most considerable articles imported from the East Indies have, by long use, become in some measure necessaries of life.

frequently the adverse balance of the trade with Great Britain, in the year 1785, was less, by 6,641,125 dollars, than in the preceding year. At present, the commerce of the united states is in a flourishing condition. Even an* inconsiderable balance in our favour will soon enrich the country, provided proper measures be adopted to promote a brisk circulation of money, in our internal negotiations; as by this means

NOTE.

* It deserves to be noticed, that notwithstanding the commerce of Great Britain is said to have never been in a more prosperous situation, than since the peace—yet there was a balance against that nation, in the year 1784, of £311,727 sterling; and, in the three following years, the medium of the annual balance in her favour was only £500,183 sterling. In all the former years, up to the year 1700 (excepting 1781) the balance, in favour of that nation, has never been below a million sterling; and, generally, between that sum and six millions. The quick circulation of money in that kingdom, occasioned by their extensive manufactories, great internal trade, and the regular payment of the interest on their public debt, contributes greatly to their national wealth. Sir Josiah Child observes, in his discourse on trade (written about the year 1678) that if the navy debt, &c. were all paid, and if for the future, all the public creditors were to be paid with punctuality—it would much increase the stock of the nation in trade: “such fatal stops,” says he, “being to the body politic, like great obstructions of the liver and spleen to the body natural, which not only produce ill habits, but sometimes desperate and acute diseases, as well as chronicl.”

It may be proper to acquaint the reader, that most of the calculations in this paper, relative to the British imports, exports, &c. are deduced from estimates given by Anderson, in his history of commerce, a work replete with important information on that subject.

industry will be enlivened, and all the wheels of the great commercial machine will be put in motion.

The natural riches and resources of this country are, by their own energy, forcing themselves into operation; and, if we continue, by unremitting exertions of industry and economy, to draw forth the means of wealth, which, as a nation, we possess, the united states cannot fail of becoming a great and prosperous empire.

Agriculture, the great basis of commerce, is cultivated by many men, of liberal and enlarged minds, who are introducing among our farmers improved methods of husbandry. The farmer and the manufacturer, besides advancing each other's interest, will jointly promote that of the merchant—for, although our imports may be diminished, the exports will increase; and an extensive trade will be cultivated between the several states, for an interchange of their various goods, products, and manufactures: and this intercourse will have a powerful and happy effect, in cementing more strongly the several parts that compose this great republic. When all these interests are properly combined—and an uniform system for the regulation of our commerce and the* protection of our manufactures, shall have been organised by the general government—then will many of the yet dormant resources of this great country be brought forward, and its means of wealth be rendered efficient.

Philadelphia, May 21, 1790:

NOTE.

* A judicious imposition of protecting duties, would greatly assist, in promoting the success of many of our manufactories; and perhaps the appropriation of bounties, in some instances, might prove very beneficial.

•••••

An effectual cure for the influenza.

COVER four or five eggs with vinegar or lime juice—and let them remain until the shells be dissolved. Then mix with them with honey, brandy, and sweet oil, of each half a pint. Take a table spoonful every three or four hours.

Letter from Tench Coxe, esq. one of the commissioners from the state of Pennsylvania, at the Annapolis convention, in September 1786, to the commissioners from the state of Virginia.

Gentlemen,

PRIOR to the receipt of the act of Virginia, leading to a general convention of the states, the government of Pennsylvania had in contemplation the assimilation of those commercial systems, which have been adopted, for a time, by the several states. Though difference of circumstances has led to dissimilar regulations, it was thought, that none should be adopted, which might be found to militate against the fundamental and essential principles of the union. In examining the laws of trade, in several of the states, the following facts were found to exist :

1st. That the duty of tonnage, on vessels built in or belonging to the citizens of the other states, is greater than that imposed on vessels belonging to the citizens of the state enacting the law—and equal, in some instances, to the tonnage laid upon most of the foreign nations that have a commercial intercourse with America.

2dly. That the duties imposed upon goods imported in vessels built in or belonging to other parts of the union, are greater than those laid on goods imported in vessels belonging to the enacting state.

3dly. That goods, of the growth, produce, and manufacture of the other states in the union, are charged with high duties upon importation into the enacting state—as great, in many instances, as those imposed on foreign articles of the same kinds.

To procure an alteration of these matters, evidently opposed to the great principles and spirit of the union, the state

Pennsylvania empowered her commissioners to the general convention, to treat with certain commissioners, appointed by the legislature of Maryland, and with others, who, it was understood, could be appointed by the state of Virginia. As you do not conceive your-

selves authorized to enter upon any discussion of this business, I have thought it my duty to make this communication, and to request that you will do me the honour of reporting it to your legislature.

Having pointed out the circumstances in the commercial laws of the other states, which appear to our government to require re-consideration, it will be necessary to inform you how the laws of Pennsylvania stand in these particulars. They declare as follows :

1st. That all vessels, belonging to citizens of the united states, whether Pennsylvanians or others, shall pay the same duty of tonnage: and they do not discriminate against ships belonging to the other states, in any charge whatever.

2dly. They impose the same duties, on goods imported in ships belonging to the citizens of Pennsylvania, as are laid upon goods imported in ships belonging to citizens of other states in the union.

3dly. They exempt entirely from import all goods, wares, and merchandise of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the united states.

It is easy to see, that the legislature of Pennsylvania was influenced to this kind of conduct, by a regard for the general commerce of the nation, and that federal considerations have led them to extend their care to that great object, without any discrimination in favour of their own citizens.

The communication of these circumstances, not heretofore sufficiently known, and a due consideration of them, will, it is hoped, be attended with the best consequences: and as the proceedings of the general convention must necessarily require considerable time, Pennsylvania, I trust, may confidently expect, that a state of so much wisdom, and of views so enlarged as the commonwealth of Virginia, will concur without delay in measures, which, by blending the interests, must cement the union of the states.

I have the the honour of being, with the most respectful consideration,

gentlemen, your obedient servant,
(Signed) TENCH COXE,
commissioner for the state of Penn-
sylvania.

Annapolis the 13th September 1786.

Edmund Randolph, }
James Madison, junr. } commissioners
and George Tucker, } for the state of
esquires. } Virginia.



Hartford, March 12, 1790.

TO THE PRINTERS.

Gentlemen,

A Correspondent in your museum for February, wishes to know whether Mr. Belknap purposes to prosecute his history of New-Hampshire. I can inform him that materials are prepared for a second volume; but the writer met with such ill success in the sale of the first volume, that he dares not venture the publication of the second. A great part of the first volume now lies mouldering in sheets, although but one thousand copies were printed, and altho' I am bold in asserting that it is written in a stile and manner more purely classical and historical, than any other work that has appeared in America, under the title of history. I mention with regret a circumstance so fatal to American literature: and beg leave in turn to query, why the American poets, some of whom have published works of uncommon merit, and others, who have only retained a few scraps, should be frequently celebrated and applauded, while a most judicious historian is suffered to be forgotten?

W.



To the Editors of the Museum.

The annexed table of the number of Births and deaths, in the German Lu-

theran congregation of this city, is accurately made. If you think it worthy of insertion in your valuable repository, it is at your service,

I am, gentlemen, your humble servt.

W. B.

		Births	Deaths.
In 1774 till	1775	379	156
From 1775 till	1776	338	175
	1776	389	124
	1777	298	169
	1778	303	178
	1779	348	180
	1780	320	158
	1781	323	162
	1782	398	219
	1783	389	211
	1784	426	151
	1785	420	157
	1786	419	150
	1787	425	178
	1788	421	151
	1789	403	167

5999 2704



Statement of the export of flour from the port of Philadelphia, from January 1, to March 31, 1790.

	bls.	half bls
To Great Britain	9,036	790
Ireland	1,456	119
Spain	10,058	1011
Teneriffe	1,290	220
Portugal	8,419	630
Madeira	590	
B. West Indies	2,027	60
F. West Indies	4,079	327
S. West Indies	258	
Dutch West Indies	2,036	134
Danish do.	1,017	147
United states	1,850	317
	42,116	3750



SELECTED PROSE.

To the honourable the MEMBERS of the LEGISLATURE of PENNSYLVANIA.

The following NOTES, on the subject of that commonwealth, are most respectfully inscribed, by

A CITIZEN of PENNSYLVANIA.

The state of Pennsylvania is an oblong, of about one hundred and fifty-six miles wide from north to south by about two hundred and ninety mile in length from east to west. On the east of it lies the Delaware river, dividing it from West Jersey and New

York; on the north New York, and a territory of about a million and a half of acres on lake Erie, which Pennsylvania purchased of congress. On the north west lies lake Erie, on which it has a considerable front and a good port. On the west are the new lands of congress, called the western territory, and a part of Virginia. On the south lie another part of Virginia, Maryland, and the state of Delaware. The contents of Pennsylvania proper, are about twenty-nine million acres, but, including the lake Erie territory, it exceeds thirty million. It lies between $39^{\circ} 43''$ and 42° of north latitude. The bay and river of Delaware are navigable from the sea up to the great falls at Trenton, and have a light-house, buoys, and beacons, for the direction and safety of ships. On this river are the small towns of Chester and Bristol, and the city of Philadelphia, which is the capital of the state, and the largest and most populous sea-port and manufacturing town in the united states. The distance of this city from the sea is about sixty miles across the land to the New Jersey coast, and one hundred and twenty miles by the ship-channel of the Delaware. A seventy gun ship may lie before the town, and at many of the wharves, which occupy the whole east front of the city for near two miles, affording every vessel an opportunity of unloading and lading without the expense of lighterage. Rafts of timber, plank, boards and staves, with other articles upon them, can be brought down the Delaware from the county of Montgomery, in New York, two hundred miles above the city, by the course of the river. Some money was expended by the government and landholders in improving the navigation up towards the source, before the revolution: and there has been a survey lately begun, for the purpose of proceeding in the improvement of this and other principal rivers of Pennsylvania, and for making communications by canals in the improved part, and by roads in the unimproved part, of the state. The Pennsylvanians are much inclined to such

enterprises, having found great benefit from them. On the completion of the present plan, the state will be as conveniently intersected by roads as any other of its size in the union, which will greatly facilitate the settlement of its new lands. A slight view of the map of Pennsylvania, in the honourable mr. Jefferson's notes on Virginia, or the rev. mr. Morse's geography, will shew how advantageously this state is watered by the Delaware and its branches, the Schuylkill, the Juniata, the Susquehanna and its branches, the Ohio, Allegeny, Youghiogeny, and Monongahela. The Patowmack and lake Erie also afford prospects of considerable benefit from their navigation. Nature has done much for Pennsylvania in regard to inland water carriage, which is strikingly exemplified by this fact, that although Philadelphia and lake Erie are distant from each other above three hundred miles, there is no doubt that the rivers of the state may be so improved, as to reduce the land carriage between them nine tenths. In the same way the navigation to Pittsburg, after due improvement, may be used instead of land carriage for the whole distance, except twenty-three miles—By these routes it is clear, that a large proportion of the foreign articles, used on the western waters, must be transported; and that their furs, skins, ginseng, hemp, flax, pot-ash, and other valuable commodities, may be brought to Philadelphia. The hemp and oak timber for the Russian navy is transported by inland navigation one thousand two hundred miles: and yet hemp is shipped from that kingdom on lower terms than from any other part of the known world. Russia, for some time after the settlement of Pennsylvania by civilized and enlightened people, was in a state of absolute barbarism, and destitute of these improvements. Much therefore is to be expected from the continued exertions of the prudent, industrious, and sensible inhabitants of Pennsylvania, in the course of the present century.

A considerable part of the lands of

this state remains for sale by the public. They are usually paid for in the funded public debts, which are at all times to be bought in the market. With all the charges upon them; to the completion of the title, they will cost the purchaser from one fifth to one third of a Mexican dollar per acre, according to the price of stock or the debts, and the lands he inclines to buy. The ready money is necessary in these cases, because the state does not sell on credit. Purchases, however, can be always made, partly or wholly on credit, from private persons, who take mortgages on the lands they sell to emigrants, and indulge them with a very easy credit. In these cases, the price is higher of course. The Pennsylvanians having no disputes with the Indians about boundaries, and all the lands within the state having been purchased at a fair and open treaty, and there being some settlements westward of Pennsylvania on the new lands of congress, we have little apprehensions from the Indians any where: and in most of our new country there is no danger at all.

Good lands, in the old counties of this state, sell generally at a certain sum for a farm, including the buildings. This, before the war, was, in most of the thick settled counties within a smart day's ride of Philadelphia, from four pounds ten shillings sterling, to thirty-six shillings per acre, according to the quality, unless in situations very near the city or some town, or in cases of very valuable buildings, mills, taverns, or situations for country trade. In one or two counties, remarkable for the richness of the lands, they sold higher, sometimes considerably. Farms cannot now be sold for as good prices or good payments as could then be obtained, owing to the quantity of new lands for sale by this and several other states, and by congress; and owing to several new and profitable uses for money, which did not exist before the revolution. Some poor lands in the old counties sell for still lower prices.

The produce, manufactures, and ex-

ports of Pennsylvania are very many and various; viz. wheat, flour, middlings, ship-stuff, bran, shorts, ship-bread, white water biscuit, rye, rye flour, Indian corn or maize, Indian meal, buckwheat, buckwheat meal, bar and pig iron, steel, nail rods, nails, iron hoops, rolled iron tire, gun-powder, cannon ball, iron cannon, muskets, ships, boats, oars, handspikes, masts, spars, ship-timber, ship-blocks, cordage, square timber, scantling, plank, boards, staves, heading, shingles, wooden hoops, tanners' bark, corn-fans, coopers' wares, bricks, coarse earthen or potters' ware, a very little stone-ware, glue, parchment, shoes, boots, seal-leather, upper leather, dressed deer and sheep skins, and gloves and garments thereof, fine hats, many common, and a few coarse; thread, cotton, worsted, and yarn hosiery; writing, wrapping, blotting, sheathing and hanging paper; stationary, playing cards, pasteboards, books; wares of brass, pewter, lead, tinsplate, copper, silver and gold; clocks, and watches, musical instruments, snuff, manufactured tobacco, chocolate, mustard-seed and mustard, flaxseed, flaxseed oil, flax, hemp, wool, wool and cotton-cards, pickled beef, pork, shad, herrings, tongues and sturgeon, hams and other bacon, tallow, hogs' lard, butter, cheese, candles; soap, bees wax, loaf-sugar, pot and pearl ashes, rum and other strong waters, beer, porter, hops, winter and summer-barley, oats, spelts, onions, potatoes, turnips, cabbages, carrots, parsnips, red and white clover, timothy, and most European vegetables and grasses, apples, peaches, plumbs, pears, and apricots, grapes, both native and imported, and other European fruits, working and pleasurable carriages; horses, black cattle, sheep, hogs, wood for cabinet-makers, lime-stone, coal, free-stone and marble.

Some of these productions are fine, some indifferent. Some of the manufactures are considerable, for a young country, circumstanced as this has been; some inconsiderable: but they are enumerated, to shew the general nature of the state, and the various pursuits of

the inhabitants. In addition to them we may mention, that a lead-mine and two or three salt-springs have been discovered in our new country, which will no doubt be worked, as soon as the demand for lead and salt to the westward increases. We ought also to notice our great forests for making pot and pearl ashes.

The manufactures of Pennsylvania have increased exceedingly within a few years, as well by master-workmen and journeymen from abroad, as by the increased skill and industry of our own citizens. Household or family manufactures have greatly advanced; and valuable acquisitions have been made of implements and machinery to save labour, either imported, or invented in the united states. The hand-machines for carding and spinning cotton, have been introduced by foreigners, and improved upon: but we have lately obtained the water mill for spinning cotton, and a water mill for flax, which is applicable also to spinning hemp and wool. These machines promise us an early establishment of the cotton, linen, and hempen branches, and must be of very great service in the woolen branch. Additional employment for weavers, dyers, bleachers, and other manufacturers must be the consequence. Paper-mills, gunpowder mills, steel works, rolling and slitting mills, printing figured goods of paper, linen, and cotton, coach making, book printing, and several other branches, are wonderfully advanced: and every month seems to extend our old manufactures, or to introduce new ones.

The advancement of the agriculture of Pennsylvania is the best proof that can be given of the comfort and happiness it affords to its farming, manufacturing, and trading citizens. In the year 1786, our exports of flour were one hundred and fifty thousand barrels: in 1787, they were two hundred and two thousand barrels: in 1788, they were two hundred and twenty thousand barrels: and in 1789 they were three hundred and sixty-nine thousand barrels: which exceed any exports

ever made in the times of the province or in the times of the commonwealth. The produce of flax is increased in a much greater degree: and that of wool is considerably more than it was before the revolution. A new article is likely to be added to the list of our productions, which is a well-tasted and wholesome sugar, made of the maple tree. It has been proved, by many fair and careful experiments; that it is in the power of a substantial farmer who has a family about him, easily to make twelve hundred weight of this sugar every season, without hiring any additional hands, or any utensils, but those that are necessary for his family and farm use. The time, in which it can be made, is from the middle of February to the end of March, when farmers in this country have very little to do, as it is too early to plough or dig. The price of sugar being lower here than in Europe, this article may be reckoned at one hundred Mexican dollars per annum to every careful and skilful farmer, who owns land bearing the sugar maple. Of these there are some millions of acres in Pennsylvania and the adjacent states, and at least one or two millions belonging to this state, for sale, upon the terms mentioned in the preceding part of this paper. It seems also highly probable, that this valuable tree may be transplanted, and thus be obtained by almost any farmer in the state; and that men of property, who will purchase kettles, and hire hands for the above short period, may make larger quantities.

The situation of religion and religious rights and liberty in Pennsylvania is a matter, that deserves the attention of all sober and well-disposed people, who may have thoughts of this country. This state always afforded an asylum to the persecuted sects of Europe. No church or society ever was established here; no tythes or tenths can be demanded: and though some regulations of the crown of England excluded two churches from a share in our government, in the times of the province, that is now done away with

regard to every religious society whatever, except the Hebrew church. But at this time a convention of special representatives of the citizens of Pennsylvania have under consideration all the errors which have inadvertently crept into our constitution and frame of government: and in the act which they have published for the examination of the people, they have rejected the half-way doctrine of toleration, and have established upon firm and perfectly-equal ground, all denominations of religious men. By the provisions of the new code, a protestant, a Roman catholic, and a Hebrew, may elect or be elected to any office in the state, and pursue any lawful calling, occupation, or profession. The constitution of general government of the united states also guarantees this inestimable and sacred right—and it is surely a sacred right; for it belongs to the deity to be worshipped according to the free-will and consciences of his creatures.

We lay no difficulty in the way of any person, who desires to become a free and equal citizen. On the day of his landing, he may buy a farm, a house, merchandise, or raw materials; he may open a work-shop, a counting-house, an office, or any other place of lawful business, and pursue his calling, without any hindrance from corporation rules or monopolising companies, or the payment of any sum of money to the public. The right of electing and being elected (which does not affect his business or his safety) is not granted till the expiration of two years; which prudence requires.

A privilege, almost peculiar to this state, has been granted to foreigners by the legislature of Pennsylvania, that of buying and holding lands and houses within this commonwealth, without relinquishing their allegiance to the country in which they were born. They can sell or bequeath the lands, receive the rents, and, in short, have every territorial and pecuniary right, that a natural-born Pennsylvanian has; but no civil rights. As they profess to owe allegiance to a foreign prince or

government, and reside in a foreign country, where they of course have civil rights, they cannot claim them, nor ought they to desire them here; since no man can serve two masters. If they choose, at any time after the purchase to come out to this country, and make themselves citizens—or if they choose to give their estates to their children or other persons who will do so, any of them may become citizens to all intents and purposes. This indulgence to purchase is granted for three years from January 1789: and all land bought by foreigners before January 1792, may be held forever on those terms. Whether a right to make purchases upon those terms will be allowed to foreigners, after that time, is uncertain, and will entirely depend upon the opinion of our then legislature, as to the safety or utility of it.

Useful knowledge and science have been favourite objects of attention here. We have an university, three colleges, and four or five public academies, besides many private academies and free schools, in the city and several of the county towns of this state. Considerable grants of monies, rent charges and particularly of new lands, have been made for this purpose by our legislature, and very liberal private subscriptions have been added at various times. Though our government and citizens have been always attentive to the important object of useful and liberal knowledge, yet an increased regard for learning has been manifested since the revolution. Rising from a provincial to an independent situation, appears, and very naturally, to have expanded our ideas, and to have given an enhanced value to improvements of the human mind.

Among the natural advantages of Pennsylvania, her almost innumerable mill-seats ought not to be omitted. They are conveniently distributed by providence throughout the state, and afford the means of establishing every species of mill-work and labour-saving machines, to meet the produce and raw materials almost at the farm

ers' doors. In the present situation of this country, wanting hands for farming, and in the present state of manufactures, when ingenious mechanism is every day and every where invented, to lessen the necessity for manual labour, this natural advantage must appear of inestimable importance. Hemp and flax are among the most profitable productions of our rich midland and new counties, the cream of which is yet to be skimmed. It is therefore a most pleasing fact, that we have in the late the full-sized and complete movements or works of a water-mill and machinery, to fliver, rove, and spin lax and hemp into threads or yarns, fit for linen of 30 cuts to the pound, or any other coarser kind, sheetings, owelling, sail-cloth, oznabrigs, twine, and the strands or yarns for cordage. The same machinery is calculated for the roving or preparing, and spinning combed wool into worsted yarn. We have also the movements and complete machinery of sir Richard Arkwright's water-mill for spinning yarns of cotton. And though the climate of this late is not fit for cultivating that raw material; yet cotton can be raised with profit in every state in our union southward of Pennsylvania, and imported from the East and West Indies.

It is certain, that this extraordinary capacity of our country for mechanical works has either called forth in an unusual degree, the mechanical powers of the human mind, or that providence has bestowed upon the people of this and our sister states an uncommon portion of that talent, which its nature and situation require. Our Rittenhouse and Franklin stand unrivalled in mechanical philosophy: and those, who now our country, are well informed, that to these two great names we could add a considerable list of philosophical and practical mechanics, in a variety of branches.

So many of the necessary and convenient arts and trades depend upon the plenty and cheapness of fuel, that it appears proper to take notice of this article. Till the revolution, our depen-

dence was almost entirely upon wood fuel, of which, in the most populous places, we have still a great abundance, and in all interior situations immense quantities: but the increase of manufactures has occasioned us to turn our attention to coal. Of this useful fossil, providence has given us very great quantities, in our middle and western country. The vicinity of Wyoming, on the Susquehanna, is one bed of coal, of the open-burning kind, and of the most intense heat. On the head-waters of Schuylkill are some considerable bodies. At the head of the western branch of Susquehanna is a most extensive body, which stretches over the country south-westerly, so as to be found in the greatest plenty at Pittsburg, where the Allegeny and Youghiogeny unite, and form the head of the Ohio. All our coal has hitherto been accidentally found on the surface of the earth, or discovered in the digging of common cellars or wells: so that when our wood-fuel shall become scarce, and the European methods of boring shall be skilfully pursued, there can be no doubt of our finding it in many other places. At present, the ballasting of ships from coal countries abroad, and the coal mines in Virginia, which lie convenient to ship-navigation, occasion a good deal of coal to be brought to the Philadelphia market. From this great abundance and variety of fuel, it results, that Pennsylvania, and the united states in general, are well suited to all manufactories which are effected by fire, such as furnaces, founderies, forges, glass-houses, breweries, distilleries, steelworks, smiths' shops, and all other manufactories in metal, soap-boiling, chandlers' shops, pot ash works, sugar and other refineries, &c. &c.

Ship-building is a business in which the port of Philadelphia exceeds most parts of the world. Masts, spars, timber, and plank, not only from our own state and the other states on the Delaware, are constantly for sale in our market: but the mulberry of the Chesapeake, and the ever-green or live oak, and red cedar of the Carolinas and Geor-

gia, are so abundantly imported, that nine-tenths of our vessels are built of them. No vessels are better than these: and in proof of it, English writers of rank might be quoted, who have published for and against us. A live oak and cedar ship of two hundred tons, carpenter's measurement, can be fitted to take in a cargo for fourteen pounds currency per ton: and there is not a port in Europe, in which an oak ship can be equally well built and fitted for twenty pounds per ton in our money, or twelve pounds sterling. This fact may appear doubtful or extraordinary: but it is certainly true: and it is greatly in favour of our ship carpenters and other tradesmen employed in fitting and building ships, as well as our merchants and farmers, whose interests are so much connected with navigation.

The distance of Philadelphia from the sea, has been made an objection by some, and the closing of our river by the ice, which happens almost every winter. Amsterdam, the greatest port in Europe, is inaccessible in the winter. But it is a fact, that, notwithstanding these objections, our vessels make as many West India voyages as those of the two other principal sea ports of the middle states: and though the river is frozen from three to nine weeks almost every winter, yet there are occasional openings, which give opportunities for fleets of merchantmen to go out and come in. The fine corn and provision country, which lies near Philadelphia, enables the merchants to load their vessels in the winter: and the market is regularly supplied with flour, pork, beef, lumber, staves, iron, and many other of our principal articles of exportation. Little time is therefore lost: and we find that our trade increases. The crop of 1789, and other exports from the harvest of that year to that of 1790, it is supposed, will load one hundred and twenty thousand tons of shipping. We have a very extensive back country; and many large bodies of new land, which must send their produce to the Philadelphia market, are settling fast.

The population of Pennsylvania, by the last accounts taken, was three hundred and sixty thousand men, women and children: but, as some years have since elapsed, it is supposed it will not fall much short of four hundred thousand when the present enumeration shall be completed.

No country in Europe has paid off so much of her public debt, since the late general war, as this state, notwithstanding the past disorders and difficulties of the united states, arising from the weakness of our late general government, and the shocks of an invasive war. She has paid off and sunk a sum equal to her full share of the interest and considerable part of the principal of her state and federal debts. Yet she has laid no excise or internal duty, but eight pence currency upon spiritous liquors; and has several millions of acres of land yet unfold.

The inhabitants of Pennsylvania are principally descendents of English, Irish, and Germans, with some Scotch, Welsh, Swedes, and a few Dutch. There are also many of the Irish and Germans, who emigrated when young or in the middle time of life: and there is a number of each of those two nations now in legislative, executive, and judicial stations among us. It has ever been the policy of our government, before and since the revolution, and the disposition of our people, to receive a sober emigrants with open arms, and to give them immediately the free exercise of their trades and occupations, and of their religion.

Such is the present situation of things in Pennsylvania, which is more or less the same in several other of the American states, viz, New York, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia: but though not so in the rest, the principal difference is, that they are so fully peopled that there are no new lands of any value unfold; and farming lands, which are improved, are of course dearer than with us. In those states, however, agriculture, commerce, manufactures, the fisheries, and navigation, afford comfortable subsistence and ample reward

f profit to the industrious and well disposed, amidst the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

Before this paper be concluded, it may be useful to recapitulate the various productions and exports of the united states, which are the sure foundations of a grand scene of agriculture—the resources for an extensive trade—and the materials for a great variety of useful and elegant manufactures. From our new country we have ginseng, and several kinds of skins and furs; in the settled parts of the states, rice, indigo, cotton, silk, tobacco, flaxseed, wheat, rye, barley, oats, spelts, Indian corn, hemp, flax, wool, iron, lead, copper, marble, freestone, limestone, marble, sulphur, saltpetre, a great variety of ship timber, ship plank, masts, spars, tar, pitch and turpentine, pork, beef, cider, oil, spermaceti, whalebone, dried fish, pickled fish, hides, leather, black sheep, cheese, butter, tallow, mustard seed, staves, heading, shingles, boards, plank, scantling, staves, are timber, black walnut, wild cherry and curled maple for cabinet wood, potash, pearl ashes, potters clay, brick clay, &c. &c. with apples, and all other principal fruits, and potatoes, and all the other principal vegetables. During the late war, considerable quantities of sea-salt were manufactured on the coast, as far north as New Jersey: this article will no doubt one day become an object of attention. It may be safely affirmed, that no European nation whatsoever unites in its dominions, even including distant colonies, a variety of important and capital productions; nor can there be any doubt, in the mind of a candid and sensible observer, that such a country will rise with common prudence, in agriculture, manufactures and commerce, affording to every industrious and virtuous citizen and emigrant the means of comfortable subsistence and the fairest prospect of establishing a family in life.

The above valuable paper is ascribed to Trench Coxe, esq. EDIT.

L. VII. No. VI.

Thoughts on legislative powers.

THE legislature of every state have authority to act in a three-fold capacity.

1. They have authority to make laws for the good government of the people of the state, and to alter or repeal them as they may think fit.

2. They have authority, as agents for the state, to grant or transfer public property in behalf of the state; and to make contracts binding on the state: but they have no authority to revoke, impair, or alter any such grant or contract, fairly made and obtained, without the consent of the other party.

3. When any question shall come before them, respecting the construction or fulfilment of such contracts, they have authority to decide thereon in a judicial capacity; and are in duty bound to be governed in their judgment by the same principles as a court of law or equity, as the nature of the case may require; nor are the individuals composing the legislature, any more interested in such decision, than the judges of the courts of law. When a state or the united states are plaintiffs in a cause against an individual, the case is to be decided by a court of law: but when an individual has a demand against a state or against the united states, the claimant could not have an adequate remedy in the ordinary courts of law or equity; because their judgment could not be executed against a state or against the united states: therefore when no provision is made by law for the liquidation or satisfaction of such claims, the claimant has no remedy but by a petition of right to the legislature: and such cases often occur. The duty of the legislature in such cases is more fully pointed out and inculcated in the following extract from an election sermon, delivered before the legislature of the state of Connecticut, in May 1787, by the rev. Ezra Stiles, president of Yale college, viz.

“Remember, gentlemen, that while you are examining the rights of individuals, and their claims on one another, or on the public, you drop the

plant it with potatoes. When they are grown to the height of two or three inches, go with a plough, and turn a furrow over them on each side, having a person to follow and weed the hills. About the end of June, turn a cross furrow upon them, and let the person following the plough, mould the hills: and about the twentieth of August, you will find that the tops die: then pull them, for the longer they remain in the earth, the more water they will collect in their substance.

As soon as the potatoes are gathered, turn in your hogs, and let them remain there till the beginning of October. They will by that time have torn up and mixed the ground better than six times ploughing. Then draw off the potatoe tops, and harrow the ground for sowing wheat.

The advantages hereby derived, are, that the potatoes kill every species of weeds and turf: and the hogs, by rooting and turning the soil, in search of the potatoes, effectually destroy all kinds of vermin, which have been left in the ground; besides a considerable saving in their keeping.



On maple sugar.

THE manufactory of maple sugar opens a wide prospect of wealth to the united states. The consumption of sugar, melasses, and rum in this country is very great. Hence the importation of them is very expensive. It appears from calculations, founded upon authentic documents, that upon an average, the annual expense of these articles to the united states is upwards of five millions of dollars. If, then, these substances can be made in sufficient quantities for our own consumption, the saving will be great indeed.

Upon a medium, the annual import of sugar and melasses into the port of Philadelphia is—

Brown sugar,	lbs.	5,692,848
Loaf sugar,		4,480
Melasses,	gallons.	543,900

Supposing Philadelphia to import one fifth of the quantity of these arti-

cles consumed in the united states then the quantities will be

Brown sugar,	lbs.	28,464,240
Loaf sugar,		22,400
Melasses,	gallons.	2,719,500

The medium annual importation of spiritous liquors into the united states is 4,500,000 gallons. Computing the gallon of melasses to be equal in weight to 10lb.—and a half pound of sugar to be equal to one pound of melasses—2,719,500 gallons of melasses may be set down as equal to 13,597,500 pounds of sugar. Though the same proportion will be large for spirits, (since a gallon of melasses by distillation will yield more than a gallon of spirit) it may however be used, 4,500,000 gallons will then, be equal to 22,500,000 pounds of sugar. These, added to the former numbers, will make the annual demand for sugar in the united states, 64,584,140 pounds.

Let us next enquire whether our country be capable of supplying so great a demand. The maple trees commonly yield each five pounds of sugar: and there are usually fifty trees in every acre. Each acre, then, will yield annually two hundred and fifty pounds of sugar. Hence 250,336 acres of maple land will be sufficient to supply the whole united states. The county of Northumberland, in this state, alone contains more than this quantity of sugar lands. A number of other counties in Pennsylvania, and several counties in the state of New York, are each equally capable of supplying our demand. The trees grow also in other parts of the united states. The sugar maple-tree might be cultivated to advantage in places, in which it is not now found. It is about twenty years coming to perfection. It is a beautiful stately tree; and would be extremely ornamental, as well as useful, on every farm. The labour necessary to make maple sugar is very trifling: and it is at a season of the year when little else can be done. Hence the expense is very little: and it may be made much cheaper than West India sugar. Labourers' wages and the first cost of the

boiler are all the expense. Fuel costs nothing. It appears that it can be made for fifteen shillings per cwt. At most, it may be sold in Philadelphia at four dollars per cwt. We can hence afford to undersell West India sugar; and as we are capable of making a sufficient quantity to supply perhaps the whole world, the manufactory of maple sugar becomes an immense source of wealth, not only by saving five millions of dollars annually—but as it is capable of being made a very profitable article of exportation, probably more so than even tobacco or wheat. It is not, perhaps, going too far to say, that in one hundred years, America will be as famous for its exportation of sugar, as it is now for that of wheat. One hundred years ago it would have been more chimerical to assert, that Europe would have had recourse to America for its bread corn.

Specimens of maple sugar have been sent to this city from Montgomery county in New York, Northampton, Northumberland, Huntingdon, and Washington in this state, and Hunterdon, in New Jersey. There seems to be no reason to doubt that this article will become of real importance to the owners and cultivators of maple lands. It cannot be too often recommended to the sugar-makers, not to tap their trees with an axe, but to use a half-inch auger, which is a very useful tool to every farmer, and to plug up the hole at the end of the season.

The measures taken by our legislature to open our western, north-western and northern communications, by land and water, must prove highly beneficial to our trade. Hemp is brought altogether by land from counties of Virginia more remote than our most distant counties: and cattle have been driven from North Carolina to Philadelphia. The proposed roads, and the clearing of the rivers which connect them, must consequently render the driving of cattle, the transportation of flax, hemp, linseed-oil, furs, skins, tallow, butter, cheese, bacon, &c. cheap and easy, before our new counties have much of

them to spare. Virginia has exceeded any state in the union in those useful enterprises—Maryland has done much—South Carolina has discovered her usual sagacity and spirit on this subject—the citizens of Pennsylvania can not complain that their legislature has treated it with neglect.

Philadelphia, April 19, 67 90.

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Extract from an essay upon substitutes for foreign liquors.

THE quantity of foreign liquor imported into the united states is very great. The several species commonly introduced, wises excepted are unhappily the most injurious to health both of body and mind. Ardent intoxicating spirits, gross and unripe form the present importations; viz. the rum of Great Britain, Denmark, and Holland—the brandies of France and Spain—and the geneva of Holland. We may compute them at two millions of dollars, to which they certainly amount, besides rum made in the united states of foreign melasses—a distressing sum, indeed, if it were paid even for necessaries, which providence had been pleased to withhold from us—a grievous sum, as it is paid (in provision and other articles of prime necessity of universal value), for a poisonous luxury—an alarming sum, comparing with any reasonable estimate of our national revenues. When we reflect on this prodigious expense, no argument is necessary to convince us how desirable it is to vary, as far as we can, the kinds of liquors consumed, and to obtain substitutes on less disadvantageous terms. I propose some ideas to these ends for the consideration of my countrymen.

If we suppose the rum, brandy, and geneva, imported as above into the united states, to be worth, on a medium three shillings and four pence Pennsylvania money, or forty ninetieths of a dollar per gallon—then the quantity estimated at two millions of dollars, will be four millions five hundred thousand gallons. By a mixture of three parts of

water with one of rum, gin, or brandy, we shall have eighteen millions of gallons of drink, as strong as porter or the stoutest beer. This quantity is equal to five hundred and sixty-two thousand five hundred barrels of those malt liquors, worth, at thirty-three shillings and four pence (or four dollars and forty ninetieths) the sum of nine hundred and thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds, or two millions five hundred thousand dollars, which immense value would arise from the barley and hops of our farms, and the staves and hoops cut out of our woods. The quantity of barley, necessary to make these five hundred and sixty-two thousand five hundred barrels of stout beer or porter, at four bushels to a barrel, is two millions two hundred and fifty thousand bushels, exclusive of the hops, staves, hoops, and firewood, necessary in the manufactory. How comfortable to the country would such a manufacture be, in which few labourers are wanted, and wherein fire and horses perform so great a part of the work!—the imposts upon foreign liquors appear, in this view of the subject, to be a wholesome and efficient encouragement to agriculture, impelling us to what we ought to do, and very easily can perform. The superior virtues, both moral and political, of a country, which consumes malt liquors, instead of ardent spirits, need only to be mentioned.

In addition to these substitutes for foreign liquors, drawn from native productions, we may add cider and metheglin: of which large quantities can be made, and which will come into more general use, as agriculture advances, and economy prevails. We might mention also the spirits of fruit and grain: but it must be acknowledged that the domestic manufacture of ardent spirits from fruits and grain, threatens this country, no less than foreign liquors, with much public and private evil. Beer and cider would yield the farmer greater benefits; because they are more profitable, and are subject to fewer disadvantages. The friends of internal peace and order, and of

practical religion—the advocates and promoters of American manufactures—the great body of farmers and planters—in short, all classes of our citizens have manifestly an interest in promoting the manufacture and consumption of those valuable articles, beer, porter, cider, and metheglin.

This review of our resources, for the expensive article of liquors, is taken with a design to place the subject properly before us. Its magnitude will inspire us with a disposition to proportionate exertions. Sufficient means present themselves, by which we may be relieved of this immense, this ruinous tribute to foreign nations, some of whom compel us not only to give them in exchange articles of the first intrinsic value, but even to pay them for bringing it to our own ports.



Law case—Paizely and co. vs. Freeman.

A CAUSE was, on Wednesday May 28, 1788, tried at Guildhall, London, before justice Buller, the decision of which the court declared to be of the greatest importance to trade and commerce. The action was brought by messrs. Paizely and co. to recover from mr. Freeman a considerable sum of money, being the value of the amount of a quantity of cochineal, which the plaintiffs stated they had sold to a mr. Faulk, a bankrupt, in consequence of a fictitious credit and false character the defendant had wilfully given him as a merchant. It appeared in evidence, that during the insolvency of Faulk, who was concerned in large speculations, the defendant had given him a colourable credit, and fallacious reputation, representing him as a merchant of responsibility, in which character he obtained goods from various houses to a considerable amount; that Faulk having applied to the plaintiff for the goods in question, a reference was made by the former to the defendant, respecting his character and responsibility; and that the defendant representing him as a person worthy of the highest credit,

virtue will be revered : superstition shall be banished : agriculture shall be respected : the arts and sciences shall flourish. Legislatures will no longer attempt to govern, without being acquainted with government. They will no longer come “ *nudi et inermes, nulla cognitione rerum, nulla scientia ornati.*”

Philadelphia, June 8, 1789.



MESS. PRINTERS,

HAVING seen in the papers an account from the Ohio, of an exploit performed by two boys on two Indians, who had made them prisoners, I have transcribed, from dr. Mather's *Magnalia*, a similar achievement of two women, which I desire you to insert in your museum. The diction is a little altered : but the substance of the story is preserved. Yours, T. B.

“ *Dux scemina facti.*” Virg.

On the 15th of March, 1697, the savages made a descent on the town of Haverhill in the state of Massachusetts, murdering and captivating thirty-nine persons, and burning six houses. In one of the houses was Hannah Dusten, who had lain in about a week, attended by her nurse Mary Neff, and seven children beside her new-born infant. As soon as the alarm was given, the husband, who was abroad, hastened home, and sending away the seven children (from two to seventeen years old) towards a garrisoned house, he went in and told his wife of her danger ; the Indians were by that time so near, that despairing to do her any service he hastened after his children on horseback, resolving that he would take up that which in this extremity he should find his affection most set upon, and leave the rest to the care of divine providence. When he overtook his children, such was the agony of paternal affection that he could not distinguish any one from the others : he therefore resolved to live or die with all. A party of Indians came up with him and fired ; he returned the fire, and kept in the rear of his children who walked at the pace of a child of five years old, until by the

signal care of providence, he brought them all to a place of safety.

In the mean time the Indians attacked the house. The nurse in attempting to escape with the infant, fell into their hands. Finding the woman in bed, they forced her to rise, and after they had rifled the house and burnt it, they carried off the two women to Penicook, and in their way dashed the infant against a tree, and killed it. The two women, with a youth who had been taken sometime before from Worcester, were placed in an Indian family, with whom they resided some weeks ; after which as they were carrying them to a rendezvous of Indians, where they told them they should be stripped and run the gauntlet, one of the women took up a resolution to imitate the action of Jael upon Sisera. The company of Indians was twelve, viz. two men, three women and seven children : they were all sleeping round a fire. Mrs. Dusten communicated her intention to her nurse and the English youth, and all having furnished themselves with the hatchets of the Indians, struck such blows upon their heads, as to kill ten of the twelve. One of the Indian women, though wounded, made her escape, as did one of the boys, whom they intended to bring away with them. They took off the ten scalps, and got safe home, where they received fifty pounds out of the public treasury, besides many presents from private friends. Among others, colonel Nicholson, then governor of Maryland, sent them a very generous token of his favour.



From the *European Magazine*.

Review of memoirs of the American academy of arts and sciences, to the end of the year 1783.

THE volume before us has a very strong claim to public attention. It is the first production of the first institution of the kind in our quondam transatlantic dominions. But what tends to excite in us a degree of wonder, added to attention, is, that the work consists chiefly of papers written

in the midst of a desolating war. No such academy, we understand, existed there, until the year 1779, when it formally became an incorporated society: Not, however, under the patronage of a king—for long before had America ceased to pay homage to kings, and even to the representatives of kings—but under a sanction more dear to her far—the sanction of her own congress.

Waving, however, all collateral circumstances—all circumstances that are not, so to express it, immediately in point—let us endeavour to analyze the work—as in a particular manner every work of this kind should be—article by article.

In the first paper, we are presented with a method of finding the altitude and longitude of the nonagesimal degree of the ecliptic; to which are added calculations from astronomical observations for determining the difference of meridians between Harvard-hall, in the university of Cambridge, (which belongs to the province of Massachusetts) and the royal observatories of Greenwich and Paris. This article is the production of the rev. Joseph Willard, president of the university, and corresponding secretary of the academy. It is addressed in the form of a letter to the president of the academy, James Bowdoin, L. L. D. The calculations of mr. Willard seem, upon the whole, to be just; and strongly incline us to think, that in his endeavours to ascertain the difference of meridians between Greenwich and Cambridge, as much conclusive evidence is given us as the nature of the subject will admit.

For the second article we are indebted to the ingenious labours of Samuel Williams, F. A. A. Hollis professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in the university of Cambridge; of which it is the author's object clearly to ascertain the latitude. From the observations of this gentleman, upon the magnetic needle, it appears, that the variation commonly increases from the hour of 7 or 8, A. M. until about the

hour of 2 or 3, P. M.—It then generally decreases until 7 or 8 the next morning. According to mr. Williams, it appears that the inclination, or (as it is more technically still expressed) the dip, is subject to greater diurnal alterations than the variation, and that, notwithstanding, they are less regular in their changes. The least inclination our author ever observed was $68^{\circ} 21'$; the greatest $70^{\circ} 56'$.

Article the third exhibits a table of the equations to equal altitudes for the latitude of the university of Cambridge, $40^{\circ} 23' 28''$. This paper is the production of the rev. president of the university; and though we find little novelty in it, we yet discover a powerful spirit of penetration; which, with the industry of mr. Willard, may hereafter be the parent of better fruits.

Article the fifth, astronomical, like its predecessors, relates also to solar and lunar eclipses. It is written by the rev. Phillips Payson, F. A. A. and has upon the whole a tendency to confirm the general opinion, that all our boasted geographical knowledge of America (even that America which once we proudly called our own) remains in a woful state of deficiency.

Article the fifteenth contains a well-penned judicious letter to mr. Caleb Gannett, from Benjamin West, esq. on the extraction of roots.

Article the sixteenth exhibits a method, comprised under two rules, of computing interest at six per cent. per annum, by Philomath; for a full explanation of which, though it has both novelty and conciseness to recommend it, we must refer our readers to the work itself.

In article the seventeenth, we are presented with several ingenious ways of determining what sum is to be insured on an adventure, that the whole interest may be recovered, by Mercator. To gentlemen in the commercial line, this article will be found truly curious, as well as important: but in order to form a competent idea of it, they also must have recourse to the book.

The second part of the valuable specimen of trans-atlantic science now before us, commences with three papers*, written by James Bowdoin, esq. president of the academy. The first of these contains some strictures on dr. Franklin's well-known queries concerning light, with observations subversive of his peculiar ideas upon that subject; which, philosophically considered, is still, it must be confessed, notwithstanding all that has been written, "about it and about it" involved in much darkness. In the second, the learned president communicates additional observations on light, and particularly considers the supposed waste of matter in the sun and fixed stars, occasioned by the constant flux of light from them; and with these observations he blends an ingenious conjecture, in the form of a question, suggesting a mean by which the several systems in question might be preserved from the disorder and final ruin which they seem liable from that waste of matter, and from the law of gravitation. In the third mr. Bowdoin endeavours to prove, by phenomena and scripture, the existence of an orb, which surrounds the whole visible material system, and which, in his opinion, maybe necessary to preserve it from the destruction, to which, without such a counterbalance, it appears liable from the effects of the said gravitation, universally as it operates in the material world. On this head, the arguments of the author, however ingenious, seem by no means to be satisfactory; nor do we think his hypothesis undeniably fixed on the basis of truth, merely because, in his opinion, it *seems* to have for its sanction the authority of the sacred scriptures; to which, let us observe, in passing, no reference should ever be made in the discussion of subjects purely philosophical.

Article the eighth contains some plausible conjectures, added to several per-

NOTES.

See American museum, Vol. III.

Pages 203, 206, 213.

Idem, page 291.

VOL. VI. N^o. VI.

minent remarks, on the earthquakes of New England, and is the production of professor Williams, F. A. A.

Articles the ninth and tenth are both really curious; and but little do they differ from each other in their object. The former consists of a letter from Daniel Jones, esq. of Hindsdale, to the rev. Joseph Willard†, president of the university of Cambridge, and gives an account of West-river mountain, and the appearance of there having been a volcano in it. From that account we learn, that West-river mountain is situated about twelve miles north of Massachusetts' line, on the east side of, and adjoining to Connecticut river, in the county of Cheshire, and state of New Hampshire, and opposite the mouth of West-river, from which the mountain derives its name; that on the south side thereof, about eighty rods from the summit, there has been an eruption, though perhaps not within the present, nor yet the last century; that peasants in the neighbourhood, having discovered this place, became possessed with an idea of gold dust being in the mountain, and that it melted down into a solid body by the extreme heat thereof, at the time the eruption happened; that accordingly the said peasants having gone to work, in search of the supposed treasure, dug down about seventy or eighty feet, and, in some places, where the rocks would permit, to the width of twenty feet; but that, at the period when the paper before us was written, they were stopped in their career by the rocks, and by the water that issued from the mountain above the hole. In the subsequent paper on this subject (entitled, An account of the eruptions, and the present appearances in West-river mountain), mr. Caleb Alexander of Northfield, in a letter to mr. Caleb Gannet, Rec. Sec. A. A. maintains, that from this extraordinary mountain there have been several eruptions: but he presumes not to aver, that it has ever ex-

NOTE.

† *Idem*, Vol. I. 230 of the first edition, page 204 of the second.

perienced any thing which might with propriety be denominated a volcano. In the next volume of these memoirs we hope and expect to find this point more clearly ascertained

In article the sixteenth*, Benjamin Lincoln, esq. F. A. A. in a letter to the rev. Joseph Willard, gives an account of several strata of earth and shells on the banks of York river in Virginia; of a subterraneous passage, and the sudden descent of a very large current of water from a mountain near Carlisle; of a spring uncommonly large near Reading in Pennsylvania; as likewise of several remarkable springs both in the states of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

In article the seventeenth, we have an account of large quantities of a fossil substance, of a vitriolic and sulphureous quality, found at Lebanon, in New Hampshire, communicated by the rev. Jeremiah Belknap, F. A. A. in a letter to Samuel Williams, L. L. D. and professor of mathematics in the university of Cambridge.

In article the twenty-fifth †, we are entertained with an ingenious letter from Samuel Dexter, esq. to James Bowdoin, esq. prof. A. A. on the retreat of house swallows in winter. The general opinion is, that this bird, at the expiration of summer, migrates "to distant regions and to warmer climes." From many circumstances, however, it seems probable, that the house-swallow is not a bird of passage; that, on the contrary, it never quits its *natale solum*, but remains where it was produced, during the winter months, like many other animals, in a state of *torpor*. The object of mr. Dexter in the memoir before us, is to prove, that the house-swallow, far from being inclined to migrate in search of a more genial climate, is actually capable of existing through the winter even amidst the mud at the bottom of a pond. If

this be a fact, and no reason have to doubt the veracity of the author, the sooner it is confirmed—even circumstantially confirmed—by the observations of other men of science, the more will the chain of inferences to be derived from it give pleasure to every person in whom there is a real attachment to the study of animated nature.

Articles the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth are written by mr. Benjamin Dearborn. In the first he gives description of a pump engine, or apparatus to be added to a common pump to answer the purpose of a fire engine. In the second, we have a similar description of a fire engine, constructed on a new principle. The author seems to be possessed of considerable mechanical and philosophical industry; but, ingenious as his inventions may be, impossible would it be for us to communicate an adequate idea of them to our readers without the assistance of copper-plates.

The twenty-ninth article contains observations upon the art of making steel, by the rev. Daniel Little, F. A. A. This paper is truly the production of a man of genius.

Having now taken a cursory view of the first and second parts of these medical memoirs, we proceed with brevity to take cognizance, in the brief manner, of the third part, which is filled with medical papers, as the first was with physical ones.

Article the fourth* states a remarkable case, in which a gun-shot wound was completely cured in three weeks merely through the benign assistance of nature. This paper is communicated in a letter to Benjamin Lincoln, F. A. A. from Barbanas Binney, a military physician and surgeon to the American army in 1782.

Article the seventh is by J. F. Johnson, surgeon-major of his most christian majesty's squadron under monsieur de Mordaun's command in North America, and of his majesty's marine hospital at Boston and in Rhode Island, F. A. A.

NOTES.

* Idem, p. 228 first edition, page 202 of the second.

† Idem, vol. II. page 357.

NOTE.

* Idem, vol. VI. 117.

presents experiments on the waters of
 fton, calculated to prove (and, in
 opinion, upon satisfactory grounds)
 that those waters contain a sea salt, with
 a basis of mineral alkali in a small
 quantity, a greater quantity of sea-salt
 with an earthy basis, and a certain
 quantity of oil, perhaps too a small por-
 tion of sal catharticus amarus.
 Having thus given our readers a gene-
 view of the entertainment they have

to expect from the first volume of the
 memoirs of this infant academy, we
 dismifs the present article with an anxi-
 ous desire to see the second, and with a
 sincere hope, for the honour of science,
 that the learned and ingenious members
 will continue to be crowned with that
 applause to their labours, which is due
 to the disinterested founders of so im-
 portant an institution.



Imports into New York, from March 24, 1784, to April 17, 1787.

			£.	s.	d.
n-enumerated articles,			3,650,636	0	0
llons of rum,	3,610,565	at 3s. 6.	631,848	17	6
Madeira wine,	86,608	at 8s.	34,643	4	0
Common ditto,	668,012	at 4s.	133,602	8	0
Porter,	44,327	at 2s.	4,432	14	0
Linseed oil,	21,775	at 6s.	6,532	10	0
ands of tea,	1,284,755	at 3s.	192,713	5	0
Coffee,	567,508	at 1s.	28,375	8	0
Chocolate,	3,913	at 2s.	391	6	0
Loaf sugar,	282,303	at 1s.	14,115	3	0
Snuff,	1,370	at 2s.	137	0	0
Manufactured tobacco,	110	at 2s.	11	0	0
Cheese,	107,952	at 9d.	4,048	4	0
Leather,	26,210	at 1s.	1,210	10	0
wt. of raisins,	1,052	at 6os. per cwt.	3,156	0	0
Cordage,	7,423	at 6os.	22,269	0	0
New hollow ware,	2,210	at 28s.	3,094	0	0
dozens of axes and scythes,	1,258	at 2os. per doz.	1,258	0	0
Bottled porter,	13,643	at 15s.	10,232	5	0
Hats,	14,963	at 2os. pr.	14,963	0	0
Pairs of boots,	771	at 3os. pr.	1,156	10	0
Shoes,	96,722	at 6s.	29,016	12	0
Woolen to silk,	423	at 10s.	211	10	0
Doz. of playing cards,	3,016	at 12s. per doz.	1,809	12	0
Raddles,	792	at 6os.	2,376	0	0
Dozens of hemp,	318	at 6ol.	19,080	0	0
Carriages,	6	at 50l.	300	0	0
wt. of white rope,	10	at 7os.	35	0	0
wt. of yarn,	346	at 7os.	1,211	0	0
wt. of silver plate,	5,276	at 6s.	1,582	16	0
Woolen to gold,	4	at 6l.	24	0	0
Gold watchies,	8	at 20l.	160	0	0
Silver ditto,	522	at 5l.	2,610	0	0
Watches,	76	at 20l.	1,520	0	0
Doz. of bottled wine,	4,893	at 2l.	9,786	0	0
Doz. of starch and hair powder,	2,998	at 6d	74	19	0
Bundles of matt,	240	at 8s.	96	0	0
Doz. of harness,	1	at 10l.	10	0	0

£.4,828,829 13 6

Abstract of duties on the tonnage of foreign and domestic vessels, from the 1st of September to the 31st of December 1789, communicated to the house of representatives of the united states, by the secretary of the treasury.

	Foreign tonnage.	American tonnage.	Total amount of ton.
New Hampshire	dollars 469.50	339.30	808.80
Massachusetts	4,829.37 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,855.60	8,684.97 $\frac{1}{2}$
Connecticut	618.08	722.47 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,340.55 $\frac{1}{2}$
New York	8,739.87 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,496.66 $\frac{1}{2}$	10,236.54
New Jersey	83.50	224.31	307.81
Pennsylvania	11,587.64	1,515.06	13,102.70
Delaware	603	123.96	726.96
Maryland	4,994.05 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,728.88 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,722.94
Virginia	11,210.93 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,423.30 $\frac{1}{2}$	12,634.24
South Carolina	4,630.59	433.84	5,064.43
Georgia	2,600.17	126.65	2,726.82
Total	<u>50,366.72</u>	<u>11,990.05</u>	<u>62,356.77</u>

Exports from the port of Baltimore, to foreign countries.

From Oct. 1. to Dec. 31, 1788. Jan. 1, to March 31, 1789

Flour, barrels,	45,625	43,569
Wheat, bushels,	186,094 $\frac{3}{4}$	41,968
Tobacco, hhds.	4,825	127
Corn, bushels,	10,382	20,599 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pig iron, tons,	179	40
Peas and beans, bushels,	1,864	1,613
Shingles,	1,015,765	171,199
Scantling, feet,	165,197	25,767
Flaxseed, casks,	1,444	550
Deer skins, packages,	22	
Beeswax, casks,	27	
Ditto, barrels,		20 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto, tierce,		1
Bread, barrels,	31459	3,208
Ditto, kegs,	894	385
Furs, packages,	15	
Ditto, barrels,	5	
Ginseng, casks,	14	14
Butter, firkins	25	
Beer, hhds.	28	
Ditto, barrels,	14	
Bricks,	16,500	
Beef, barrels,	196	198
Cheese, lbs.	2,390	
Fish, barrels,	339	151
Ditto, boxes,		4
Meal, barrels,	350	1,009
Oats, bushels,		440
Pork, barrels,	243	60
Onions, bunches,	3,305	
Potatoes, bushels,	70	
Whale oil, casks,	23	
Staves,		300,107
Rice, casks,		255
Cotton, bales,	113	16

Diligence, industry, frugality, &c. recommended: being the introduction to one of the last of the almanacks published by Dr. Franklin, in 1735.

Courteous reader!

I HAVE heard, that nothing gives an author so great pleasure as to find his works respectfully quoted by others. Judge, then, how much I must have been gratified, by an incident I am going to relate to you. I stopped my horse lately where a great number of people were collected at an auction of merchants goods. The hour of the sale not being come, they were conversing on the badness of the times: and one of the company called to a plain clean old man with white locks—‘Pray, father Abraham, what think you of the times? Will not these heavy taxes quite ruin the country? How shall we ever be able to pay them? What would you advise us to?’—Father Abraham stood up, and replied, ‘If you would have my advice, I will give it you in short, “for a word to the wife is enough,” as poor Richard says.’ They joined in desiring him to speak his mind; and gathering round him, he proceeded as follows:

‘Friends,’ says he, ‘the taxes are indeed very heavy: and if those laid on by the government were the only ones we had to pay, we might more easily discharge them: but we have many others, and much more grievous to some of us. We are taxed twice as much by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly; and from these taxes the commissioners cannot ease or deliver us, by allowing an abatement. However, let us hearken to good advice, and something may be done for us; “God helps them that help themselves,” as poor Richard says.’

I. ‘It would be thought a hard government that should tax its people one tenth part of their time, to be employed in its service: but idleness taxes many of us much more: sloth, by bringing on diseases, absolutely shortens life.—“Sloth, like rust, consumes faster than labour wears, while

“the used key is always bright,” as poor Richard says.—“But dost thou love life, then do not squander time, for that is the stuff life is made of,” as poor Richard says.—“How much more than is necessary do we spend in sleep? forgetting that “The sleeping fox catches no poultry, and that there will be sleeping enough in the grave,” as poor Richard says.

“If time be of all things the most precious, wasting time must be” as poor Richard says, “the greatest prodigality;” since, as he elsewhere tells us, “Lost time is never found again: and what we call time enough, always proves little enough:” Let us then up and be doing, and doing to the purpose; so by diligence we shall do more with less perplexity. “Sloth makes all things difficult, but industry all easy:” and “he that riseth late, must trot all day, and shall scarce overtake his business at night: while Laziness travels so slowly, that Poverty soon overtakes him. Drive thy business, let not that drive thee: and early to bed, and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise,” as poor Richard says.

‘So what signifies wishing and hoping for better times? We may make these times better, if we bestir ourselves. “Industry need not wish: and he that lives upon hope, will die fasting. There are no gains without pains: then help hands for I have no lands,” or, if I have, they are smartly taxed. “He that hath a trade, hath an estate: and he that hath a calling, hath an office of profit and honour,” as Poor Richard says: but then the trade must be worked at, and the calling well followed, or neither the estate nor the office will enable us to pay our taxes. If we are industrious, we shall never starve; for, “At the working man’s house, Hunger looks in, but dares not enter,” Nor will the bailiff or the constable enter, for, “Industry pays debts, while despair increases them.” What though you have found no treasure, nor has any rich relation left you a legacy, dili-

“gence is the mother of good luck,
 “and God gives all things to industry.
 “Then plough deep, while sluggards
 “sleep, and you shall have corn to sell
 “and to keep.”—“Work while it is
 “called to-day; for you know not how
 “much you may be hindered to-mor-
 “row. “One to-day is worth two to-
 “morrow,” as *poor Richard* says; and
 “farther, “Never leave that till to-
 “morrow, which you can do to-day.”
 “If you were a servant, would you not
 “be ashamed that a good master should
 “catch you idle? Are you then your own
 “master? Be ashamed to catch yourself
 “idle, when there is so much to be done
 “for yourself, your family, and your
 “country. Handle your tools without
 “mittens; remember, that “The cat
 “in gloves catches no mice,” as *poor*
 “*Richard* says. It is true, there is much
 “to be done, and perhaps you are
 “weak-handed: but stick to it steadily,
 “and you will see great effects: for,
 “Constant dropping wears away
 “stones: and by diligence and pati-
 “ence the mouse ate in two the cable:
 “and little strokes fell great oaks.”

“Methinks I hear some of you say,
 “Must a man afford himself no lei-
 “sure?” I will tell thee, friend, what
 “*poor Richard* says: “Employ thy
 “time well, if thou meanest to gain
 “leisure; and, since thou art not sure
 “of a minute, throw not away an hour.”
 “Leisure is time for doing something use-
 “ful: this leisure the diligent man will
 “obtain, but the lazy man never: for,
 “A life of leisure and a life of laziness
 “are two things. Many, without la-
 “bour, would live by their wits only,
 “but, they break for want of stock:”
 “whereas industry gives comfort, and
 “plenty, and respect. “Fly pleasures,
 “and they will follow you. The dili-
 “gent spinner has a large shift: and
 “now I have a sheep and a cow, every
 “body bids me good-morrow.”

II. “But with our industry we must
 “likewise be steady, settled, and care-
 “ful, and oversee our own affairs with
 “our own eyes, and not trust too much
 “to others; for, as *poor Richard* says,
 “I never saw an oft-removed tree,

“Nor yet an oft-removed family,
 “That throve so well as those that set-
 “tled be.”

“And again, “Three removes are as
 “bad as a fire;” and again, “Keep
 “thy shop, and thy shop will keep
 “thee;” and again, if you would have
 “your business done, go; if not, send.”
 “And again,
 “He that by the plough would thrive,
 “Himself must either hold or drive.”
 “And again, “The eye of a master
 “will do more work than both his
 “hands:” and again, “Want of care
 “does us more damage than want of
 “knowledge:” and again, “Not to
 “oversee workmen, is to leave them
 “your purse open: trusting too much
 “to others’ care is the ruin of many,”
 “for, “In the affairs of this world, men
 “are saved, not by faith but by want
 “of it:” but a man’s *own* care is pro-
 “fitable, for, “If you would have a
 “faithful servant, and one that you
 “like, serve yourself. A little neglect
 “may breed great mischief; for want
 “of a nail the shoe was lost: for want
 “of a shoe the horse was lost: and for
 “want of a horse, the rider was lost.”
 “having been overtaken and slain by
 “the enemy; all for want of a little
 “care about a horse-shoe nail.

III. “So much for industry, my
 “friends, and attention to one’s own bu-
 “siness; but to these we must add fru-
 “gality, if we would make our indus-
 “try more certainly successful. A man
 “may, if he knows not how to save as
 “he gets, keep his nose all his life to
 “the grindstone, and die not worth a
 “groat at last. “A fat kitchen makes a
 “lean will;” and

“Many estates are spent in the getting,
 “Since women for tea forsook spinning
 “and knitting,
 “And men for punch forsook hewing
 “and splitting.”

“If you would be wealthy, think of
 “saving, as well as of getting. The
 “Indies have not made Spain rich, be-
 “cause her outgoes are greater than her
 “incomes.”

“Away, then, with your expensive
 “follies, and you will not have so

‘ much cause to complain of hard
‘ times, heavy taxes, and chargeable
‘ families; for

“ Women and wine, game and deceit,
“ Make the wealth small, and the want
“ great.”

‘ And farther, “ what maintains one
‘ vice, would bring up two children.”
‘ You may think, perhaps, that a little
‘ tea or a little punch now and then, di-
‘ et a little more costly, clothes a little
‘ finer, and a little entertainment now
‘ and then, can be no great matter; but
‘ remember, “ many a little makes a
‘ mickle.” Beware of little expenses;
‘ “ A small leak will sink a great ship,”
‘ as *poor Richard* says; ‘ and again,
‘ “ who dainties love, shall beggars
‘ prove;” and moreover, “ Fools
‘ make feasts, and wise men eat them.”
‘ Here you are all got together to this
‘ sale of fineries and nick-nacks. You
‘ call them *goods*; but, if you do not
‘ take care, they will prove *evils* to
‘ some of you. You expect they will
‘ be sold cheap, and, perhaps, they may
‘ for less than they cost; but, if you
‘ have no occasion for them, they must
‘ be dear to you. Remember what *poor*
‘ *Richard* says, “ Buy what thou hast
‘ no need of, and ere long thou shalt
‘ sell thy necessaries.” And again,
‘ “ At a great pennyworth pause awhile.”
‘ He means, that perhaps the cheap-
‘ ness is apparent only, and not real;
‘ or the bargain, by straitening thee in
‘ thy business, may do thee more harm
‘ than good. For in another place he
‘ says, “ many have been ruined by
‘ buying good pennyworths.” Again,
‘ “ It is foolish to lay out money in a
‘ purchase of repentance;” ‘ and yet
‘ this folly is practised every day at
‘ auctions, for want of minding the
‘ almanack. Many a one, for the sake
‘ of finery on the back, has gone with
‘ a hungry belly, and half starved his
‘ family; “ silks and sattins, scarlets
‘ and velvets, put out the kitchen fire,”
‘ as *poor Richard* says. These are not
‘ the necessaries of life; they can scarce-
‘ ly be called the conveniences; and
‘ yet only because they look pretty,
‘ how many want to have them? By

‘ these, and other extravagancies, the
‘ genteel are reduced to poverty, and
‘ forced to borrow of those whom they
‘ formerly despised, but who, through
‘ industry and frugality, have main-
‘ tained their standing; in which case it
‘ appears plainly, that “ A ploughman
‘ on his legs is higher than a gentle-
‘ man on his knees,” as *poor Richard*
‘ says. Perhaps they have had a small
‘ estate left them, which they knew not
‘ the getting of; they think “ it is day,
‘ and will never be night;” that a lit-
‘ tle to be spent out of so much is not
‘ worth minding; but “ Always tak-
‘ ing out of the meal-tub, and never
‘ putting in, soon comes to the bot-
‘ tom,” as *poor Richard* says: and
‘ then “ When the well is dry, they
‘ know the worth of water.” But this
‘ they might have known before, if
‘ they had taken his advice: if you
‘ would know the value of money, go
‘ and try to borrow some; for “ He
‘ that goes a borrowing, goes a for-
‘ rowing,” as *poor Richard* says: and,
‘ indeed, so does he that lends to such
‘ people, when he goes to get it in
‘ again. *Poor Dick* farther advises, and
‘ says,

“ Fond pride of dress is sure a very
“ curse;

“ Ere fancy you consult, consult your
“ purse.”

‘ And again, “ pride is as loud a
‘ beggar as want, and a great deal
‘ more saucy.” When you have bought
‘ one fine thing, you must buy ten
‘ more, that your appearance may be
‘ all of a-piece: but *poor Dick* says,
‘ “ It is easier to suppress the first desire,
‘ than to satisfy all that follow it:”
‘ And it is as truly folly for the poor
‘ to ape the rich, as for the frog to swell,
‘ in order to equal the ox.

“ Vessels large may venture more,
“ But little boats should keep near
“ shore.”

‘ It is, however, a folly soon punished:
‘ for, as *poor Richard* says, “ Pride,
‘ that dines on vanity, sups on con-
‘ tempt: Pride breakfasted with plen-
‘ ty, dined with poverty, and supped
‘ with infamy.” And, for abs^e of

‘ what use is this pride of appearance,
 ‘ for which so much is risked, so much
 ‘ is suffered? It cannot promote health,
 ‘ nor ease pain: it makes no increase
 ‘ of merit in the person: it creates
 ‘ envy: it hastens misfortune.

‘ “But what madness must it be to *run*
 ‘ *in debt* for these superfluities? We
 ‘ are offered, by the terms of this sale,
 ‘ six months’ credit; and that, perhaps,
 ‘ has induced some of us to attend it;
 ‘ because we cannot spare the ready
 ‘ money, and hope now to be fine with-
 ‘ out it. But ah! think what you do
 ‘ when you run in debt: you give to
 ‘ another, power over your liberty. If
 ‘ you cannot pay at the time, you will
 ‘ be ashamed to see your creditor; you
 ‘ will be in fear when you speak to
 ‘ him; you will ~~make~~ *make* poor, pitiful,
 ‘ sneaking excuses; and, by degrees,
 ‘ come to lose your veracity, and sink
 ‘ into base downright lying; for, “the
 ‘ *second vice* is lying—the *first* is run-
 ‘ ning in debt,” as *poor Richard* says;
 ‘ and again to the same purpose, “Ly-
 ‘ ing rides upon Debt’s back:” where-
 ‘ as a free-born American ought not
 ‘ to be ashamed or afraid to see or
 ‘ speak to any man living. But poverty
 ‘ often deprives a man of all spirit and
 ‘ virtue. “It is hard for an empty bag
 ‘ to stand upright.” What would you
 ‘ think of that prince, or of that go-
 ‘ vernment, who should issue an edict
 ‘ forbidding you to dress like a gentle-
 ‘ man or gentlewoman, on pain of im-
 ‘ prisonment or servitude?—Would
 ‘ you not say that you were free, have
 ‘ a right to dress as you please, and
 ‘ that such an edict would be a breach
 ‘ of your privileges, and such a govern-
 ‘ ment tyrannical? And yet you are
 ‘ about to put yourself under that ty-
 ‘ ranny, when you run in debt for such
 ‘ dress! Your creditor has authority,
 ‘ at his pleasure, to deprive you of your
 ‘ liberty, by confining you in jail for
 ‘ life, or by selling you for a servant, if
 ‘ you should not be able to pay him.
 ‘ When you have gotten your bargain,
 ‘ you may, perhaps, think little of pay-
 ‘ ment: but as *poor Richard* says,
 ‘ “creditors have better memories than

‘ debtors; creditors are a superstitious
 ‘ sect, great observers of set days and
 ‘ times.” The day comes round
 ‘ before you are aware, and the demand
 ‘ is made before you are prepared to sa-
 ‘ tisfy it: or, if you bear your debt in
 ‘ mind, the term, which at first seemed
 ‘ so long, will, as it lessens, appear ex-
 ‘ tremely short. Time will seem to have
 ‘ added wings to his heels as well as
 ‘ shoulders. “Those have a short lent,
 ‘ who owe money to be paid at Easter.”
 ‘ At present, perhaps, you may think
 ‘ yourselves in thriving circumstances,
 ‘ and that you can bear a little extrava-
 ‘ gance without injury: but
 ‘ “For age and want save while you
 ‘ may,

‘ “No morning sun lasts a whole day.”
 ‘ Gain may be temporary and uncer-
 ‘ tain, but ever, while you live, expense
 ‘ is constant and certain: and, “It is
 ‘ easier to build two chimnies, than to
 ‘ keep one in fuel,” as *poor Richard*
 ‘ says: so, “Rather go to bed supper-
 ‘ less, than rise in debt.”

‘ “Get what you can, and what you
 ‘ get hold:

‘ “’Tis the stone that will turn all your
 ‘ lead into gold.”

‘ And when you have gotten the phil-
 ‘ losopher’s stone, sure you will no lon-
 ‘ ger complain of bad times or the
 ‘ difficulty of paying taxes.

IV. ‘ This doctrine, my friends, is
 ‘ reason and wisdom: but, after all, do
 ‘ not depend too much upon your own
 ‘ industry, and frugality, and prudence,
 ‘ though excellent things: for they may
 ‘ all be blasted without the blessing of
 ‘ heaven: and, therefore, ask that
 ‘ blessing humbly, and be not uncha-
 ‘ ritable to those that at present seem
 ‘ to want it, but comfort and help them.
 ‘ Remember Job suffered, and was af-
 ‘ terwards prosperous.

‘ And now, to conclude, “Expe-
 ‘ rience keeps a dear school; but fools
 ‘ will learn in no other,” as *poor Rich-
 ‘ ard* says, and scarcely in that; for,
 ‘ it is true, “We may give advice,
 ‘ but we cannot give conduct:” how-
 ‘ ever, remember this, “They that will
 ‘ not be counselled, cannot be help-

“ed;” and further, that “If you will not hear Reason, she will surely rap you on your knuckles,” as *poor Richard* says.’

Thus the old gentleman ended his harangue. The people heard it, and approved the doctrine, and immediately practised the contrary, just as if it had been a common sermon: for the auction opened, and they began to buy extravagantly. I found the good man had thoroughly studied my almanacks, and digested all I had dropt on those topics, during the course of twenty-five years. The frequent mention he made of me, must have tired any one else: but my vanity was wonderfully delighted with it, though I was conscious that not a tenth part of the wisdom, which he ascribed to me, was my own—but rather the gleanings that I had made, of the sense of all ages and nations. However, I resolved to be the better for the echo of it: and, though I had at first determined to buy stuff for a new coat, I went away, resolved to wear my old one a little longer. Reader, if thou wilt to the same, thy profit will be as great as mine.

Thine to serve thee,

RICHARD SAUNDERS.



An important discovery by *dr. Franklin*.
Extracted from a *French newspaper*.

To the authors of the journal.

Messieurs,

YOU often entertain us with accounts of new discoveries. Permit me to communicate to the public, through your paper, one that has been lately made by myself, and which I conceive may be of great utility.

I was the other evening in a grand company, where the new lamp of *messieurs Quinquet and Lange* was introduced, and much admired for its splendor: but a general enquiry was made, whether the oil it consumed, was not in proportion to the light it afforded, in which case there would be no saving in the use of it. No one present could satisfy us in this point, which I agreed ought to be known, it being a very desirable thing to lessen, if possible, the expense of lighting our a-

partments, when every other article of family expense was so much augmented.

I was much pleased to see this general concern for economy: for I love economy exceedingly.

I went home, and to bed, three or four hours after midnight, with my head full of the subject. An accidental sudden noise waked me about six in the morning, when I was surpris'd to find my room filled with light: and I imagin'd at first, that a number of those lamps had been brought into it; but rubbing my eyes, I perceived the light came in at the windows. I got up and looked out to see what might be the occasion of it, when I saw the sun just rising above the horizon, from whence he poured his rays, plentifully into my chamber, my domestic having negligently omitted the preceding night to close the shutters.

I looked at my watch, which goes very well, and found that it was but six o'clock; and still thinking it something extraordinary, that the sun should rise so early, I looked into the almanack, where I found it to be the hour given for his rising on that day. I looked forward, too, and found he was to rise still earlier every day till towards the end of June: and that at no time in the year he retarded his rising so long as till eight o'clock. Your readers, who, with me, have never seen any signs of sun-shine before noon, and seldom regard the astronomical part of the almanack, will be as much astonish'd as I was, when they hear of his rising so early; and especially when I assure them that he gives light as soon as he rises: I am convinc'd of this. I am certain of my fact. One cannot be more certain of any fact. I saw it with my own eyes. And having repeated this observation the three following mornings, I found always precisely the same result.

Yet so it happens, that when I speak of this discovery to others, I can easily perceive, by their countenances, though they forbear expressing it in words, that they do not quite believe me. One indeed, who is a learned natural philosopher, has assured me I must certainly

be mistaken, as to the circumstance of the light coming into my room; for it being well known, as he says, that there could be no light abroad at that hour, it follows that none could enter from without; and that, of consequence, my windows, being accidentally left open, instead of letting in the light, had only served to let out the darkness: and he used many ingenious arguments to shew me how I might by that means have been deceived. I own, that he puzzled me a little, but he did not satisfy me; and the subsequent observations I made, as above-mentioned, confirmed me in my first opinion.

This event has given rise in my mind to several serious and important reflections. I considered, that if I had not been awakened so early that morning, I should have slept six hours longer by the light of the sun, and in exchange, have lived six hours the following night by candle-light: and the latter being a much more expensive light than the former, my love for economy induced me to muster up what little arithmetic I was master of, and to make some calculations, which I shall give you, after observing, that utility is, in my opinion, the test of value in matters of invention; and that a discovery, which can be applied to no use, or is not good for something, is good for nothing.

I took for the basis of my calculation, the supposition that there are 100,000 families in Paris, and that these families consume in the night half a pound of bougies, or candles, per hour. I think this a moderate allowance, taking one family with another: for though I believe some consume less, I know that many consume a great deal more. Then estimating seven hours per day, as the medium quantity between the time of the sun's rising and ours, he rising during the six following months from six to eight hours before noon—and there being seven hours of course per night in which we burn candles, the account will stand thus:

In the six months between the 20th of March and the 20th of September, there are nights,

Hours of each night, in which we burn candles,	7
Multiplication gives us for the total number of hours,	1,281
These one thousand two hundred and eighty-one hours, multiplied by one hundred thousand, the number of families, give	128,100,000
One hundred twenty-eight millions and one hundred thousand hours, spent at Paris by candle-light, which at half a pound of wax and tallow per hour, gives the weight of	64,050,000
Sixty-four millions and fifty thousand of pounds, which, estimating the whole at the medium price of thirty sols the pound, makes the sum of ninety-six millions and seventy-five thousand livres	96,075,000

An immense sum! that the city of Paris might save every year, only by the economy of using sun-shine instead of candles.

If it should be said that people are apt to be obstinately attached to old customs, and that it will be difficult to induce them to rise before noon, consequently my discovery can be of but little use; I answer, *nil desperandum*. I believe all who have common sense as soon as they have learnt from this paper, that it is day-light when the sun rises, will contrive to rise with him and to compel the rest, I would propose the following regulations:

First. Let a tax be laid of a louis per window, on every window that is provided with shutters to keep out the light of the sun.

Second. Let the same salutary operation of police be made use of to prevent our burning candles, that inclined us last winter to be more economical burning wood; that is, let guards be placed in the shops of all the wax a

tallow chandlers, and no family be permitted to be supplied with more than one pound of candles per week.

Third. Let guards also be posted to stop all the coaches, &c. that would pass the streets after sun-set, except those of physicians, surgeons, and midwives.

Fourth. Every morning, as soon as the sun rises, let all the bells in every church be set ringing; and if that is not sufficient, let cannon be fired in every street, to wake the sluggards effectually, and make them open their eyes to see their true interest.

All the difficulty will be in the first two or three days; after which the reformation will be as natural and easy, as the present irregularity: for *ce n'est que le premier pas qui coute*. Oblige a man to rise at four in the morning, and it is more than probable he shall go willingly to bed at eight in the evening: and having had eight hours sleep, he will rise more willingly at four the morning following.

But this sum of ninety-six millions and seventy-five thousand livres, is not the whole of what may be saved by any economical project. You may observe, that I have calculated upon only one-half of the year, and much may be saved in the other, though the days are shorter. Besides the immense stock of wax and tallow left unconsumed during the summer, will probably make candles much cheaper for the ensuing winter, and continue cheaper as long as the proposed reformation shall be supported.

For the great benefit of this discovery, thus freely communicated and bestowed by me on the public, I demand neither place, pension, exclusive privilege, or any other reward whatever. I expect only to have the honour of it. And yet I know there are little envious minds who will, as usual, deny me this, and say that my invention was known to the ancients, and perhaps they may bring passages out of old books in proof of it. I will not dispute with these people that the ancients might know the sun would rise at certain hours;

they possibly had, as we have, almanacks that predicted it; but it does not follow from thence that they knew he gave light as soon as he rose. This is what I claim as my discovery. If the ancients knew it, it must have been long since forgotten, for it certainly was unknown to the moderns, at least to the Parisians, which to prove, I need use but one plain simple argument. They are as well-instructed, judicious, and prudent a people as exist any where in the world, all professing like myself to be lovers of economy; and from the many heavy taxes required from them by the necessities of the state, have surely an abundant reason to be economical. I say it is impossible that so sensible a people, under such circumstances, should have lived so long by the smoaky unwholesome and enormously-expensive light of candles, if they had really known that they might have had as much pure light of the sun for nothing. I am, &c.

AN ABONNE.



Short account of the women of Egypt.

—page 57.

SUBJECT to custom, whose unalterable laws govern the countries of the east, the women are not admitted into the society of the men, not even at table, where the assemblage of the two sexes produces gaiety and bon mots, and gives a zest to the entertainment. When the rich are desirous of dining with one of their wives, they give her previous notice. She disposes the apartment, prepares the most delicate dishes, and receives her lord with respect, and with the most refined attention. The women of the lower class usually remain standing, or seated in a corner of the room, whilst their husband is at dinner. They frequently present him water to wash himself, and help him at table. These customs, which the Europeans might justly stile barbarous, and against which they might exclaim with reason, appear so natural in this country, that they have no idea of their being different in other climates. Such

is the force of habit over the human mind. A custom established for ages seems to be the law of nature.

Domestic cares leave the Egyptian women a great many leisure moments, which they employ amongst their slaves in embroidering a sash, in making a veil, in drawing designs on stuff to cover a sofa, and in spinning with the distaff.

During the whole time a stranger is in the haram, the husband is not allowed to approach it. It is the asylum of hospitality, and cannot be violated without dangerous consequences. This is a privilege the Egyptian women carefully maintain, and it is rendered dear to them by a very powerful motive. A lover in disguise may be thus introduced into the forbidden place, and it is of the last importance not to be discovered. Death would pay the forfeit of the attempt. Love in this country, where the passions are impetuous, both from the nature of the climate and the obstacles it meets with, is often followed by tragic scenes.

The Turkish women go always under the guard of eunuchs, to take the air on the Nile, and enjoy the prospect of its charming banks. There are handsome apartments in their boats, richly decorated. They are adorned with sculpture, and are agreeably painted. They are distinguishable, from the blinds let down over the windows, and the music that accompanies them.

When they cannot go abroad, they endeavour to enliven their prisons. Towards the setting sun they mount upon the terrace, and enjoy the cool of the evening amidst the flowers which are carefully preserved there. They often bathe themselves, and enjoy, at once, the coolness of the water, the perfume of odoriferous plants, the fresh air, and the sight of a million stars shining in the firmament.

Such is the ordinary life of the Egyptian women. To bring up their children, to employ themselves solely in the affairs of house-keeping, to live retired

NOTE.

|| Haram signifies prohibited place.

in the interior of their family, constitute their duties. To visit and give entertainments to each other, where they often resign themselves to wanton mirth, and to the greatest freedoms, to go or the water, or walk under the shade of orange trees, and to hear the alme these are their amusements. They deck themselves out with as much art to receive their acquaintance, as the French women do to distinguish themselves in the eyes of the men. Naturally timid and gentle, they become forward, and are hurried away by passion, when one a violent appetite gets possession of their souls. Then neither bolts nor bars, nor the Cerberusses who surround them are any obstacles to their desires. Death itself suspended over their heads, does not hinder them from contriving means to satisfy their passions, and they are seldom ineffectual.



Anecdote.

AT the capture of St. Eustatia, an edict was issued, enjoining every person, under the severe penalty of corporal punishment and banishment, to render in by a certain day an exact inventory of his effects. It happened that little before that period, a Frenchman once very eminent in the commercial world, had been by the calamities attendant on the uncertainties of the situation, reduced to the deepest distress. He had heard the edict: and, on the day appointed, he was called upon for his inventory. They found him sitting in the attitude of Melancholy—his elbow leaning on a table, while his hand supported his cheek, which was furrowed with the keenest affliction. The noise of person entering the room awakened him from his reverie; when gently turning his head and recollecting the errand, he took up a pen from the table, and wrote the following short, but emphatic account of his condition.

“Point d’argent, point de biens, point de commerce, point de credit, point de reputation, et seulement un pauvre coeur rompu!” No money, no goods, no trade, no credit, no reputation, and only poor broken heart!

Letter of William Penn to his friends
in London.—P. 259.

XXVII. **T**HE first planters in these parts were the Dutch, and soon after them the Swedes and Finns. The Dutch applied themselves to traffic—the Swedes and Finns to husbandry. There were some disputes between them some years—the Dutch looking upon them as intruders upon their purchase and possession, which were finally ended in the surrender, made by John Rizeing, the Swedish governor, to Peter Styresant, governor for the states of Holland, anno 1655.

XXVIII. The Dutch inhabit mostly those parts of the province that lie upon or near to the bay; and the Swedes the freshes of the river Delaware. There is no need of giving any description of them, who are better known there than here: but they are a plain, strong, industrious people, yet have made no great progress in culture or propagation of fruit trees, as if they desired rather to have enough than plenty or traffic. But, I presume the Indians made them the more careless, by furnishing them with the means of profit, to wit, skins, and furs, for rum, and such strong liquors. They kindly received me, as well as the English, who were few, before the people concerned with me came among them. I must needs commend their respect to authority, and kind behaviour to the English: they do not degenerate from the old friendship between both kingdoms. As they are people proper and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys, and as many girls; some six, seven, and eight sons: and I must do them that right, I see few young men more sober and laborious.

XXIX. The Dutch have a meeting-place for religious worship at Newcastle; and the Swedes three, one at Christiana, one at Tenecum, and one at Wicoco, within half a mile of this town.

XXX. There rests that I speak of the condition we are in, and what set-

tlement we have made, in which I will be as short as I can: for I fear, and not without reason, that I have tried your patience with this long story. The country lieth bounded on the east, by the river and bay of Delaware, and eastern sea. It hath the advantage of many creeks, or rivers rather, that run into the main river or bay; some navigable for great ships, some for small craft. Those of the most eminency are Christiana, Brandywine, Skilpot, and Schuylkill; any one of which has room to lay up the royal navy of England; there being from four to eight fathom water.

XXXI. The lesser creeks or rivers, yet convenient for sloops and ketches of good burden, are Lewis, Mapilion, Cedar, Dover, Cranbrook, Feversham, and George's, below; and Chichester, Chester, Toacawny, Penmapecka, Portquessin, Neshimerck, and Pennbury in the freshes, many lesser that admit boats and shallops. Our people are mostly settled upon the upper rivers, which are pleasant and sweet, and generally bounded with good land. The planted part of the province and territories is cast into six counties, Philadelphia, Buckingham, Chester, Newcastle, Kent, and Suffex, containing about four thousand souls. Two general assemblies have been held, and with such concord and dispatch, that they sat but three weeks, and at least seventy laws were passed, without one dissent in any material thing. But of this more hereafter, being yet raw, and new in our gear: however, I cannot forget their singular respect to me in this infancy of things, who by their own private expenses so early considered mine for the public, as to present me with an impost upon certain goods imported and exported; which, after my acknowledgment of their affection, I did as freely remit to the province and the traders to it. And for the well government of the said counties, courts of justice are established in every county, with proper officers, as justices, sheriffs, clerks, constables, &c. which courts are held every two months. But

to prevent law-suits, there are three peace-makers chosen by every county-court, in the nature of common arbitrators, to hear and end differences between man and man : and Spring and Fall there is an orphan's court in each county, to inspect and regulate the affairs of orphans and widows.

XXXII. Philadelphia, the expectation of those that are concerned in this province, is at last laid out, to the great content of those here, that are any ways interested therein. The situation is a neck of land, and lieth between two navigable rivers, Delaware and Schuylkill, whereby it hath two fronts upon the water, each a mile, and two from river to river : the Delaware is a glorious river ; but the Schuylkill being a hundred miles boatable above the falls, and its course northeast, toward the fountain of the Susquehanna (that tends to the heart of the province, and both sides our own) it is like to be a great part of the settlement of this age. I say little of the town itself, because a platform will be shewn you by my agent, in which those who are purchasers of me, will find their names and interests. But this I will say for the good providence of God, that of all the many places I have seen in the world, I remember not one better seated : so that it seems to me to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks, springs, the loftiness and soundness of the land and air, held by the people of these parts to be very good. It is advanced, within less than a year, to about four score houses and cottages, such as they are, where merchants and handicrafts are following their vocations as fast as they can, while the countrymen are close at their farms. Some of them got a little winter corn in the ground last season, and the generality have had an handsome summer crop, and are preparing for their winter corn. They reaped their barley this year in the month called May ; the wheat in the month following ; so that there is time in these parts for another crop of divers things, before the winter season. We are daily in hopes of shipping to

add to our number ; for blessed be God, here is both room and accommodation for them ; the stories of our necessity being either the fears of our friends, or the scarecrows of our enemies : for the greatest hardship we have suffered, hath been salt meat, which, by fowl in winter and fish in summer, together with some poultry, lamb, mutton, veal, and plenty of venison the best part of the year hath been made very passable. I bless God, I am fully satisfied with the country and entertainment I can get in it : for I find that particular content which hath always attended me, where God, in his providence, hath made it my place and service to reside. You cannot imagine that my station can be at present free of more than ordinary business, and as such, I may say, it is a troublesome work : but the method things are putting in, will facilitate the charge, and give an easier motion to the administration of affairs. However, as it is some men's duty to plough, some to sow, some to water, and some to reap—so it is the wisdom as well as the duty of a man to yield to the mind of providence, and cheerfully, as well as carefully, embrace and follow the guidance of it.

XXXIII. For your particular concern, I might entirely refer you to the letters of the president of the society : but this I will venture to say, your provincial settlements, both within and without the town, for situation and soil, are without exception. Your city-lot is a whole street, and one side of a street from river to river, containing near one hundred acres, not easily valued, which is besides your 400 acres in the city-liberties, part of your twenty thousand acres in the country. Your tannery hath such plenty of bark—the saw-mill for timber, and the place of the glass-house are so conveniently posted for water-carriage—the city-lot for a dock—and the whalery for a sound and fruitful bank, and the town Lewis by it to help your people—that by God's blessing the affairs of the society will naturally grow in their reputation and profit. I am sure I have not turned my back upon

any offer that tended to its prosperity : and though I am ill at projects, I have sometimes put in for a share with her officers, to contenance and advance her interest. You are already informed what is fit for you farther to do : whatsoever tends to the promotion of wine, and to the manufacture of linen in these parts, I cannot but wish you to promote it : and the French people are most likely in both respects to answer that design. To that end, I would advise you to send for some thousands of plants out of France, with some able vigneron, and people of the other vocation. But because I believe you have been entertained with this and some other profitable subjects by your president, I shall add no more, but to assure you, that I am heartily inclined to advance your just interest, and that you will always find me,

Your kind, cordial friend,

W. P E N N.

Philadelphia, the 16th of the 6th month, called August, 1683.



Letter from mr. Noab Webster to the rev. dr. Stiles, president of Yale college, on the remains of the fortifications in the western country. Concluded from Vol. VI. page 234.

THE other mode of burying the dead, was to deposit a vast number of bodies, or the bones which were taken from the single scattered graves, in a common cemetery, and over them raise vast *tumuli*, or barrows, such as the mount at Muskingum, which is three hundred and ninety feet in circumference, and fifty feet high. The best account of these cemeteries, may be found in mr. Jefferson's notes on Virginia, which will appear the most satisfactory to the reader, in his own words.

“ I know of no such thing existing as an Indian monument ; for I would not honour with that name, arrow-points, stone-hatchets, stone-pipes, and half-shapen images. Of labour, on the large scale, I think there are no remains, as respectable as would be a common

ditch for the draining of lands, unless it be the barrows, of which many are to be found all over this country. These are of different sizes, some of them constructed of earth, and some of loose stones. That they were repositories of the dead, has been obvious to all ; but on what particular occasion constructed, was matter of doubt. Some have thought they covered the bones of those who had fallen in battles, fought on the spot of interment. Some ascribe them to the custom, said to prevail among the Indians, of collecting, at certain periods, the bones of all their dead, wherever deposited at the time of death. Others, again, supposed them the general sepulchre for towns, conjectured to have been on or near these grounds ; and this opinion was supported by the quality of the lands in which they were found, (those constructed of earth being generally in the softest and most fertile meadow grounds, on river sides) ; and by a tradition, said to be handed down from the aboriginal Indians, that when they settled in a town, the first person who died, was placed erect, and earth put about him, so as to cover and support him ; that when another died, a narrow passage was dug to the first, the second reclined against him, and the cover of earth replaced ; and so on. There being one of these in my neighbourhood, I wished to satisfy myself, whether any, and which of these opinions were just : for this purpose, I determined to open, and examine it thoroughly. It was situated on the low grounds of the Rivanna, about two miles above its principal fork, and opposite to some hills, on which had been an Indian town. It was of a spheroidal form, of about forty feet diameter at the base ; and had been of about twelve feet altitude, though now reduced by the plough to seven and a half ; having been under cultivation about a dozen years. Before this, it was covered with trees of twelve inches diameter ; and, round the base, was an excavation of five feet depth and width, from whence the earth had been taken, of which the hillock was formed. 1

first dug superficially in several parts of it; and came to collections of human bones, at different depths, from six inches to three feet below the surface. These were lying in the utmost confusion, some vertically, some obliquely, some horizontally, and directed to every point of the compass, entangled and held together in clusters, by the earth. Bones of the most distant parts were found together; as, for instance, the small bones of the foot, in the hollow of a scull: many skulls were sometimes in contact, lying on the face, on the side, on the back, top, or bottom, so as, on the whole, to give the idea of bones emptied promiscuously from a bag or basket, and covered over with earth, without any attention to their order. The bones, of which the greatest numbers remained, were skulls, jaw-bones, teeth, the bones of the arms, thighs, legs; feet; and hands. A few ribs remained, some vertebræ of the neck and spine, without their processes, and one instance, only, of the bone which serves as the base to the vertebral column (the *os sacrum*).

After making some remarks on the state of putrefaction in which the bones appeared, and on the discovery of the bones of infants, Mr. Jefferson goes on: "I proceeded, then, to make a perpendicular cut through the body of the barrow, that I might examine its internal structure. This passed about three feet from its centre; was opened to the former surface of earth, and was wide enough for a man to walk through and examine its sides:

"At the bottom, that is; on the level of the circumjacent plain, I found bones; above these a few stones brought from a cliff, a quarter of a mile off, and from the river one eighth of a mile off. Then a large interval of earth—then a stratum of bones—and so on. At one end of the section, were four strata of bones, plainly distinguishable; at the other, three; the strata in one part not ranging with those in another. The bones, nearest the surface, were least decayed. No holes were discovered in any of them, as if made with bullets,

arrows, or other weapons. I conjectured, that in this barrow might have been a thousand skeletons. Every one will readily seize the circumstances above related, which militate against the opinion, that it covered the bones only of persons fallen in battle; and against the tradition, also, which would make it the common sepulchre of a town; in which the bodies were placed upright; and touching each other. Appearances certainly indicate, that it has derived both origin and growth from the accustomed collection of bones; and deposition of them together; that the first collection had been deposited on the common surface of the earth; that a few stones were put over it; and then a covering of earth; that the second had been laid on this; had covered more or less of it, in proportion to the number of bones; and was then also covered with earth; and so on. The following are the particular circumstances, which give it this aspect: 1. The number of bones: 2. The strata in one part having no correspondence with those in another. 3. The different states of decay in these strata, which seem to indicate a difference in the time of inhumation. 4. The existence of infant bones among them.

"But, on whatever occasion they may have been made, they are of considerable notoriety among the Indians: for a party passing, about thirty years ago, through the part of the country where this barrow is, went through the woods directly to it, without any instructions, or enquiry; and having staid about it some time, with expressions, which were construed to be those of sorrow, they returned to the high road, which they had left about half a dozen miles, to pay this visit; and pursued their journey. There is another barrow, much resembling this, in the low grounds of the south branch of the Shenandoah, where it is crossed by the road leading from the Rock-fish Gap to Staunton. Both of these have, within these dozen years, been cleared of their trees, and put under cultivation; are much reduced in their height; and spread in width, by the plough, and will proba-

y disappear in time. There is another hill, in the blue ridge of mountains; a few miles north of Wood's Gap, which is made up of small stones rown together. This has been opened, and found to contain human bones, the others do. There are also others, other parts of the country."

From this account of Mr. Jefferson, whose industry and talents, the sciences and his country will ever be indebted, we may fairly conclude, that the mounds at Muskingum are the work of the native Indians. It is, however, necessary to notice two or three particulars, in the appearance of those at Muskingum, which are not discovered (or not mentioned by Mr. Jefferson) in the structure of that which he examined. These are the isinglass, the earthenware, the charcoal, and the calcination of the bones by fire. As to the first, it is well known, that the isinglass is found only in particular parts of America; and that the savages in other parts could not obtain it. Mr. Jefferson mentions no discovery of earthen-ware; and that it was used by the Indians in every part of America. The piece you once showed me, Sir, is a specimen of what is found, wherever there has been an Indian town. Pieces of it are dug up frequently in the meadows, on Connecticut river. It appears to be formed of red clay, or of shells and cement hardened by fire, and, as we might naturally suppose, without glazing. By sections of vessels, which remain, it is evident they were wrought with great genuity, and into beautiful and convenient forms.

The charcoal and calcination of the bones are a proof, that there has existed, among the savages of America, a custom of burning the dead, or their bones after the dissolution of the flesh. It does not appear that this custom was general: but it is not at all surprising to find that such a practice has existed in this country; since it has been frequent among the uncivilized nations on the eastern continent.

The natural deductions from the foregoing facts, are these, that the

mounds or barrows in every part of America were the cemeteries of the native Indians—of these there were large settlements at the mouth of the Muskingum, where the fortifications are discovered—but that the original construction, or the improvement of the walls of earth, must be ascribed to Ferdinand and his body of Spaniards.

After all, I must admit a possibility, that the last conclusion is not well founded: and it must perhaps require clearer proof than can now be obtained, to render this account of the construction of the forts, satisfactory to most enquirers. I am sensible, Sir, that you have entertained an opinion, that the story of Madoc, the Welsh prince, may be true; and that it is possible the fortifications at Muskingum may be the work of his colony. Of the truth of this conclusion, there is perhaps no direct evidence: and yet collateral evidence may be obtained, that it is not chimerical. There is such a surprising affinity between the Indian mounds and the barrows or cemeteries which remain in England, but particularly in Wales and Anglesey, the last retreats of the original Britons, that we can hardly resolve it into a common principle of analogy that subsists between nations in the same stage of society: but incredulity itself will acknowledge the probability, that the primitive inhabitants of Britain and America had a common stock, from which they were derived, long since the age of the first parent: not that I believe North America to be peopled so late as the twelfth century, the period of Madoc's migration: but supposing America to have been settled two or three thousand years before that period, a subsequent colony might pass the Atlantic, and bring the Roman improvements in fortification.

Waving further conjectures, I beg leave to describe the analogy between the barrows in England and Wales and in America. This will be striking, and cannot fail to entertain a curious reader, because it is attended with positive proofs.

In England, Scotland, Wales, and the island of Anglesey, there are numbers of monuments erected by the ancients: but the most remarkable are generally found in the two latter, whither the old Britons retreated from their Roman and Saxon conquerors: and Anglesey, the ancient Mona, is supposed to have been the chief seat of the druids. The remains of the most consequence are the cromlechs, the tumuli, and the cumuli, or carnedds. Cromlech, if the word is derived from the British roots *krom laech*, signifies a bending stone.* This is the common opinion, as Rowland observes.† If we trace the origin to the Hebrew, the root of the old British‡, we shall find it not less significative: for *cærem luach* signify devoted stone or altar. These cromlechs consist of large stones, pitched on end in the earth, as supporters, upon which is laid a broad stone of a vast size. The supporters stand in a bending posture, and are from three to seven feet high. The top-stone is often found to be of twenty or thirty tons weight, and remains to this day on the pillars. Numbers of these are found in Wales and Anglesey: but none is more remarkable, than that in Wiltshire, called Stone henge, for a full description of which I must beg leave to refer you to Camden's *Britannia*, vol. I. page 119. These cromlechs are doubtless works of great antiquity: but for what purpose they were erected, at such an im-

NOTES.

* Camden's *Britannia*, volume II, page 759.

† *Mona antiq. restaur.* page 47.

‡ That the primitive Britons may claim a very direct descent from the ancient inhabitants of Syria and Phenicia, whose languages were but branches from the same common stock, the Hebrew, may be made to appear probable by a comparison of their customs; but may be almost demonstrated by a collation of the old British language with the Hebrew roots. This belongs to another treatise now preparing for the press.

menſe expenſe of time and labour: was neceſſary to convey ſtones of three tons weight a conſiderable diſtance, and raiſe them ſeveral feet, is not eaſily determined. The probability is, that they were altars for ſacrifice: as pieces burnt bones and aſhes are found near them. They might alſo be uſed in other ceremonies, under the druidical ſyſtem as the ratification of covenants, &c. In this kind of monument is not found in America, I will waive a further conſideration of it—obſerving only, that it was an ancient practice, among the eaſtern nations, to raiſe heaps of ſtones, witneſſes of agreements, and to ſacrifice upon them, as a ſolemn ratification of the act of the parties. Many inſtances of this ceremony are mentioned in the old teſtament. The covenant between Jacob and Laban was witneſſed by a heap of ſtones, which ſerved alſo as a boundary between their reſpective claims. “And Jacob offered ſacrifice upon the mount,” that is the heap “and called his brethren to eat bread” Gen. xxxi. 54. A ſimilar cuſtom ſeems to have prevailed among the primitive Britons.

But the tumuli, barrows, or mounds of earth, which remain in multitudes in England and Wales, are conſtructed exactly in the manner of the barrow deſcribed by Mr. Jefferſon and Mr. Heart. One of theſe in Wiltſhire, Camden thus deſcribes. “Here Selbury, a round hill, riſes to a conſiderable height and ſeems, by the faſhion of it, as if the ſliding down of the earth about it, to have been caſt up by men's hand. Of this ſort there are many in the country, round and copped, which are called burrows or barrows; perhaps raiſed in memory of the ſoldiers ſlain there. For bones are found in them, and I have read, it was a cuſtom among the northern people, that every ſoldier, who ſurvived a battle, ſhould bring a helmet full of earth towards the raiſing of monuments for their ſlain fellows.

NOTE.

§ *Britannia*, volume 1, page 127.

This is said to be the largest and most uniform barrow in the county, and perhaps in England: and I regret, that the height and circumference are not mentioned. I am, however, informed verbally, by a gentleman who has visited England, that some of these tumuli appear to have been nearly 100 feet high†. There are also in the same county, several kinds of barrows of different sizes—some surrounded with benches—others not—some with stones to round them—others without any: the general figure of them is nearly circular, but a little oval.

In Pembroke-shire, in Wales, Camden informs us‡, “there are divers ancient tumuli, or artificial mounds for inter-burial, whereof the most notable have been seen, are these four, called *krigeu maes*, or the barrows of *kemaes*. One of these, a gentleman of the neighbourhood, out of curiosity, and for the satisfaction of some friends, caused it to be dug; and discovered there five urns, which contained a considerable quantity of burnt bones and ashes.” If there is any difference between these barrows, and those at Muskingum, it is this, that in Wales the ashes were lodged in urns: probably this was the fate of the bodies of eminent men only; or it proves a greater degree of improvement in Britain, than appears among the American savages.

In Caermardhinshire, there is a barrow of a singular kind. It is called, *og y dyrn* (probably the king's barrow)*. The circumference at bottom sixty paces, and its height about six fathoms. It rises by an easy ascent to the top, which is hollow. This is a heap of earth, raised over a *carnedd*, or pile of stones. In the centre of the cavity on the top, there is a large flat stone, about nine feet by five; beneath this

NOTES.

† One as large as that, is said to be found at Grave creek, about 80 miles above Muskingum.

‡ Volume II. page 763.

* Camden, volume II, page 751.

was found a *kist-vaen*, a kind of stone chest, four feet and a half by three, made up of stones, and within and about it were found a few pieces of brick and stones. This might have been the tomb of a druid, or prince.

The *cumuli* of stones, or *carnedds*, as they are called by the Welsh, from *keren nedh*, a *coped heap*, are scattered over the west of England and Wales; and appear to have been raised in the manner of our Indian heaps, and for the same purpose; viz. to preserve the memory of the dead. Every Indian in this country, who passes one of these heaps, throws a stone upon it. Rowland remarks, that the same custom exists among the vulgar Welsh to this day: and if I mistake not, Camden takes notice of the same practice. Rowland says, “in these *coel ceithic*, (certain festivals) people use, even to this day, to throw and offer each one his stone, though they know not the reason. The common tradition is, that these heaps cover the graves of men, signal either for eminent virtues, or notorious villanies, on which every person looked on himself obliged as he passed by, to bestow a stone, in veneration of his good life, or in detestation of his villainy.” This practice now prevails in Wales and Anglesey, merely as a mark of contempt.

The *carnedds* in America answer exactly the description of those in Wales: and the practice of throwing upon the heap each man his stone as he passes by, exists among the Indians, in its purity; that is, as a mark of respect.

It is said by authors, that mounds and piles of stones are found likewise in Denmark and Sweden: but in construction they differ from those found in Britain. Yet from the foregoing descriptions, taken from authentic testimony, it appears, that between the barrows in England and America, in the manner of construction, and the purposes to which they were applied, there is an analogy, rarely to be traced in works of such consequence, among nations whose intercourse ceased at Ra-

bel—an analogy that we could hardly suppose would exist among nations descended from different stocks. This analogy, however, without better evidence, will not demonstrate the direct descent of the Indians from the ancient Celts or Britons. But as all the primitive inhabitants of the west of Europe were evidently of the same stock, it is natural to suppose they might pass from Norway to Iceland, from Iceland to Greenland, and from thence to Labrador: and thus the North American savages may claim a common origin with the primitive Britons and Celts. This supposition has some foundation, and is by no means obviated by Cooke's late discoveries in the Pacific ocean.

These are, however, but conjectures. Future discoveries may throw more light upon these subjects. At present, a few facts only can be collected, to amuse a contemplative mind, and perhaps lead to enquiries which will result in a satisfactory account of the first peopling of America, and of the few remains of antiquity which it affords.

Your candour and friendship, joined with a taste for such investigations, will, I flatter myself, apologize for my presumption in writing this to a gentleman of known skill and eminent acquaintance with antiquities, and who is well qualified to furnish me with an extensive knowledge of these subjects. I was drawn, without design, into an enquiry, which has produced the foregoing statement of facts: and as it was your wish to have them laid before the public, I shall submit the merit of the attempt to solve a difficult question, respecting the remains of antiquity in America, to the impartial decision of those whom I ever wish to gratify.

I have the honour to be, rev. sir,
with great respect,
your most obedient
humble servant,
NOAH WEBSTER.

—•••••

The maid of Switzerland. By miss Anne Blower.—Page 219.

“BY means of that singular incident, which introduced me to

you, I became sensible of the cruel sacrifice I had made of my liberty to the contemptible motives of interested ambition. On the first sight of my love-cousin, my whole soul was devoted to her, and enchanted with the irresistible and unaffected simplicity of her character, and that air of ingenuousness and candour she possesses, the artless and bewitching graces of her person as far removed from the coarseness of the rustic as from the affected delicacy and false refinement of the fine lady. Thus charmed, I involuntarily gave myself up to a passion as pure as love was tender. Lost in the pleasing labyrinth of love, I was not sensible of my error, till I had inadvertently betrayed myself to Julia: and that knowledge instead of displeasing, seemed to inspire her with favourable sentiments for me. I could not, however, conquer myself so far as to disclose to Julia immediately my situation: my heart, fondly enamoured, imprudently indulged itself in the rapturous pleasure of a reciprocal assurance of love. Too late, my heart smote me for the perfidy I had unwittingly committed. In a paroxysm of anguish and despair, I hastened to communicate to you my unfortunate situation, and the resolution I had formed, of flying forever from the presence of my too-lovely cousin. Neither could I leave you, dear madam, without first deprecating your just resentment for the injury I have done you, though unintentionally. Impressed with contrition, I intreat your forgiveness of an involuntary fault: and if the severity of my misery can soften your resentment, be assured it is as great, as my passion is hopeless.”

Surprised and perplexed, madame Clemengis, on Valmont's ceasing, remained for some moments silent; recovering, however, “Valmont,” said she, “I can sooner pardon your promising to love my daughter, so circumstanced, than your dissimulation in concealing it thus long. Though both are indefensible, the one is certainly more excusable than the other, inasmuch as our passions are not always always

our own power: but honour ought ever to controul our conduct. And" — "I see," cried Valmont, despondingly interrupting her, "I see it is in vain to hope for your pardon: farewell then, madam, and believe me, the thought of having given you pain is as afflictive as the severity of that fate which deprives me of happiness forever."

Affected by his last words, and the grief expressed in his countenance, Madame de Clemengis recalled him as he was leaving her, with the most earnest assurances of her total forgetfulness of every thing that had passed, with one condition only, "Never to attempt a clandestine correspondence with his cousin;" to which he solemnly consenting, she embraced him tenderly, and having already taken leave of Julia, he instantly left the house in a state of mind better imagined than described.

How strong were the emotions of Julia, on being made acquainted with Valmont's situation! wounded to the soul, she endeavoured to appear composed and indifferent. Madame de Clemengis saw through, but pardoned the natural finesse, and perceived with concern, how deeply she was affected by the intelligence. The truth was, she felt it as a disappointment herself. Finding a disorder she had had from her youth increase daily to an alarming height, so as to threaten a speedy dissolution, she felt a thousand anxieties for the fate of her daughter, when death should deprive her of her only protector—having fondly flattered herself that the predilection Valmont had discovered, might have produced a union, which would have relieved her of part of the solicitude she felt at the thought of leaving her. But now the image of Julia's unprotected and friendless state perpetually presented itself. She ardently wished to secure her some protector, when that should happen, which every day rendered more probable. Her confidence in the honour of Valmont remained unshaken: that he, in the eye of the world, did not

seem so proper a guardian to youth and beauty as one of maturer years. His father, the marquis, she recollected, though of a cold and haughty character, had ever expressed the greatest regard for his brother, and for several years in his letters continually solicited him to return to the world. But the constancy, with which mons. de Clemengis adhered to his solitude, caused a coolness which time rather increased than diminished; and at his death all connexion seemed lost. Madame de Clemengis imagined, however, the orphan remains of one so nearly related, must interest him, in spite of any former pique he might still retain. And who could more properly become the guardian of Julia, than her uncle, a man of rank and honour? Convinced of this, she hesitated not, but instantly wrote to Valmont, requesting him to inform his father of the uncertain state of her health, and to interest him to honour with his protection his orphan niece. This task performed, her mind became easier; and she endeavoured to dissipate the gloom her total loss of health had spread on Julia.

In a little time, when she began to expect an answer from Valmont, she was surprised with his presence. Valmont exclaimed: "My dear madam how has your letter afflicted me! After acquainting my father with the contents, impatient to see you, I hastened hither. But, good heavens! you are even worse than your letter made me imagine." "Valmont," said she, "I am convinced I shall not be long here; but do not acquaint Julia with my apprehensions; already oppressed with sorrow, to be informed of the truth, would reduce her to despair. Let us then prepare her for the event by degrees."

Valmont now informed her, his father would be happy to receive and protect his niece; and that, impatient to see her, he would have accompanied him to Switzerland, had not his attendance at court obliged him to remain in Paris. At this moment Julia entered: Valmont advanced to salute her: but how was his susceptible heart wounded by

the sight of her wan and melancholy countenance! After continuing some weeks with them, during which madame de Clemengis suffered under the most cruel disorder, with a patience and resolution that would have done honour to the most stoical contemner of pain, Valmont saw with grief how nearly her end approached. Sensible of it herself, she one morning desired them to draw near her bed: "My dear children," said she, embracing them, "convinced that I shall shortly leave you, I wish to say a few words ere death snatches me from the sight of objects so dear to my heart. Julia, my dear Julia, regard the last desires of your mother: let me see you exert that reason you are possessed of, to combat your sorrow at this separation: recollect it will not be forever: we shall surely meet again never more to part. Why then this unavailing grief at the dispensations of providence, to which all must submit? rouse then that noble soul you are possessed of, to vanquish the despair that overwelms you." Julia, whose grief was unutterable, remained silent. "Valmont," continued madame de Clemengis, "I know you love my daughter: she regards you too with tenderness—since fate has placed an insuperable bar to your union, be a brother to her: Julia will love you with the affection of a sister, I believe your honour inviolate: may it ever remain so! And if you should for an instant deviate from those principles you at present possess, let the remembrance of the confidence I repose in you now, preserve you in the line of rectitude." Valmont threw himself on his knees: "How your words afflict, yet charm me! may I never forfeit the favourable opinion, or the treasure you bequeath me, by becoming unworthy of either. Oh, Julia!" he continued, taking her hand, and embracing it with eagerness, "since cruel fortune denies me the happiness of becoming your husband, let me embrace the title of your brother. With transport I assume the precious character; and heaven be witness of the fidelity

with which I shall perform the fraternal part."

Madame de Clemengis now growing faint, desired to be left alone: Julia could not be prevailed on to leave her, but sat by her bed, the image of silent woe, watching with painful anxiety every emotion of her mother. Some days elapsed, when with the most perfect resignation—the most acute sufferings madame de Clemengis breathed her last. For some moments, Julia was not sensible of her loss; but when she discovered the truth, she uttered the most piercing cries, and throwing herself on the body, would not be separated from it.

In vain did Valmont endeavour to console her—in vain did he strive to assuage her grief: she regarded him not; but, deaf to the voice of consolation, listened to nothing but her despair. By degrees, however, he drew her from the object of her sorrow, he soothed her grief, by participating it and mingled his tears with hers. In time, she became more composed. Perceiving her melancholy was not likely to be soon dissipated, in a place where every object reminded her of her loss; he hastened her departure, alleging, his father was impatient for his return. Julia, having no just objection to make, mildly acquiesced; but parted with the fondest regret from her native field: wherein she had spent the blissful hours of early youth; nor could she refrain from casting a "lingering look," as they journeyed along, on that romantic spot that now formed the tomb of her parents. Valmont endeavoured to draw her attention from objects too interesting to her sensibility, by describing her Paris, and the manners of the Parisians. She listened with the utmost sweetness and complacency to his descriptions. His remarks pleased and interested her. She found herself amused by his conversation, and part of her former vivacity returned. Valmont was delighted with so favourable a change and flattered himself her spirits would in a short time be wholly restored. C

their arrival at Paris, she was immediately introduced to the marquis. He received her with politeness and respect: but the natural coldness and hauteur of his temper prevented his expressing either tenderness or affection at the sight of so near a relation. Already depressed in her mind, this chilling interview almost annihilated her. By no means happy at the thoughts of living with a man of the marquis's disposition, she rejoiced at his proposing to her, some time after her arrival, boarding in a convent, as the most eligible situation for a young woman without female protectors. As nothing could be more agreeable to her inclinations, than such a proposal, she gladly acceded to it; and in a short time was placed in one of the most respectable convents in Paris. Valmont was by no means pleased with this arrangement, apprehensive, from the melancholy Julia still retained, she might be induced to think of taking the veil; dreading a resolution that would forever deprive him of all hope of being united to her, the distant idea of which he still fondly cherished. His fears were not groundless — Julia, pleased with the respect and attention the lady abbess and the nuns paid her, and charmed with their bland and placid manners, listened with eager pleasure to the flattering picture they drew of the peace and happiness of a monastic life, exempt from the cares and anxieties of the world. Retirement and repose were the only blessings she now coveted, and the only prospect that now pleased her melancholy imagination. Though not unexpected, yet Valmont was driven to despair, on being assured of her design; to dissuade her from her resolution he found impossible, though he employed all the rhetoric of a lover, joined to the influence of a brother. Not insensible to his ardent conjurations, nor unmoved by his tender intreaties, yet he could not prevail on her to alter her purpose. Possessed with a desire of ending her days in the convent, she closed her ears, and guarded her heart from the power

of Valmont's persuasions, with a caution and reserve that deeply wounded him.

Hopeless of changing her determination, he left her, almost distracted. Several times he was on the point of soliciting his father to use his influence to dissuade her from her resolve: but he knew that father too well, not to be fearful he would be more disposed to encourage than disapprove an inclination that would ease him of all farther solicitude. The agitation of his mind, occasioned by the fear of not being able to prevent a step he could not bear to think of, threw him into a fever that endangered his life. Julia had already entered her noviciate: but as the time approached, when she must make her profession, she found her resolution relax. Valmont's grief was ever before her eyes: his tender affection, his constant and honourable passion, and the despair that overwhelmed him, were images that continually presented themselves. How then were they strengthened, when informed he was ill, and that his life was despaired of? A thousand times did she repent of her rashness; and, had not pride withheld her, would instantly have declined taking the veil, to have restored Valmont to health.

The marquis was soon made acquainted with the situation of his son's heart, as he frequently in his delirium called on the name of Julia, and uttered such exclamations, as fully informed those around him how passionately he adored her. Anxious for the life of an only son, and fearing, as Valmont ardently wished to see her, any opposition might increase his disorder, the marquis sent a messenger to Julia, to request her presence immediately. She instantly obeyed the summons, and flew to the chamber of her lover. Though the fever had not yet left him, and he was still delirious, he knew her on her entrance: and this proof of her regard appeared to have more efficacy in calming his distempered mind, than all the skill of the physicians.

From the constant care and attention of Julia, and the judgment with which she administered his medicines—for he would receive them from no hand but hers—he soon discovered favourable symptoms. His fever in a short time abated, and left only the weakness usual in such cases. Julia now thought of returning to the convent, but was prevailed on to defer her design, as the marquis joined his entreaties to those of his son, to induce her to stay; nor would the latter suffer her to depart, till he had gained her promise to lay aside all thoughts of taking the vows. Julia had been some time in the convent, after her return, without having heard from either the marquis or Valmont. Anxious to know what could occasion this unusual neglect, and fearing she knew not what, she waited with impatience for some intelligence; when one morning Valmont appeared at the grate, habited in deep mourning: she hastily enquired if the marquis was well? guessing at the cause of her alarm by the question, he informed her it was not his father for whom he wore sable; but madame de Valmont, whose sudden death was occasioned by the fright and ill treatment she received from robbers who attacked her carriage as she was returning late, or rather early, from an assembly where she had spent the night. “And now, Julia,” continued Valmont; “since fate has removed every obstacle, you will not surely refuse to become mine, nor by delay longer deprive me of the happiness I have so long languished for!”

Julia, confused and astonished at the surprising intelligence, for some time could make no answer, but recovering herself, with some confusion she replied: Though providence had so unforeseenly removed one obstacle, she did not see they were the nearer being united; for there still remained another: “your father, I am persuaded, will never give his consent to our marriage, and without that we can never be united. Valmont you cannot doubt my affection; but”——“Affection!” reiterated he, “no, Julia, you never loved me, or

you could not thus with cold and idle scruples oppose an union to which heaven now seems favourable. As to my father, having once sacrificed my happiness to his authority, he surely cannot expect another offering to his caprice.” “Valmont,” returned Julia, “you do me wrong; my cold scruples, as you are pleased to term them, are not so unreasonable as you imagine: but the cruel doubts you entertain, groundless as unjust, I know not how to pardon. I own and assent to what you say on the tyranny of your father: yet I still think he has a claim to your respect, if not to your obedience: and the compliment of asking his consent is surely due.” Valmont intreated Julia’s pardon, for the impetuosity of his temper; and assented to the propriety of informing his father, which, on leaving her, he immediately did. The marquis, knowing he could no longer expect that blind submission to his authority he had formerly exacted, replied, with his usual *sang froid* and indifference, “he might do as he thought proper.” Happy, that his wishes were not opposed, he hastened to claim the hand of his Julia, to whom, on the expiration of his mourning, he was united in the festive bands of Hymen, whose rosy fetters they still wear with ease and pleasure.



Anecdote.

A NEGRO fellow being strongly suspected to have stolen goods in his possession, was taken before a certain justice of peace in Philadelphia, and charged with the offence. The fellow was so hardened as to acknowledge the fact, and, to add to his crime, had the audacity to make the following speech: “massa justice, me know me got dem tings from Tom dere—and me tinke Tom teal dem too—but what den; massa? dey be only a piccaninny cork-screw and a piccaninny knife—one cost sixpence and tudda a shilling—and me pay Tom for dem honestly, massa.”

‘A very pretty story truly—you knew they were stolen, and yet allege in excuse,

you paid honestly for them—I'll teach you better law than that, firrah! don't you know, Cesar, the receiver is as bad as the thief? you must be severely whipt, you black rascal you!

“Very well, massa?—If de black rascal be wipt for buying tolen goods, me hope de white rascal be wipt too for same ting, when me catch him, as well as Cesar.” “To be sure,” rejoined his worship. “Well den,” says Cesar, “here be Tom's massa—hold him fast, constable, he buy Tom as I buy de piccaninny knife and de piccaninny cork-screw. He know very well poor Tom be tolen from his old fadder and mudder; de knife and the cork-screw have neder.”

Whether it was that his worship, as well as Tom's master, were smote in the same instant with the justice or the severity of Cesar's application, we know not: but after a few minutes pause, Cesar was dismissed, and the action discharged.



Account of the climate of Pennsylvania, and its influence upon the human body. By Benjamin Rush, M. D. Concluded from Vol. VI. page 254.

THE air, when dry in Pennsylvania, has a peculiar elasticity, which renders the heat and cold less insupportable, than the same degrees of both are in moister countries. It is in those cases only, when summer-showers are not succeeded by north-west winds, that the heat of the air becomes oppressive and distressing, from being combined with moisture.

From tradition, as well as living observation, it is evident, that the waters in many of the creeks in Pennsylvania have diminished considerably within these last fifty years. Hence many mills, erected upon large and deep streams of water, now stand idle in dry weather: and many creeks, once navigable in large boats, are now impassible, even in canoes. This diminution of the waters has been ascribed to the application of a part of them to the purpose of making meadows.

The mean elevation of the barometer at Philadelphia, is about thirty inches.

The variations in the barometer are very inconsiderable, in the greatest changes of the weather, which occur in the city of Philadelphia. During the violent and destructive storm, which blew from the south-west on the 11th of November, 1788, it suddenly fell from 30 to 29 $\frac{3}{10}$. Mr. Rittenhouse informs me, that long and faithful observations have satisfied him, that the alterations in the height of the mercury, in the barometer, do not precede, but always succeed changes in the weather. It falls with the south and south-west, and rises with the north and north-west winds.

The quantity of water, which falls in rain and snow, one year with another, amounts to from 24 to 36 inches. But to complete the account of variable qualities in the climate, it will be necessary to add, that our summers and autumns are sometimes marked by a deficiency, or by an excessive quantity of rain. The summer and autumn of 1782 were uncommonly dry. Nearly two months elapsed without a single shower of rain. There were only two showers in the whole months of September and October. In consequence of this dry weather, there was no second crop of hay. The Indian corn failed of its increase in many places, and was cut down for food for cattle. Trees newly planted, died. The pasture fields not only lost their verdure, but threw up small clouds of dust, when agitated by the feet of men, or beasts. Cattle in some instances were driven many miles to be watered, every morning and evening*. The earth became so inflammable in some places, as to burn above a foot below its surface. A complete consumption of the turf, by an accidental fire, kindled in the adjoining state of New Jersey, spread terror and distress through a large tract of country.

NOTE.

* It was remarked, during this dry weather, that the sheep were uncommonly fat, and their flesh well tasted, while all the other domestic animals languished from the want of grass and water.

Crabs, which never forsake salt or brackish water, were caught more than a mile above the city of Philadelphia, in the river Delaware, which is sixty miles above the places in which they are usually found. Springs of water and large creeks were dried up in many parts of the state. Rocks appeared in the river Schuylkill, which had never been observed before, by the oldest persons then alive. On one of them were cut the figures 1701. The atmosphere, during part of this dry weather, was often filled, especially in the mornings, with a thin mist†, which, while it deceived with the expectation of rain, served the valuable purpose of abating the heat of the sun. I am sorry that I am not able to furnish the mean heat of each of the summer months. My notes of the weather enable me to add nothing further upon this subject, than that the summer was “uncommonly cool.”

The summer of the year 1788 afforded a remarkable instance of excess in the quantity of rain, which sometimes falls in Pennsylvania. Thirteen days are marked with rain in July in the records of the weather kept at Springmill. There fell, on the 18th and 19th of August, seven inches of rain in the city of Philadelphia. The wheat suffered greatly by the constant rains of July, in the eastern and middle parts of the state. So unproductive a harvest in grain, from wet weather, had not been known, it is said, in the course of the last seventy years. The heat of the air, during these summer months, was very moderate. Its mean temperature at Springmill was 67.8 in June, 74.7 in July, and only 70.6 in August.

It is some consolation to a citizen of Pennsylvania, in recording facts, which seem to militate against our climate, to reflect, that the difference of the weather in different parts of the state, at

NOTE.

† A similar mist was observed in France by dr. Franklin, in the summer of 1782. The winter, which succeeded it, was uncommonly cold in France, as well as in Pennsylvania.

the same season, is happily accommodate to promote an increase of the same objects of agriculture : and hence a deficiency of crops has never been known in any one year throughout the whole state.

The aurora borealis and meteors are seen occasionally in Pennsylvania. In the present imperfect state of our knowledge of their influence upon the human body, it would be foreign to the design of this history of our climate to describe them.

Storms and hurricanes are not unknown in Pennsylvania. They occur once in four or five years : but they are most frequent and destructive in the autumn. They are generally accompanied by rain. Trees are torn up by their roots ; and the rivers and creeks are sometimes swelled so suddenly, as to do considerable damage to the adjoining farms. The wind, during these storms generally blows from the south-east and south-west. In the storms, which occurred in September 1769, and in the same month of the year 1785, the wind veered round contrary to its usual course, and blew from the north.

After what has been said, the character of the climate of Pennsylvania may be summed up in a few words. There are no two successive years alike. Even the same successive seasons and months differ from each other every year. Perhaps there is but one steady trait in the character of our climate, and that is, it is uniformly variable.

To furnish the reader with a full view of the weather in Pennsylvania that includes all the articles that have been mentioned, I shall here subjoin a table containing the result of meteorological observations made for one year near the river Schuylkill, in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, by an ingenious French gentleman*, who divided his time between rural employment and useful philosophical pursuits. The table is extracted from the Columbian magazine for February, 1788. The height of Spring mill above the city of Philadelphia, is supposed to be at least 70 feet.

* Mr. Legeaux

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS, made at SPRINGMILL, 13 miles NNW of Philadelphia.

Result of the year 1787.

MONTH.	THERMOMETER.		BAROMETER.	WIND.	DAY S.						WEATHER.		
	of Fahrenheit, mean degree D. $\frac{1}{10}$	de Reaumur, degrés moyens D. $\frac{1}{10}$			mean height in. pts. $\frac{1}{10}$	PREVAILING	of aur. boreal.	of rain.	of thunder.	of snow.		of tempert.	Quantity of RAIN and SNOW, in. pts. $\frac{1}{10}$
January	35	1	29	Variable, till.		7	1	4	2	3	10	10	Fair, till, cold, and snow.
February	33	8	29	NE		3		3	2	3	7	3	Fair, overcast.
March	45	1	29	W		6		3	2	2	4	2	Fair, windy.
April	54	3	29	Still, S W		3	2	2	2	1	2	13	Fair, and very dry.
May	61	2	29	Still, WSW	1	14	6	1	2	4	11	4	Foggy, cold and wet.
June	70	7	29	WNW		9	1		2	1	10	4	Very fair and growing weather.
July	72	2	29	W. WSW vari.	1	5	2		1	3	1	3	Fair and overcast.
August	74	5	29	W		11	4		1	5	2	7	Very fair and cloudy.
September	64	7	29	WNW		6	1		1	2	7	8	Fair weather.
October	51	1	29	WNW variable	1	4			1	2	7	10	Foggy, fair and dry weather.
November	45	1	29	Still, variable	1	5				2	6	10	Very fair.
December	34	1	29	WNW		7		1	1	9	9	9	Very fair and very dry.
10 Feb. greatest D. of cold.	10	10	8										
10 Feb. greatest D. of heat.	10	10	10										
3 July greatest D. of heat.	3	3	2	WNW	4	73	17	12	9	32	8	14	
3 Juillet plus G. D. de chaud.	3	3	2	WNW	4	73	17	12	9	32	8	14	
10 Feb. greatest plus gr. froid.	10	10	8										
8 Mar. greatest elevation.	8	8	10										
2 Febr. least elevation.	2	2	10										
Variation.													
91	1	40	5										
Variation.													
91	1	40	5										
Variation.													
53	5	9	6										
Variation.													
53	5	9	6										

WEATHER.

Fair, till, cold, and snow.
 Fair, overcast.
 Fair, windy.
 Fair, and very dry.
 Foggy, cold and wet.
 Very fair and growing weather.
 Fair and overcast.
 Very fair and cloudy.
 Fair weather.
 Foggy, fair and dry weather.
 Very fair.
 Very fair and very dry.

TEMPERATURE

OF

THE YEAR 1787.

Very fair, dry, abundant in every thing, and healthy.

RESULT.

It is worthy of notice, how near the mean heat of the year, and of the month of April, in two successive years, are to each other in the same place. The mean heat of April, 1787, was $54^{\circ} 3$, that of April, 1788, was $52^{\circ} 2$. By the table of the mean heat of each month in the year, it appears that the mean heat of 1787 was $53^{\circ} 5$ at Springmill.

The following accounts of the climates of Pekin and Madrid, which lie within a few minutes of the same latitude as Philadelphia, may serve to shew how much climates are altered by local and relative circumstances. The account of the temperature of the air at Pekin, will serve further to shew, that with all the advantages of the highest degrees of cultivation, which have taken place in China, the winters are colder, and the summers warmer there than in Pennsylvania, principally from a cause which will probably operate upon the winters of Pennsylvania for many centuries to come, viz. the vicinity of an uncultivated north-west country.

“Pekin, lat $39^{\circ} 54'$, long. $116^{\circ} 29'$ W.

“By five years observations, its annual mean temperature was found to be $55^{\circ} 5$.

January	$20^{\circ} 75$	July	$84^{\circ} 8$
February	32	August	83
March	48	Septem.	63
April	59	October	52
May	72	Novem.	41
June	$83,75$	Decem.	27

“The temperature of the Atlantic, under this parallel, is 62 : but the standard of this part of the globe is the North Pacific, which is here 4 or 5 degrees colder than the Atlantic. The yellow sea is the nearest to Pekin, being about 200 miles distant from it: but it is itself cooled by the mountainous country of Corea, which interposes between it and the ocean, for a considerable part of its extent. Besides, all the northern parts of China (in which Pekin lies) must be cooled by the vicinity of the mountains of Chi-

nese Tartary, among which the cold is said to be excessive.

“The greatest cold usually experienced during this period, was 5° : the greatest heat, 98° : on the 25th of July 1773, the heat arose to 108° and 110° : a N. E. or N. W. wind produces the greatest cold; a S. or S. W. or S. E. the greatest heat*.”

“Madrid, lat. $40^{\circ} 25'$ long. $3^{\circ} 20'$ E.

“The usual heat in summer is said to be from 75 to 85° ; even at night it seldom falls below 70° ; the mean height of the barometer is 26,96, it seems to be about 1900 feet above the level of the sea†.”

The above accounts are extracted from mr. Kirwan's useful and elaborate estimate of the temperature of different latitudes.

The history, which has been given of the climate of Pennsylvania, is confined chiefly to the country on the east side of the Allegany mountain. On the west side of this mountain the climate differs materially from that of the south-eastern parts of the state, in the temperature of the air, in the effects of the winds upon the weather, and in the quantity of rain and snow, which falls every year. The winter seldom breaks up on the mountains before the 25th of March. A fall of snow was once perceived upon it, which measured an inch and an half, on the 11th day of June. The trees, which grow upon it, are small: and Indian corn is with difficulty brought to maturity even at the foot of the east side of it. The south-west winds, on the west side of the mountain, are accompanied by cold and rain. The soil is rich, consisting in many places of near a foot of black mould. The roads in this country are muddy in winter—but seldom dusty in summer. The arrangement of the strata of the earth on the west side, differs materially from their

NOTES.

* “6 Mem. Scav. Etrang. p. 528.”

† “Mem. Par. 1777, p. 146.”

arrangement on the east side of the mountain. "The country," says Mr. Rittenhouse, in a letter to a friend in Philadelphia,* "when viewed from the western ridge of the Allegany, appears to be one vast, extended plain. All the various strata of stone seem to lie undisturbed in the situation in which they were first formed, and the layers of stone, sand, clay, and coal, are nearly horizontal."

The temperature of the air, on the west, is seldom so hot, or so cold, as on the east side of the mountain. By comparing the state of a thermometer examined by doctor Bedford at Pittsburg, 284 miles from Philadelphia, it appears, that the weather was not so

cold within twelve degrees in that town, as it was in Philadelphia, on the 5th of February, 1788.

To shew the difference between the weather at Springmill and in Pittsburg, I shall here subjoin an account of it, in both places, the first taken by Mr. Legeaux, and the other by doctor Bedford. This account is unfortunately confined only to the first fifteen days in April 1788: but it affords a good specimen of the difference of the weather, on the two sides of the mountain in every month of the year. It is remarkable, that in five days out of seven, the rain which fell, was on the same days in both places:

Meteorological observations, made at Springmill, 13 miles NNW of Philadelphia. Month of April, 1788.

Far.	Wind	rain,	thun.	Weather,
0 $\frac{1}{16}$				
58 1	W			overcast, fair
46 9	calm			overc. windy
40 3	changea.	1		overc. rainy.
51 3	SW			overcast,
51 1	E			overcast, fair
55 7	calm	1		overc. rainy
51 3	NE	1		overc. rainy
42 1	E	1		rainy
63 5	W			overc. windy
46 7	W			fair,
53 8	W			very fair,
44 5	calm	1		overc. rainy
60 5	SW			very fair, [ny
50 2	E	1		fair, overc. rai-
58 1	SW	1		foggy, rainy.

Meteorological observations made at Pittsburg, 284 miles from Philadelphia Month of April, 1788

Day	Far.	Wind	rain,	thun.	Weather,
1	46	SW	1		cloudy,
2	42	NE b N			clear,
3	43	SE	1		cloudy,
4	64	calm,			clear,
5	80	SE b S	1	1	cloudy,
6	52	SW	1		cloudy,
7	48	NE b N			cloudy,
8	66	SE b S	1	1	cloudy,
9	56	NW b N			cloudy,
10	60	SW			clou.w.wnd.
11	62	calm.			clear, [wind
12	67	SW			cloudy with
13	62	calm.			clear,
14	60	variable,	1		cloudy,
15	50	W			cloudy,

From a review of all the facts which have been mentioned, it appears that the climate of Pennsylvania is a compound of most of the climates in the world. Here we have the moisture of Britain in the spring, the heat of Africa in summer, the temperature of Italy, in June, the sky of Egypt in the autumn, the cold and snows of Norway, the ice of Holland in the winter, the tempests (in a certain degree) of the West Indies in every season, and

the variable winds and weather of Great Britain in every month of the year.

From this history of the climate of Pennsylvania, it is easy to ascertain what degrees of health, and what diseases prevail in the state. As we have the climates, so we have the health, and the acute diseases, of all the countries that have been mentioned. Without attempting to enumerate the diseases, I shall only add a few words upon the time and manner in which they are produced.

I. It appears, from the testimonies of many aged persons, that pleurifies and

NOTE.

Columbian Mag. for Oct. 1786.
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inflammatory disorders of all kinds, are less frequent now than they were forty and fifty years ago.

II. It is a well-known fact, that intermitting and bilious fevers have increased in Pennsylvania, in proportion as the country has been *cleared of its wood*, in many parts of the state.

III. It is equally certain, that these fevers have lessened or disappeared, in proportion as the country has been *cultivated*.

IV. Heavy rains and freshes in the spring seldom produce fevers, unless they be succeeded by unseasonably warm weather.

V. Heavy rains, or frost, in the autumn, alike check the progress of fevers in Pennsylvania.

VI. The same state of the atmosphere, whether cold or warm, moist or dry, continued for a long time without any material changes, is always healthy. Acute and inflammatory fevers were in vain looked for in the cold winter of 1779, 80. The dry summer of 1782, and the wet summer of 1788, were likewise uncommonly healthy, in the city of Philadelphia. These facts extend only to those diseases which depend upon the sensible qualities of the air. Diseases from miasmata and contagion are less influenced by the uniformity of the weather. The autumn of 1780 was very sickly in Philadelphia, from the peculiar situation of the grounds in the neighbourhood of the city, while the country was uncommonly healthy. The dry summer and autumn of 1782 were uncommonly sickly in the country, from the extensive sources of morbid exhalations, which were left by the diminution of the waters in the creeks and rivers. The city of Philadelphia owed its peculiar healthiness during these two seasons, to its being nearly surrounded by tide water.

VII. Diseases are often generated in one season, and produced in another. Hence we frequently observe fevers of different kinds to follow every species of the weather, which has been mentioned in the last observation.

VIII. The fevers, which accompany

or follow a warm summer, are bilious and remitting. In proportion as the cool weather advances, they put on the type of doctor Cullen's typhus mitior. After a very cold winter, I have twice seen pleurisies in the spring, accompanied by the symptoms of the bilious fever. In one of those epidemics, the pulse, on the fifth day, in several cases became irregular, and stopped after every third or fourth stroke. This complication of typhus with synocha, is not peculiar to Pennsylvania. I have been informed that fevers of even a putrid kind frequently succeed long and cold winter in Russia and Sweden. They have been ascribed, by a Russian physician, to extreme cold producing the same sedative effects as extreme heat upon the human body.

IX. The excessive heat in Pennsylvania has sometimes proved fatal, to persons who have been much exposed to it. Its morbid effects discover themselves by a difficulty of breathing, general languor, and, in some instances by a numbness and an immobility of the extremities. The excessive cold in Pennsylvania has more frequently proved fatal, but it has been chiefly to the persons who have sought a defence from it, by large draughts of spiritous liquors. Its operation in bringing on sleepiness; previously to death, is well known. On the 5th of February, 1783 many people were affected by the cold. It produced a pain in the head; and, in one instance, a sickness at the stomach and a vomiting appeared to be the consequence of it. I have frequently observed, that a greater number of people die, during the continuance of extreme cold and warm weather, than in the same number of days, in moderate weather.

X. May and June are usually the healthiest months in the year.

XI. The influence of the winds upon health, depends very much upon the nature of the country over which they pass. Winds, which pass over mill-dams and marshes in August and September, generally carry with them the seeds of fevers.

XII. The country in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia is much more sickly than the central parts of the city, after the 20th of August.

XIII. The night air is always unwholesome from the 20th of August, especially during the passive state of the system in sleep. The frequent and sudden changes of the air from heat to cold, (exclusive of its insensible qualities) render it unsafe at any time to sleep with open windows.

XIV. Philadelphia became unusually sickly after the year 1778, during the late war, in consequence of the meadows being overflowed to the southward of the city, and of the cutting down of the trees by the British army, which formerly sheltered the city from the exhalations of the grounds to the north and north-west. From the repairs of the banks of the meadows, which exclude tides and freshes—from the cultivation of the grounds to the westward of the city, which were formerly covered with filth, or with stagnating waters—and lastly, from the more regular cleaning of the streets, and the enclosure of a large and offensive canal, which crossed two of the principal streets near the centre of the city, Philadelphia, from having been formerly the most sickly, has become one of the healthiest cities in the united states.

XV. Valetudinarians always enjoy the most health in Pennsylvania in the summer and winter months. The spring, in a particular manner, is very unfavourable to them.

I shall conclude the account of the influence of the climate of Pennsylvania upon the human body, with the following observations.

1. The sensations of heat and cold are influenced so much by outward circumstances, that we often mistake the degrees of them, by neglecting to use such conveniencies as are calculated to obviate the effects of their excess. A native of Jamaica often complains less of the heat, and a native of Canada of the cold, in their respective countries, than they do, under certain circum-

stances, in Pennsylvania. Even a Pennsylvanian frequently complains less of the heat in Jamaica, and the cold in Canada, than in his native state. The reason of this is plain. In countries, where heat and cold are intense and regular, the inhabitants guard themselves by accommodating their houses and dresses to each of them. The instability and short duration of excessive heat and cold in Pennsylvania, have unfortunately led its inhabitants, in many instances, to neglect adopting customs, which are used in hot and cold countries to guard against them. Where houses are built with a southern or south-western front exposure, and where other accommodations to the climate are observed in their construction, the disagreeable excesses of heat and cold are rendered much less perceptible in Pennsylvania. Perhaps the application of the principles of philosophy and taste to the construction of our houses within the last thirty or forty years, may be another reason why some old people have supposed that the degrees of heat and cold are less in Pennsylvania than they were in former years.

2. The number, height, and vegetable productions of the mountains in Pennsylvania, afford a favourable prognosis of the future healthiness of the state. Exclusive of the beneficial effects of these mountains in producing salutary winds and gentle rains, they will serve as a perpetual and inexhaustible store-house of that pure species of air, which has of late been proved to constitute the vital part of common air.

3. The variable nature of the climate of Pennsylvania does not render it necessarily unhealthy. Doctor Huxham has taught us, that the healthiest seasons in Great Britain have often been accompanied by the most variable weather. His words upon this subject convey a reason for the fact. "When the constitutions of the year are frequently changing, so that by the contrast, a sort of equilibrium is kept up, and health with it; and that especially if persons be careful to guard them-

“ selves well against these sudden changes*.” Perhaps no climate or country is unhealthy, where men acquire from experience, or tradition, the arts of accommodating themselves to it. The history of all the nations in the world, whether savage, barbarous, or civilized, previously to a mixture of their manners by an intercourse with strangers, seems to favour this opinion. The climate of China appears, in many particulars, to resemble that of Pennsylvania. The Chinese wear loose garments of different lengths, and increase or diminish the number of them, according to the frequent and sudden changes of their weather : hence they have very few acute diseases amongst them. Those inhabitants of Pennsylvania, who have acquired the arts of conforming to the changes and extremes of our weather, in dress, diet, and manners, escape most of those acute diseases which are occasioned by the sensible qualities of the air : and faithful enquiries and observations have proved, that they attain to as great ages as the same number of people in any part of the world.



An account of the discovery of Vinland, or America, by the Icelanders, in the eleventh century : taken from Mallet's northern antiquities. Concluded from Vol. VI. page 162.

NOTHING memorable occurred the next year. The Skrelingues again offered their commodities, and again begged arms in exchange. These being always denied, one of them stole a hatchet, and returned highly pleased to his companions. Eager to try the new instrument, he gave a violent blow to one of his comrades, and killed him on the spot. All, who were present, stood silent with astonishment, till one, whose shape and air bespoke him to be a person of some authority among them, took up the instrument, and after closely examining it, threw it

NOTE.

* Observations on the air and epidemic diseases, vol. I. p. 5.

with the utmost indignation as far as he could into the sea.

After staying there three years, Thorfin returned home, with a valuable cargo of raisins and other merchandise the fame of which spreading through the north, the incitements of curiosity and gain drew several adventurers to Vinland. The author of the chronicle called the manuscript of Flatey, relates that after several voyages, Thorfin ended his days in Iceland, where he had built a very fine house, and lived in splendor, as one of the first lords of the country ; that he had a son named Snorro, born in Vinland ; that his widow went on a pilgrimage to Rome after his death, and having at her return devoted herself entirely to religion, died in a monastery in Iceland near a church erected by her son. The same author adds, that this account is confirmed by Thorfin himself, and mentions the facts, as well known to all the world. Another manuscript relates the same circumstances only with some inconsiderable variations.

But to return to the new colony where Thorfin had without doubt left some of his people : two brothers named Helgue and Finbog, Icelanders by birth, going to Greenland were persuaded to fit out two vessels and undertake a voyage to this new country. Freidis, the daughter of Eri Rufus, accompanied them ; but this woman, unworthy to belong to so illustrious a family, imposed upon the two brothers, and during their stay in Vinland, raised such disturbances, as ended in the massacre of thirty people. Freidis, not daring to stay after this bloody scene, fled to Greenland, to her brother Leif, where she spent the residue of her days, hated and despised by all mankind. Helgue and Finbog were among the unfortunate victims ; and it is probable, that those who escaped, settled in the country.

This is the substance of what we find in the ancient Icelandic writers, concerning the discovery of Vinland : and as they only mention it occasionally this accounts for their silence in respect

to the sequel. There is reason to suppose, that the people of the north continued to make voyages to Vinland for a long time : but as nothing particular occurred afterwards, historians deemed it sufficient to mention such circumstances, as related to its first discovery and settlement. Yet the Icelandic chronicles sometimes speak of Vinland afterwards. There is one of them in particular (which the critics esteem very authentic) that makes express mention of a Saxon priest, named John, who, after having served a church in Iceland for the space of four years, passed over to Vinland, with an intention of converting the Norwegian colony : but we may conclude his attempt did not succeed, since we find he was condemned to death. In the year 1121, Eric, a bishop of Greenland, went over there, on the same errand, but we know not with what success. Since that time, Vinland seems by degrees to have been forgotten in the north ; and that part of Greenland, which had embraced christianity, being lost, Iceland also fallen from its former state, and the northern nations being wasted by a pestilence, and weakened by internal feuds, all remembrance of the discovery was at length utterly obliterated : and the Norwegian Vinlanders themselves having no further connexion with Europe, were either incorporated into, or destroyed by their barbarian neighbours. Be this as it may, the testimony of our ancient chronicles is strongly corroborated by the positive testimony of Adam of Bremen, a well-esteemed historian, who lived in the very age, when the discovery was made. Adam was a virtuous ecclesiastic, who received all he relates from the mouth of Swain II. king of Denmark, who had entertained him during the long abode he made in that kingdom. These are his own words :
 ' The king of Denmark hath informed me, that another island has been discovered in the ocean that washes Norway or Finmark, which island is callen Vinland, from the vines which grow there spontaneously : and we learn, not by fabulous hearsay, but

“ by the express report of certain Danes, that fruits are produced there without cultivation.” Hence we see, that this was not only admitted as a certain fact in Greenland, Iceland and Norway, but the fame of it was also spread abroad in Denmark ; and we may add in England, Normandy, and undoubtedly much further. Ordericus Vitalis, the historian of the Normans and English, reckons Vinland, along with Greenland, Iceland, and the Orkneys, as countries under the dominion of the king of Norway, and whose commerce increased his revenues. What Adam of Bremen immediately adds after the foregoing passage, merits likewise some attention, as it indicates the strong propensity of the Norwegians for maritime enterprizes, and (what we should little expect from so unenlightened a people) for expeditions that had even no other end but to make new discoveries : “ In advancing farther towards the north,” says he, we “ meet with nothing but a boundless sea, covered with enormous pieces of ice, and hid in perpetual darkness.” (He certainly means those almost continual fogs, so well known to such as frequent the seas of North America.) “ Harold, prince of Norway, lately was very near having a fatal proof of this, when, being desirous of knowing the extent of the northern ocean, he tried to discover it with several vessels ; but the limits of the world being hidden from their sight by thick darkness, they were with difficulty preserved from destruction, in that vast mass of waters.” We see, notwithstanding this figurative manner of speaking, that Harold had formed some great design, concerning which, history leaves us in the dark, and without doubt, he was not the only one of his age and nation, whose enterprizes of this kind are buried in oblivion. Fame, as well as all other sublunary things, is governed by chance : and without her assistance, the attempt, made by Alfred the great, to discover a north-east passage to the Indies, would have still remained unknown to us. In all ages,

the Europeans seem to have had a wonderful propensity, peculiar to themselves, for great and daring enterprises. Hence we may foresee, that the glory of pervading the whole globe is reserved for them. And doubtless, the time will come, when they will explore and measure the vast countries of Terra Australis, will cruise beneath the poles, and will securely and freely, in every sense of the expression, sail round the world.

To return to our subject. The discovery of a distant country, called Vinland, and the reality of a Norwegian colony's settling there, appear to be facts so well attested on all sides, and related with circumstances so probable, as to leave no room for any doubt. But to settle the geography of the country, where this happened, is not an easy matter. To succeed in an enquiry of this kind, we should know what part of America lies nearest to Greenland; by what nations it is inhabited; what are their languages and traditions; as also the customs and produce of their countries; branches of knowledge these, which we shall but very imperfectly learn from the books hitherto published. Nevertheless, tho' we may not be able to ascertain exactly the situation of Vinland, we have sufficient room to conjecture, that this colony could not be far from the coasts of Labrador, or those of Newfoundland, which are not far from it: nor is there any circumstance in the relations of the ancient chronicles, but what may be accounted for on such a supposition.

The first difficulty that must be obviated, is the short space of time that appears to have been taken up in passing to this country from Greenland. To this end we must observe, that the Norwegians might set sail from the western, as well as from the eastern coast of that country, since they had settled on both sides of it. Now it is certain, that Davis's strait, which separates Greenland from the American continent, is very narrow in several places: and it appears from the journal taken by the learned Mr. Ellis, in his voyage to Hud-

son's Bay, that his passage from Cape Farewell, which is the most southern point of Greenland, into the entrance of the bay, was but seven or eight days easy sail with a wind indifferently favourable. The distance between the same cape and the nearest coast of Labrador is still much less. As it cannot be above two hundred French leagues, the voyage could not take up above seven or eight days, even allowing for the delays that must have happened to the ancients, through their want of that skill in navigation, which the moderns have since acquired. This could therefore appear no such frightful distance to adventurers who had newly discovered Greenland, which is separated from Iceland at least as far. This reasoning is still farther enforced, when we reflect, that the distance of Iceland itself, from the nearest part of Norway is double to that above-mentioned.

In effect, the history of the north abounds with relations of maritime expeditions of far greater extent than was necessary for the discovery of America. The situation of Greenland, relative to this new country, not being sufficiently known, is the only circumstance that can prejudice one against it: but, when we have mastered the greater objection why should we make any difficulty of these? We should cease to be surprised at those same men crossing a space of two hundred leagues, which was the distance between them and America whose courage and curiosity had frequently prompted them to traverse the ocean, and who had been accustomed to perform voyages of three or four hundred leagues, before they quitte their former settlements. We may, indeed, suppose, that when they made incursions into England, France, Spain, or Italy, they were directed by the coasts, from which they were never far distant: but how can the rapidity of their motions be accounted for, if they never lost sight of land? How could so imperfect a kind of navigation serve to convey into England such numerous fleets as sailed from Denmark and Norway? How we

Iceland, the isles of Faro, Shetland, and Greenland explored? There is nothing, then, in the distance of *America*, that can render it unlikely to have been discovered by the Norwegians. Let us see if there be not other greater difficulties.

The relations, handed down to us in the chronicles, and the name affixed to this new-discovered country, agree in describing it as a soil where the vine spontaneously grows. This circumstance alone has served with many people to render the whole account suspected: but, on a closer view, we shall find it so far from overthrowing, that it even confirms the other parts of the relation. I shall not evade the difficulty (as I might) by answering, that very possibly the Norwegians might be so little acquainted with grapes, as to mistake currants for them, which, in the northern languages, are called *viin-bœr**, or vineberries; and of which in several places they make a kind of fermented liquor: but I can assert, on the faith of the most credible travellers, that not only in *Canada* the vine grows without cultivation, and bears a small well-tasted fruit; but that it is also found in far more northern latitudes, and even where the winters are very severe. The evidence of *mr. Ellis* may here render all others needless. This curious and sensible observer met with the same kind of vine about the English settlements in *Hudson's Bay*; the fruit of which he compares to the currants of the *Levant*. Now *Labrador* is not far from thence: it lies partly in the same, and partly in a more southern latitude, and their several productions seem to be much alike. Besides, as the Europeans never penetrated very far into the country, it would not prove that there were no vines there, even if they had not met with any. But we have room to expect greater discoveries on this subject

NOTE.

* *Viin-bœr*, or rather *Win-ber*, is a general name in the north for gooseberries, currants, and grapes.

from *mr. Calm*, a Swedish botanist, educated under *Linnæus*, who some years since made a curious progress through *Canada*, with a view to its natural history and productions. According to him, the colony of *Vinland* was in the island of *Newfoundland*, which is only separated from the continent of *Labrador* by a narrow strait of a few leagues, called, *Belle-isle*.

As to the other circumstances of the relation, the account, given by the ancient chronicles, agrees in all respects with the reports of modern voyagers. These tell us, that the native savages of those countries, from the frequent use they make of them in fishing, can in a short time collect together a vast number of canoes; that they are very skilful with their bows and arrows; that on the coasts they fish for whales, and in the inland parts live by hunting; so that their merchandize consists of whalebone and various kinds of skins and furs; that they are very fond of iron or hardware, especially arms, hatchets, and other instruments of like sort; that they are very apt to rob strangers; but are otherwise cowardly and unwarlike.

If to this picture you add, that they are for the most part of a middle stature, and little skilled in the art of war, it is no wonder that the Norwegians, the largest, strongest, and most active people of *Europe*, should look upon them with contempt, as a poor, weak, degenerate race. It is remarkable, that the name they gave them, of *Skrelingues*, is the same with which they denoted the *Greenlanders*, when they first discovered them. In reality, these *Greenlanders* and the *Eskimaux* seem to have been one people; and this likeness between them, which has so much struck the moderns, could not have fail of appearing in a stronger light to the *Norwegians*, who were still better able to compare them together. "I believe," says *mr. Ellis*, "that the *Eskimaux* are the same people with the *Greenlanders*; and this seems the more probable, when we consider the narrowness of *Davis's strait* and the va-



A P P E N D I X I.

P O E T R Y.

O R I G I N A L S.

For the American Museum.

EULOGIUM ON RUM.

A R I S E ! ye pimpled, tipling race, arise !
 From ev'ry town and village tavern come !
 Shew your red noses, and o'erflowing eyes ;
 And help your poet chant the praise of rum.
 The cordial drop, the morning dram, I sing,
 The mid-day toddy, and the evening sling.

Hail, mighty rum ! and by this general name
 I call each species—whiskey, gin, or brandy :
 (The kinds are various—but the effect the same ;
 And so I choose a name that's short and handy :
 For, reader, know, it takes a deal of time,
 To make a crooked word lie smooth in rhyme.)

Hail, mighty rum ! thy song-inspiring merit
 Is known to many a bard in these our days :
 Apollo's drink, they find, is void of spirit—
 Mere chicken-broth—insipid as their lays :
 And, pleas'd, they'd give a riv'let—aye a sea
 Of tuneful water, for one quart of thee !

Hail, mighty rum ! how won'drous is thy pow'r !
 Unwarm'd by thee, how would our spirits fail,
 When dark December comes, with aspect four,
 And, sharp as razor, blows the northern gale !
 And yet thou'rt grateful in that sultry day,
 When raging Sirius darts his fervid ray.

Hail, mighty rum ! to thee the wretched fly ;
 And find a sweet oblivion of their woes ;
 Lock'd in thy arms, as in the grave, they lie—
 Forget their kindred—and forgive their foes—
 And Lethe's stream, (so much extoll'd by some,
 In ancient times) I shrewdly guess, was rum.

Hail, mighty rum ! what can thy pow'r withstand !
 E'en lordly reason flies thy dreadful face :
 And health, and joy, and all the lovely band
 Of social virtues, shun thy dwelling place :
 (For in whatever breast it rears its throne,
 Like Turkish monarchs, rum must rule alone.)

When our bold fathers cross'd th' Atlantic wave,
 And here arriv'd—a weak defenceless band,

Pray, what became of all the tribes so brave—
 The savage owners of this happy land ?
 Were they sent headlong to the realms below,
 “ By doom of battle ? ” friend, * I answer no.

Our fathers were too wise to think of war :
 They knew the woodlands were not quickly past :
 They might have met with many an ugly fear—
 Lost many a foretop—and been beat at last.
 But Rum, assisted by his son, Disease,
 Perform'd the business with surprising ease.

And would our western brethren be less proud, or,
 In other words, throw by the gun and drum—
 For ducks and squirrels, save their lead and powder,
 And send the tawny rogues some pipes of rum—
 I dare predict, they all would gladly suck it ;
 And every mother's son soon *kick the bucket*.

But lo ! th' ingratitude of Adam's race !
 Tho' all these clever things to rum we owe—
 Gallons of ink are squirted in his face ;
 And his bruised back is bang'd with many a blow :
 Some hounds of note have rung his funeral knell,
 And ev'ry puppy joins the gen'ral yell.

So have I seen (the simile is fine ;
 And wonderfully pat, tho' rather old)
 When rising Phœbus shot his rays benign,
 A flock of sheep come skipping from the fold ;
 Some restless sheep cries baa ; and all the throng,
 Ewes, rams, lambs, wethers, bellowing pour along.

But fear not, rum, tho' fiercely they assail,
 And none but I, the bard, thy cause defend,
 Think not thy foes—tho' num'rous—shall prevail,
 Thy pow'r diminish, or thy being end :
 Tho' spurn'd from table, and the public eye,
 In the snug closet safely shalt thou lie.

And oft, when Sol's proud chariot quits the sky,
 And humbler Cynthia mounts her one-horse chair,
 To that snug closet shall thy vot'ry fly ;
 And, rapt in darkness, keep his orgies there ;
 Lift the full bottle, joyous, to his head,
 Then great as Cæsar, reel sublime to bed.

Burlington, December 7th, 1789.



For the American Museum.

MR. CAREY,

Baltimore, Jan. 16, 1790,

THE perusal of a small book lately printed by you, has revived an intention which I have often formed, of communicating to the public an original composition of the celebrated Mr. Pope, with which I became acquainted near forty years ago.

NOTE.

* This alludes only to Jersey, Pennsylvania, &c.

ago. I was a student at that time in a foreign college ; and had the happiness of conversing often with a most respectable clergyman, of the name of Brown, who died some time after, aged a bout ninety. This venerable man had lived in England, as domestic chaplain, in the family of the mr. Caryl, to whom mr. Pope inscribes the Rape of the lock, in the beginning of that poem ; and at whose house, he spent much of his time, in the early and gay part of his life. I was informed by mr. Brown, that seeing the poet often amuse the family with verses of gallantry, he took the liberty one day of requesting him to change the subject of his compositions, and to devote his talents to the translating of the Latin hymn, or rythmus, which I find in the 227th page of the collection of prayers and hymns, lately printed by you. The hymn begins with these words, O Deus ego amo te, * &c. and was composed by the famous missionary, Francis Xavier, whose apostolical and successful labours in the east, united with his eminent sanctity of life, procured him the title of the apostle of the Indies.

Mr. Pope appeared to receive his proposition with indifference : but the next morning, when he came down to breakfast, he handed mr. Brown a paper with the following lines, of which I took a copy, and have since retained them in my memory. Many other students in the same college have been long in possession of them, as well as myself : and I have often been surpris'd to find, that they had ever found a place in any collection of that great poet's works. SENEX.

Translation.

THOU art my God, sole object of my love,
 Not for the hope of endless joys above ;
 Not for the fear of endless pains below,
 Which they who love thee not, must undergo.

For me, and such as me, thou deign'dst to bear
 An ignominious cross, the nails, the spear :

NOTE.

* *Oratio, a sancto Xaverio composita.*

O Deus ! ego amo te :
 Nec amo te, ut salves me ;
 Aut quia non amantes te,
 Æterno punis igne.
 Tu, tu, mi Jesu, totum me,
 Amplexus es in cruce.
 Tulisti clavos, lanceam,
 Multamque ignominiam ;
 Innumeros dolores,
 Sudores et angores,
 Ac mortem ; et hæc propter me—
 Ac pro me peccatore.
 Cur igitur non amem te,
 O Jesu amantissime ?
 Non ut in cælo salves me,
 Aut ne æternum damnes me ;
 Nec præmii ullius spe :
 Sed sicut tu amasti me,
 Sic amo, et amabo te ;
 Solum quia rex meus es,
 Et solum quia Deus es. Amen.

But when, estrang'd from freedom's glorious cause,
 Neglecting honour, and its sacred laws,
 Impell'd by motives of the basest kind,
 Which mark the vicious, mean, degen'rate mind—
 To virtue lost, and callous to disgrace—
 The traitor hiding with the hero's face—
 His canker'd heart, to sordid views a slave,
 To mammon yielding all that freedom gave,
 Enleagu'd with friends of that detested tribe—
 Whose god is gold, whose saviour is a bribe—
 Could basely join, his country to betray,
 And thus restore a ruffians tyrant's sway—
 On freedom's sons impose the galling yoke,
 And crush each foe to vice beneath the stroke ;
 Not all his laurels, in the field obtain'd,
 Not that which Philip's son by conquest gain'd,
 Not all that once adorn'd great Cæsar's brow,
 Nor all that Washington may challenge now—
 Could save a wretch, whom crimes like these debase
 So far beneath the rank of human race :
 But stung with keen remorse, his guilty soul
 In vain shall seek repose from pole to pole ;
 Perpetual anguish shall torment his breast,
 And hellish demons haunt his troubled rest ;
 Not even death shall shield his hated name,
 For still the caitiff shall survive to fame,
 By fate's decree—who thus pronounc'd his lot :
 “ Too bad to die, too base to be forgot—
 “ Thy crimes succeeding ages shall proclaim,
 “ And Judas be forgot in Arnold's name.”

† T.

October, 1780.



*To colonel Lovelace of the British guards.**

HA I L, gallant chieftain ! whose renowned name
 Without a rival fills the trump of fame ;
 Whose matchless feats shall shine in glory's page ;
 Thyself the wonder of th' applauding age ;
 Whose praise is chanted by that heav'nly choir,
 Where Phoebus with the muses joins his lyre ;
 Forgive an earthly bard the bold design,
 And deign, for once, in mortal verse to shine.

Hail, Lovelace, hail, great master of that art
 Which joins to valour, valour's better part :
 Who know'st by instinct whether danger's nigh,
 And whether prudence bids to fight, or fly ;

NOTE.

* He counterfeited death, at the battle of Guilford, when colonel Washington's regiment made the memorable attack upon the guards, and cut through them twice : in this situation, his sword and watch were taken from him by a continental soldier, who supposed him dead. A day or two after he sent into our camp to purchase his watch, which it seems was an old family piece. Colonel Washington had previously bought it, and refused to part with it.

And when with subtle wiles to cheat the foe,
 And, by dissembling, ward the fatal blow ;
 By feigning death, arise again to life,
 When danger's over from the doubtful strife.
 What though the rebel snatch'd thy passive steel !
 Too well you counterfeit, to seem to feel ;
 The marks of death, imprinted with such force,
 Had turn'd a bear with loathing from thy corse.
 Not e'en that chief, whose gallant feats, of old,
 In Shakespear's memorable page are told,
 With happier talent could dissemble death,
 Or yielded sooner to the loss of breath,
 Than thou, when battle rag'd on Guilford's plains,
 Which many a luckless Briton's blood distains.

Hear then the high reward the muse decrees—
 For high rewards attend on feats like these—
 While mimic heroes tread the buskin'd stage,
 Be thou the living Falstaff of he age.

† T.



Address inscribed under a lady's skull, in a gentleman's garden, in England.

BLUSH not, ye fair, to own me—but be wise,
 Nor turn from sad mortality your eyes ;
 Fame says (and Fame alone can tell how true)
 I—once—was lovely, and belov'd, like you.

Where are my vot'ries—where my flatt'ers now ?
 Fled, with the subject of each lover's vow.
 Adieu the rose's red and lily's white,
 Adieu those eyes, that made the darkness light ;
 No more, alas ! those coral lips are seen,
 Nor longer breathes the fragrant gale between.

Turn from your mirror ; and behold in me
 At once what thousands can't, or dare not see ;
 Unvarnish'd, I the real truth impart,
 Nor here am plac'd but to direct the heart.
 Survey me well, ye fair ones ; and believe,
 The grave may terrify, but can't deceive.

On beauty's fragile base no more depend ;
 Here youth and pleasure, age and sorrow, end :
 Here drops the mask ; here shuts the final scene ;
 Nor differs grave threescore from gay fifteen :
 All press alike to that same goal—the tomb,
 Where wrinkled Laura smiles at Chloe's bloom.

When coxcombs flatter, and when fools adore,
 Here learn the lesson, to be vain no more :
 Yet virtue still against decay can arm ;
 And even lend mortality a charm.



Address inscribed under a gentleman's skull, in the same garden as the foregoing.

WHY start ?—the case is yours—or will be soon,
 Some years, perhaps—perhaps another moon ;

Life, at its utmost length, is still a breath,
And those, who longest dream, must wake in death.

Like you, I once thought ev'ry bliss secure,
And gold of ev'ry ill the certain cure;
Till, steep'd in sorrow, and besieg'd with pain,
Too late I found all earthly riches vain.
Disease with scorn threw back the sordid fee:
And Death still answer'd—what is gold to me?

Fame, titles, honours, next I vainly sought;
And fools, obsequious, nurs'd the childish thought:
Circled with brib'd applause and purchas'd praise,
I built on endless grandeur endless days:
But Death awoke me from my dream of pride;
And laid a prouder beggar by my side.

Pleasure I courted; and obey'd my taste;
The banquet smil'd, and smil'd the gay repast:
A loathsome carcase was my constant care;
And worlds were ransack'd but for me to share.
Go on, vain man, in luxury be firm;
Yet know—I feasted, but to feast a worm!

Already, sure, less terrible I seem,
And you, like me, can own that life's a dream.
Farewel! remember! nor my words despise—
The only happy are the early wise.



Corydon : a pastoral.

OUR flocks shun the heat of the day;
To the grove, see, for shelter they creep;
Come, listen to Corydon's lay;
Ye shepherds, with Corydon weep.
Once, wanton and gay as the bee,
From flowret to flowret that roves,
My heart was so light, and so free,
And I laugh'd at the swains and their loves.

But Phyllis appear'd on the plain,—
Ye shepherds, the charmer you've seen,—
Her praise is the theme of each swain;
She's the fairest that trips on the green.
No rose-bud, that blushes at morn,
With Phyllis for sweetness can vie:
The dew-drop, that shines on the thorn,
Is faint, when compar'd to her eye:
Those lambkins around us that play,
They are not more gentle than she;
She's mild as the season in May;
Her manners are artless and free.
Of her glances, ye shepherds, beware:
They have wounded poor Corydon's heart;
Her smiles how enchanting they are!
They both rapture and anguish impart.

As I sat, where the rivulet strays,
 By the side of yon' deep-shade and grove,
 She came; and I could not but gaze:
 I gaz'd; and I could not but love.
 How oft' in yon' woodland retreat,
 Has my pipe breath'd a sorrowful strain!
 Kindecho the notes would repeat;
 Nor Phyllis the song would disdain:

But when to the charmer I'd try,
 The woes of my heart to unfold,
 On my lip, the soft accents would die;
 I said—"she will think me too bold;"
 For small are the fields that are mine,
 And the flocks that I own, are but few:
 Yet at fortune I ne'er could repine,
 For her favours I never could sue.

I know not the flatterer's tale;
 I know not the language of art;
 Will such with my Phyllis prevail—
 Or the language that flows from the heart?
 Ah! could she not know by my sighs
 The woes my fond heart that oppresses?
 Yes, sure she has read in my eyes,
 What language is weak to express.

Where now are the days of delight,
 When I rose with the first of the dawn—
 Saw the lark rise to welcome the light,
 And brush'd o'er the dew-sprinkled lawn?
 How bounded my bosom with joy,
 When spring clad with verdure the ground,
 When flowrets of each various dye
 Shed beauty and fragrance around!

The morn all its sweets may display;
 But with rapture I taste them no more:
 The warblers may sing on the spray;
 But my peace they can never restore!
 If Phyllis is not by my side,
 The trees seem all stript of their bloom,
 The meadows disrob'd of their pride,
 No flow'r breathes around its perfume!

All lost are the sweets of the vale—
 All clouded the face of the sky;
 The roses they fade, and look pale;
 The lillies they droop and they die:
 But when she appears on the plain,
 How chang'd, how enliven'd the scene!
 How sweet from the grove is the strain,
 How gay is the daisy-deck'd green!

How smiles all the landscape around!
 Not a flowret but fairer it blows;
 Not a tree but with verdure is crown'd,
 Not a stream but more limpid it flows.

Ye zephyrs, ah! bear her my sighs,
 Go, breathe out my plaint in her ear,
 Go, tell her, that Corydon dies,
 If his fate is, to love and despair!

But, ah! if some happier swain
 Now triumph in Phyllis's love,—
 Adieu to the joys of the plain,
 Adieu to the song of the grove!
 I'll fly from the haunts of the gay,
 To desarts untrodden before;
 No more with the shepherds I'll stray;
 I'll visit my Phyllis no more!

But while—the sad victim of love—
 I wander distressed and forlorn,
 Such sorrow may Phyllis ne'er prove,
 May her love meet a kinder return.
 Perhaps, when my head is laid low,
 My grave with a tear she'll bedew;
 Perhaps, while her sorrows o'erflow,
 She'll say—“ he was constant and true!”

The sorrowing shepherds will come;
 They'll sigh for poor Corydon's fate:
 They'll say—“ he is cold in the tomb—
 The shepherd so jocund of late!
 How oft has his pipe wak'd the grove!
 But vainly for Phyllis he sigh'd,—
 She bid him never sue for her love,—
 The shepherd obey'd her—and dy'd!”



The bird's nest.

YES, little nest, I'll hold you fast,
 And little birds, one, two, three, four:
 I've watch'd you long: you're mine at last;
 Poor little things! you'll 'scape no more.

Chirp, cry, and flutter as you will,
 Ah! simple rebels, 'tis in vain.
 Your little wings are unfledg'd still:
 How can you freedom then obtain?

What note of sorrow strikes my ear?
 Is it their mother thus distressed?
 Ah yes—and see, their father dear
 Flies round and round, to seek their nest.

And is it I, who cause their moan?
 I, who so oft in summer's heat,
 Beneath yon oak have laid me down,
 To listen to their song so sweet?

If from my tender mother's side
 Some wicked wretch should make me fly,
 Full well I know, 'twould her betide,
 To break her heart, to sink, to die!

And shall I, then, so cruel prove,
 Your little ones to force away?
 No, no : together live and love.
 See, here they are—take them, I pray.
 Teach them in yonder wood to fly :
 And let them your soft warbling hear,
 'Till their own wings can soar as high,
 And their own notes may sound as clear.
 Go, gentle birds ; go, free as air !
 While oft again in summer's heat,
 To yonder oak I will repair,
 And listen to your songs so sweet.



*Ode to charity. By Mr. Low.—Sung at a masonic meeting, in New-York,
 June 24, 1789.*

RECITATIVE.

FROM regions of immortal bliss above,
 Impart thy genial emanations, Love !
 Soul of our order, patron of this day !
 Inspire our hearts, and prompt the solemn lay.

AIR.

Come, Beauty of th' eternal Sire !
 Whose justice we adore,
 Whose pow'r and wisdom we admire—
 Thy smile attracts us more !
 Faith may command the visual ray,
 Futurity to scan :
 And Hope, by Fancy led astray,
 May picture heav'n to man !
 But thou, blest Charity ! canst give
 Compassion's thrill divine :
 From thee we heav'nly joys derive,
 For joy and heav'n are thine !

CHORUS.

And when Faith and Hope shall fade,
 When heav'n's portals are display'd—
 When, with transports vast and new,
 Things ineffable we view—
 Then (religion's source and aim)
 Charity shall fan the flame :
 Love divine shall be our theme—
 Love—eternal and supreme !
 This, this alone our constant heav'n shall prove,
 The God of heav'n in everlasting love !



Ode sung in Boston, June 1, 1789, at the artillery election.

FROM Britain's sea-girt isle,
 Where Flora's richest smile
 Luxuriant glows—
 To this, then, desert waste—
 By savages possess—

To be with freedom blest,
 In calm repose,
 Our enterprizing fires,
 Warm'd with fair Freedom's fires,
 Advent'rous came.
 Here they their dwelling made,
 Their standard here display'd ;
 Beneath the wide woods' shade,
 Set up their claim.
 By faithless foes compel'd
 To tread the sanguine field,
 Unskil'd in war,
 This institution made
 To teach its martial trade,
 To wield the shining blade,
 The foe to dare.

While the same martial fire,
 That did their breasts inspire,
 Our bosoms warms—
 May we, with equal zeal,
 Pursue the public weal,
 Nor fear the bloody steel,
 If call'd to arms!

Illustrious founders, hail !
 This day your patriot zeal,
 Your sons proclaim.
 Your names we venerate ;
 Your glory emulate ;
 And tell our sons how great,
 Their grandfires' fame.

Hark ! the loud trumps proclaim
 WASHINGTON's glorious name,
 Charge ! fill again,
 Fill the bowl—fill it high,
 First-born son of the sky,
 May his glory never die !
 Heaven shout—amen.



On general Washington.

ON the white cliffs of Albion, reclining fate Fame,
 Whose glories her accents no longer proclaim ;
 Her voice, which was wont to ascend to the skies,
 In half-utter'd whispers and murmurings, dies.

Abash'd at the change, she prepares to retire
 From the realms, which no longer her notes could inspire—
 When Liberty, passing, accosted the dame ;
 Snatch'd her trumpet ; and strait to Columbia came.

Her voice in a moment was heard through the land :
 And each gallant hero obey'd the command :
 But Washington, foremost to bend at her shrine,
 Gain'd a wreath from the goddess, who hail'd him divine.

While Liberty thus founds the trumpet of Fame,
 All the earth shall attend and re-echo his name :
 Future ages with wonder his virtues shall hear :
 For his glory nor envy nor time shall impair. *May, 1780. †. T.*



ORIGINAL POETRY.

To a lady—with a basket of evergreens, gathered in December.

NOT from the gay parterre, or blooming field,
 Spring the green plants, which now their honours yield,
 To deck the parlour, where, in neat attire,
 My Celia sits before the chearful fire.
 The field and garden have resign'd their bloom,
 To pale-ey'd winter's desolating gloom :
 Such are the charms of beauty and of birth,
 Priz'd high by votaries of wealth and mirth ;
 They glitter in prosperity's bright ray ;
 But, in affliction, wither and decay.

Yet the deep forest's venerable shade
 Preserves its verdant honours undecay'd.
 While the majestic pine and balmy fir
 With spreading odours fill the ambient air—
 This humble shrub, this plant and creeping vine,
 To deck the ground in comely order join.
 'Though simple be their form, nor do they dare,
 In beauty, with the tulip to compare,
 The gay carnation, or the blushing rose,
 When summer's heats their lovely forms disclose ;
 Yet, clad in one unvaried, modest dye,
 They chilling blasts and pinching frosts defy.
 Their verdure and balsamic breath remain,
 Alike in summer's and in winter's reign.

Such is the mind, with heav'nly virtue fill'd,
 Though in the vale of poverty conceal'd ;
 Though void of outward gaiety and show,
 Enwrapt in shades, and overborne by woe,
 Its bloom and worth still undecay'd remain,
 And from adversity new vigour gain.



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

Lines supposed to have been written by a lady, under the influence of a strong but unfortunate attachment.

WHEN by tender cares oppress'd,
 Pensive, thoughtful, and distress'd—
 When sorrow furrows up the heart,
 And Fancy points Affliction's dart—
 When Melancholy's shades begloom,
 And Hope seems bending o'er her tomb,
 Ah ! where shall wretched mortals fly,
 Or how escape from misery ?
 Teach, oh ! teach me, pow'rs above,
 How these feelings to remove—

How to heal a canker'd breast,
 How to gain a moment's rest :
 See me languish—hear me sigh,
 Have you no blest cure on high ?
 Grows no heav'nly plant above,
 To heal a bosom, pierc'd by love ?
 Pity you can surely give :
 Heav'nly pity will relieve ;
 'Twill serve to mitigate the smart—
 But will it—can it heal the heart ?
 God of love, what would you more ?
 I own your plenitude of pow'r ;
 Your empire's boundless as the day ;
 No creature can resist your sway :
 Heroes you rule, and kings controul ;
 And reign supreme from pole to pole.
 Then why o'er me extend your sway ?
 Why on a female bosom prey ?
 Are there not thousands through the world,
 'Gainst whom thy shafts were better hurl'd ?
 Why, why, then Cupid fix on me,
 And whelm this heart in misery ?

But ah ! the plaints of woe how vain !
 They neither check nor soften pain :
 Although we bare our wounded heart,
 Disclosure cannot soothe the smart.

Come then, severe Philosophy—
 With heart of steel—and marble eye—
 Command my rebel cares to peace ;
 And bid this storm of sorrow cease :
 Each trace of tender woe remove ;
 And change to apathy my love :
 Confirm thy power ; assuage my pain ;
 And lead me back to peace again.

No, no, away ! I scorn thy rules :
 Teach them to hermits and to fools.
 Sweet Sensibility ! thy pow'r
 I still will cherish and adore :
 Though now by love and care oppress'd,
 They cannot always pain my breast.
 Time will obliterate the ills,
 Which now my tortur'd bosom feels ;
 Will peace restore, and leave my mind
 To tranquil joy and heav'n resign'd—
 Then blithe and gay I'll be : but yet
 How can I Mentor's form forget ?
 How with his charming image part,
 And tear it—root it—from my heart ?
 Oh never, never can it be :
 Mentor, my heart will fly to thee ;
 To thee my vagrant soul will rove,
 And give thee all its store of love ;

Thy presence cheers
 Divided love ;
 And can remove
 Affliction's tears—

Like beams of op'ning heaven,
 Thou visitest the breast—
 To soothe and to enliven—
 To hush our woes to rest :

Oh come, sweet Peace,
 And to a heart,
 Relief impart,
 That sighs for ease,

That sighs and bleeds to meet
 A fair, whom all approve—
 Whose heart and manners sweet
 Whoever knows, must love.

With her and peace,
 Instead of woe,
 This heart would know
 The purest bliss.



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

MESS. PRINTERS,

I HAVE read with pleasure, in your Museum for last month, a translation of the beautiful hymn of St. Francis Xavier, *O Deus, ego amo te, &c.* This translation, although there appears to be no doubt of its being the performance of the celebrated Pope, yet I conceive to be much inferior to his other writings: and no doubt this is the reason why it has not been inserted in the collection of his works.

You have very properly taken notice of a striking grammatical error, in the second line of the third strophe: but it is not the only object of criticism, in that work, which seems to want altogether the warmth and elegance of the beautiful original. The two first lines of the last strophe appear to me to be remarkably inelegant and unpoetical.

“Such as then *was*, and *is*, thy love to me,

“Such *is*, and *shall be* still, my love to thee.”

Was and is, and *is and shall be*, are expressions that would be much more proper in a conveyance, or law pleading, than in a poem. And the beginning of the second strophe,

“For me, and such as me, thou deign'dst to bear,” &c.

does not seem to me in the least degree to convey the beautiful idea of the original—

“————— et hæc propter me,

“Ac pro me peccatore.”

I have met with another translation of the same hymn, which has the advantage of being in a more suitable metre, the original poem being evidently intended for music. If you think it not undeserving of a place in your valuable repository, you are requested to insert it.

A. B.

Philadelphia, February 1, 1790.

His bosom friend (at least he thought her so)
 Against his quiet aim'd the deadly blow ;
 Accus'd him of connexions vile and base ;
 Heap'd on a worthy character disgrace ;
 Boldly invented tales, which some believ'd,
 And spoke of crimes, which scarcely he conceiv'd.
 From jealousy she separation plann'd ;
 Rejects from jealousy the great command :
 And now, the devotee of vile abuse,
 To Rage and Defamation gives a loofe :
 Nor sex, nor age, nor character she spares,
 When Circe to her lips the goblet rears.

Thou injur'd innocence, whose tender age
 May fall a victim to Suspicion's rage—
 Secure of heav'n, bear up against despair,
 For thou at once art gentle, good, and fair.
 Truth must at length his glorious beams diffuse,
 And those esteem thee most, who now abuse.
 Then Defamation's cruel tongue shall cease ;
 Then all thy paths be "pleasants and peace,"
 Then virtue shall bestow on thee content,
 And e'en a jealous woman's rage be spent.
 And thou, who gav'st to toil thy active youth,
 Hope all things from the aid of sacred truth ;
 Still please by useful art, th' admiring throng,
 And scorn vile Defamation's cruel tongue.



The Retreat.—Within view of the sea.

FROM bustling cares exempt, that cities know,
 And punctual forms, and deaf'ning noise and smoke,
 I seek that peace, which rural scenes bestow ;
 And find it here, beneath this verdant oak.

While from the noonday-sky full on my head,
 The sun sheds down his keen relaxing heat,
 With eager wish, but languid steps, I tread,
 To gain refreshment in this cool retreat.

These wide extending limbs, with foliage crown'd,
 That through the changing year knows no decay*,
 And pendant moss, soft waving o'er the ground†,
 Excludes, with friendly shade, the burning ray—

Nought moves around, save yonder blacken'd plain,
 Where slav'ry, urg'd, digs up the glowing soil :
 Or cooks, by smoking stump, its portion'd grain,
 Scarce equal to the waste of constant toil.

NOTES.

* The live oak is an evergreen.

† So luxuriant is this plant, that it often hangs from the oak to the length of ten or twelve feet. Where several of these trees stand together, in a calm day, they affect the mind with a soft and agreeable gloom. In the clear sunshine, with a moderate wind, the waving of the moss, forms a moving picture, exceedingly soothing : and even at a distance, seems to fan and refresh the spectator.

Before me spreads, with sluggish swell, the deep—
 By nought disturb'd, save where that breaker tells
 The cautious seaman, far his course to keep,
 Nor tempt the placè, where dreaded ruin dwells—

And where that bark, full looming on the eye,
 With crouded canvass ply'd for cooler seas,
 And follow'd oft with owner's anxious sigh,
 Slow wakes the foam before the languid breeze—

Where too the sounding beach, with shells o'erspread,
 That, mould'ring, long upon its sands have lain,
 Repels the surge, that rolls upon its bed,
 In scattering spray, back to the mass again.

In this still scene no envy wounds my breast,
 With vip'rous tooth, whose bite no cure doth know † :
 Still pleas'd, though life in all its forms were blest,
 And most, if all, who feel as men, were so.

While that wide bounty, on which all depend,
 To me, what suits my warmest wish, hath sent—
 To others also may its peace extend,
 And not one bosom be with anguish rent !

Let gainful commerce pile the merchant's store
 With glittering wares, in distant India wrought ;
 Or brown Potosi fill his desk with ore—
 That ill, with blood of men so often bought :

Let others, vers'd in theories profound,
 The mazy plans of polity unfold,
 Their various merits learnedly expound,
 And be with Locke and Montesquieu enroll'd :

Let heroes lead the havoc-train of war,
 Where thousands mix in death their wasted blood,
 And gain, by sharpen'd woes, extended far,
 That lawless rule, ambitious Cæsar woo'd :

Or, like that man §, impell'd by nobler aims,
 Obtain what Cæsar ne'er at Rome could find—
 A just reward, superior far to fame,
 Unbounded trust, and grateful love, combin'd.

Let majesty its toilsome honours wear—
 Usurp'd by pow'r, or gain'd by native right—
 O'er subject millions stern dominion bear,
 And vainly boast of all-sufficient might*—

NOTES.

† This is only intended to convey this serious sentiment, that so malignant the state of the mind, from which envy proceeds, that it is much easier to cure another passion than it.

§ The American chief.

* And the king spake, and said : “ Is not this great Babylon that I have built—Dan. 4. 30—“ Whom he would, he slew, and whom he would, he kept alive : Ibid 5. 9.

Let these their choice, whate'er it yields, possess,
 Of power or joy. Though it should perfect be,
 One wish of mine should never make it less :
 Since my own lot is peace—enough for me.

Of life not weary, nor at man chagrin'd,
 What tender office e'er my hands can do,
 Shall prompt be done, with sympathetic mind,
 To heighten joy, or soothe the pangs of woe.

Where knowledge serves, the doubtful thought to guide ;
 To cherish virtue, to support the weak :
 With unreprouchful boon, spare want provide,
 And wipe the tear that wets the orphan's cheek.

From cares like these, to steady habits grown,
 Springs sober joy, which no reproach can wound :
 Which stays behind, when others far have flown,
 And not a trace of what they were, is found.

When social life no active taste requires,
 And tow'ring thought has dropt, with wearied wings,
 From those bright themes, that wake sublime desires,
 And nurse that hope, that looks to future things :

Be then the fields of science my delight,
 Of varied walk and prospect unconfin'd ;
 Where blooming truths still-on the steps invite,
 And fill, with light serene, the wond'ring mind.

But, chief of all, from airy height to trace,
 Through optic tube, by silent night, the spheres,
 Far glowing round, through tracts immense of space,
 True to their destin'd course, through endless years.

Here, thought intense that wondrous law hath shewn,
 Which binds the planets in its wide domain,
 Which rules the comets, far in skies unknown,
 And guides them back to mortal view again—

'Tis this to each its proper place assigns,
 Or in the centre fix'd, or round to roll—
 'Tis this in one great system all combines,
 And keeps up perfect order through the whole.

While close in shades of night conceal'd, it lay,
 Deep myst'ry still the prying eye perplex'd :
 But, clear disclos'd, o'er all spreads open day,
 And science frees, with schemes discordant vex'd—

That heaving deep this power attractive tells,
 As o'er its wave, full orb'd, the moon doth glide,
 When on its bending shores it foaming swells,
 And when it leaves them bare, with ebbing tide.

Here wakeful observation too descries,
 While others shun in sleep the midnight air,
 What various lights are borrow'd from the skies,
 To aid the busy works of mortal care—

Not only these assist, whose lengthen'd ray
 Still guides the eye to where they hold their place,
 But those who ne'er their scanty light display
 To mortal view, but through the faithful glass*.

Great work of perfect thought ! where no defect
 E'er yet was mark'd in all the wondrous plan !
 Whose steady lights the docile mind direct
 Far up to him, who form'd this work for man.

Here hopeless Hume, from truth still wand'ring wide †,
 The boast of error, slighted by the wise,
 Might too have seen what Newton clear describ'd ‡ ;
 And gain'd with him immortal wisdom's prize.

But pride of reason, scorning to be taught,
 By LIGHT himself, in human form display'd,
 In gloomy maze confounded ev'ry thought
 And man's first, warmest, noblest wish betray'd ††.

From lower cares exempt, well might the sage,
 Of thought matur'd, and aim aspiring high,
 Peruse, unwearied, this most splendid page
 Of truth, and feast insatiate the eye.

From orb to orb, traversing, unconfin'd,
 Through fields of radiance, wid'ning on the view,
 The mental pow'rs increasing vigour find,
 And order's glowing forms still-on pursue :

Beyond the scanty line that bounds the sight
 Quick Fancy flies ; and, Reason for her aid,
 New worlds descries of purer air and light—
 Their order, laws, and ends to her display'd.

What various life of matter more refin'd,
 What pains and pleasures, politics, and care,
 What high pursuits employ the nobler mind,
 And what relation they to us do bear.

All these advent'rous Fancy nightly sees
 Oft as th' enraptur'd eye on heav'n doth gaze :
 Such forms, though all ideal, still must please ;
 Such still the soul from earth to heav'n can raise—

Pure range of placid thought, where grosser cares
 Like those thick fogs, which wrap this lower spot,
 Impetuous passion, which the soul impairs,
 Low aims and doubling art are all forgot—

No wan-eyed Envy, to herself a prey,
 No Discord, rending the soft ties of love,

NOTES.

* Brydone, when on the top of Etna, supposed, from the unusual number of stars which were then visible, that the satellites of Jupiter might have been seen with the naked eye, had that planet been above the horizon.

† This particularly refers to his principles of philosophy and religion.

‡ That the whole system is the result of perfect wisdom, and in its minutest parts superintended by the same power that gave it existence. || Immortality.

No sly Revenge, who shuns the face of day,
In these calm regions, e'er with joy could rove.

Nor Avarice, still looking on the ground,
Nor Vanity no other's worth who knows,
Nor languid Luxury, in bowers found,
Nor Cruelty, who feeds on others' woes.

To scan the spangled sky, and commerce there,
Where wisdom sheds her clear instructive ray,
Demands far higher aim and nobler care,
Each meaner passion banish'd far away.

Be then my thoughts on these high themes employ'd,
When other cares of higher aim allow :
As aids to virtue still be these enjoy'd,
Virtue alone true happiness can know.

South Carolina, June 24, 1789.

SYLVANUS.



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

Verses on the death of miss J. Duff, of Newport, Newcastle county.

AND is the charming Jenny dead?
And has her gentle spirit fled?
Then, Strephon, let the harp complain;
Sacred to sorrow, be the strain.

To yonder graveyard's solemn gloom,
Where rises Jenny's sacred tomb,
Where rests her lovely mould'ring clay,
Point, plaintive muse, my mournful way.

There, o'er her sleeping relics prone,
Strephon will make his faithful moan;
And will his dearest Jenny's grave
With tears of grateful sorrow lave.

How fresh was late her virgin bloom,
Ere death consign'd her to the tomb!
How premature that awful hour,
When died so fair, so sweet a flow'r!

How fleeting was her short-liv'd prime!
Cut off in life's gay vernal time;
In bloom of beauty and of youth,
In pride of innocence and truth.

Ye aged parents, mournful pair,
For Jenny check the rising tear:
To heav'nly climes, and cloudless skies,
Behold her spotless spirit rise.

NOTE.

§ Philosophy not does always overcome, though it must regulate the passions, less or more, in proportion to the assiduity and success with which it is cultivated: and certainly the subjects we are upon, next to those of revelation, have the most direct tendency to improve the soul in great and generous affections.

To happier worlds your angel's gone :
 Her gain is Strephon's loss alone.
 Ye sister seraphs, guard her clay,
 'Till it, too, soar to endless day.



FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM
An address to Peace.

CELESTIAL Peace, from thy abode, descend !
 And all the habitable world befriend.
 No more let nation, fill'd with vengeful ire,
 'Gainst nation rise, with ravaging desire :
 Let troublous Discord haste, with rapid flight,
 To the dark regions of eternal night.

Celestial Peace, descend ! diffuse thy sway,
 Far as the Sun pours his refulgent ray.
 Let War desert for ever his dire reign ;
 And cease to hover o'er th'ensanguin'd plain.
 What blessings does thy genial reign impart !
 Endearing Love presides o'er ev'ry heart.
 No widows their dear husbands' deaths deplore :
 None hear the drum, or thund'ring cannon, roar :
 Science and Arts renew their honour'd reign ;
 While Commerce wings the bark o'er the wide main :
 Safe thro' old Ocean's realms she rides along,
 No foe prevents, no hostile pirates wrong.
 The smiling fields with golden harvests glow :
 And grapes nectareous crown the mountain's brow :
 The flow'ry meads their richest hues display :
 While fruitful herds o'er the gay surface play.
 Around, soft virtue and content appear,
 And full-horn'd Plenty crowns the smiling year.

O spotless Peace, thou source of social bliss,
 Begin thy reign—O may it never cease.

Philadelphia, Feb. 1789.

PHILOMUSUS.



SELECTED POETRY.

*Written by a young lady to some others, with whom she had agreed to make up
 protestant nunnery, but afterwards altered her mind.*

ALL attendants apart,
 I examin'd my heart,
 Last night when I laid me to rest :
 And methinks, I'm inclin'd
 To a change of my mind :
 For you know second thoughts are the best.
 To retire from the croud
 And make ourselves good,
 By avoiding of ev'ry temptation—
 Is, in truth, to reveal,
 What we'd better conceal,
 That our passions want some regulation.

It will much more redound
 To our praise, to be found
 In a world so abounding with evil,
 Unspotted and pure,
 Though not quite demure,
 And to wage open war with the devil.

So bidding farewell
 To the thoughts of a cell,
 I'll prepare for this militant life :
 And if brought to distress,
 Why then I'll *confess*,
 And do *penance* in form of *a wife*.



*Translation of Horace's celebrated ode, "Justum et tenacem," &c. by the rev.
 Mr. Blacklock, who was born blind.*

THE man, whose mind—on virtue bent—
 Pursues some greatly good intent
 With undiverted aim—
 Serene beholds the angry crowd,
 Nor can their clamours, fierce and loud,
 His stubborn honour tame.

Not the proud tyrant's fiercest threat—
 Nor storms that from their dark retreat
 The lawless furies wake—
 Nor Jove's dread bolt, which shakes the pole,
 The firmer purpose of his soul,
 With all its pow'r can shake.
 Should nature's frame in ruin fall—
 And chaos o'er the sinking ball,
 Resume primæval sway—
 His courage chance and fate defies,
 Nor feels the wreck of earth and skies
 Obstruct its destin'd way.



Liberty: a poem, on the independence of America. Dedicated to his excellency the
 president of the united states.*

INIMICA TYRANNIS. *Sidney.*

I.

DAUGHTER of heav'n, who, with indignant eye,
 On pomp and pageant royalty look'st down,

NOTE.

* This poem was written so long ago, as the period of general Arnold's invasion in 1780 and 1781. The XXIst stanza was added soon after the memorable event which it is intended to celebrate. It may appear that some injustice is done to Holland in the XVth stanza—but her decision in favour of America was not then known. The efforts of Ireland to obtain an independence of the British parliament, have been more successful, than they are represented in the same stanza—the author most sincerely rejoices that the information, by which he was guided in writing that part of the poem, has so far proved to be without foundation.

Contemning vice, albeit, enthron'd on high,
 Nor spar'ft the guilty head that wears a crown ;
 Yet, lur'd by sacred virtue's humbler guise,
 The lowly cottager vouchsaf'ft to chear,
 Where Appenine's majestic cliffs arife,
 Or hoary Alps their loftier summits rear.
 Fair Liberty ! inspire thy votary's lay,
 And gladden with thy meed life's miserable way.

II.

Rich the reward that on thy smile attends,
 Surpassing the bright ore from Chili's mine,
 For which the votive slave to power bends
 His abject knee at Mammon's guilty shrine :
 Not such the means thy favour to attain,
 By toil, and dauntless deeds, alone, secur'd ;
 To thee unknown the sordid thirst of gain,
 An independent mind thine only hoard :
 Let wealth and glitt'ring honours deck the slave ;
 Freedom ! thy joys alone are riches to the brave !

III.

Fill'd with thy flame, Achaia's sons of yore,
 Undaunted met the vaunting Persian's host,
 Whose cumb'rous navies fill'd the Grecian shore,
 Whose countless legions sadden'd all her coast :
 Unnerv'd by Luxury's enfeebling hand,
 How vain the myriads which compos'd his train !
 Behold them scatter'd by thy martial band,
 While slaughter'd legions fill'd the glutted main ;
 Thou, goddess, plum'd on high, thy banners wav'd,
 And from degrading chains thy gallant offspring sav'd.

IV.

Thy voice by fair Ausonia, too, was heard,
 And with thy lore her godlike heroes fir'd,
 What time imperial Rome her head uprear'd
 And to fame's loftiest pinnacle aspir'd :
 When Pride, with Lust, and Murder, fill'd the throne,
 Stern Junius from his seat the tyrant hurl'd :
 Nor deign'd triumphant Rome a lord to own,
 (Herself the mistress of the prostrate world)
 Until her sons, subdued by Parthian gold,
 In Luxury's soft lap had chang'd their native mould.

V.

Yet not extinguish'd thy ethereal flame,
 When Rome to Cæsar's fortunes bow'd the knee,
 Then godlike Brutus rose to deathless fame,
 To deeds of high renown, inspir'd by thee :
 'Twas thine, alone, his patriot soul to warn,
 The deathful wounds of injur'd Rome to heal ;
 'Twas thine with force ten-fold to nerve his arm,
 And plunge in Cæsar's breast the vengeful steel :
 Contending claims his generous bosom rend,
 The proud usurper bleeds, whilst he laments the friend !

VI.

But Rome, ungrateful Rome, thy shrine profan'd,
 And hugg'd the chains by tyranny impos'd,
 Whilst her degen'rate sons, with crimes distain'd,
 A direful gulf of infamy, disclos'd :
 Then Gothic ignorance o'erwhelm'd the land,
 With darkness, hideous, as the shades of death,
 The lamp of science, lighted by thy hand,
 Extinguish'd by the rude barbarian breath :
 No more the Latian hills invite thy stay,
 To rougher climes allur'd, where virtue points the way.

VII.

To Alpine cliffs the muse attends thy flight,
 Where the rough Swifs, inur'd to early toil,
 On the bleak mountain's snow-surrounded height,
 Gleans a subsistence from the scanty soil :
 Thy joys compensate his laborious lot,
 And turn to luxury his frugal fare.
 A stately mansion seems his humble cot,
 A princely bed his couch devoid of care ;
 Thus while the fates his utmost wishes crown,
 On fortune's splendid gifts he with disdain looks down.

VIII.

Though on the hoary mountain's rugged brow,
 Involv'd in storms, thy reverend shrine appear,
 Yet dost thou deign thy bounties to bestow,
 When virtue seeks thy shield and guardian care :
 Thus, when Iberia's haughty prince essay'd
 O'er Belgia's plains to stretch his scourging hand,
 Her warlike sons invok'd thy powerful aid,
 And freedom crown'd their toil and native land :
 No more beneath the sceptre doom'd to groan,
 They spurn the tyrant's rage, and mock his angry frown.

IX.

To Britain, next, the muse her prospect turns,
 The boasted land of Freedom, arts, and arms !
 There, on thine altar votive incense burns,
 And there, thy name each sanguine bosom warms :
 The substance fled, the shadow yet remains,
 To cheat the eyes, which on the phantom gaze :
 E'en while they boast, they rattle slavish chains,
 To ruin led, through pleasure's wily maze.
 If fancied blifs can succour the distress'd,
 Britannia's self-deluded sons are surely blest'd !

X.

Yet, ere Corruption spread her golden lure,
 And curs'd the land with it's insidious bane,
 Not ancient Greece, nor Rome herself, of yore,
 With more devotion hail'd thy glorious reign.
 Thy precepts then in Sydney's bosom glow'd,
 For thee great Hampden fought and nobly bled :
 Then tyranny beneath thy vengeance bow'd,
 Or, trembling, from the throne the tyrant fled :
 In vain Ambition holds the gilded bait,
 He dreads thy threat'ning brow, and shuns a father's fate.

XI.

Ill-fated isle! their pristine ardor fled,
 Thy venal sons, themselves, their fetters forge:
 Upheld by them, Oppression rears her head,
 And, aided by themselves, inflicts the scourge;
 For while Corruption in the senate reigns,
 A breath can varnish or amend a flaw,
 A vote the specious shew of right maintains,
 And Tyranny usurps the garb of Law;
 Thus while proud Albion slavery disdains,
 She totters with the weight of self-imposed chains.

XII.

To distant climes, where Britain once bore sway,
 While Britain own'd a parent's guardian care,
 The muse, with transport! wings her airy way,
 To where Columbia's rising states appear.
 Far to the west the varied region lies
 From Hampshire's hills to Georgia's fertile shores,
 There Allegana's summits greet the skies,
 Here, on the coast the rough Atlantic roars.
 These, goddesses blest! thy hallow'd voice obey,
 Bend at thy sacred shrine, and court thy blissful sway.

XIII.

Deign, heav'nly maid! to grant their suppliant prayer;
 And with thy favour crown their ardent toil:
 Be thine, henceforth, a parent's jealous care—
 To thee, devoted be the grateful soil:
 For thou, when proud Britannia rais'd her arm,
 To quench the flame enkindled by thy breath,
 Didst by thy voice provoke the fierce alarm,
 Which rous'd their bosoms to encounter death;
 Her goalike synod, then, inspir'd by thee,
 To the admiring world proclaim'd Columbia free*.

XIV.

As when that chief, at whose august command,
 The sun stood still on Gibeon's bloody plain,
 Through Jordan pass'd into the promis'd land,
 By Israel's wand'ring race long sought in vain:
 Six days, her towering ramparts to destroy,
 Round Jericho's proud walls his squadrons past:
 The seventh, amidst triumphal shouts of joy,
 The sacred Levites sound a mighty blast:
 The tottering city trembles at the sound:
 And her devoted walls fall thundering to the ground:

XV.

So trembled Britain at the awful sound,
 And felt her empire to the centre shake:
 Fame spread the tidings to the nations round,
 And bade them of thy glorious meed partake.
 Then Gallia's patriot prince held forth his hand
 To aid the virtuous struggles of thy race:

NOTE.

† The 4th of July, 1776.

Iberia, too, was rous'd at thy command,
 While cautious Belgia wears a doubting face :
 Enrag'd Hibernia shook her chains in air ;
 But sunk beneath their weight in sorrow and despair.

XVI.

Ere yet Columbia's sons, whom gentle Peace
 Had nurtur'd in her lap with soft'ring smiles,
 And taught her lore, 'midst scenes of rural ease,
 Knew aught of hostile arts, or martial toils ;
 When Britain's vet'ran legions cross'd the main,
 Radiant in arms, and swell'd with angry pride,
 Swift, at thy dread command, a gallant train
 With dauntless breasts the vaunting foe defied* :
 Forth burst the flames of war—the dreadful roar
 From hill to hill resounds, and rolls from shore to shore.

XVII.

As when huge Ætna, torn with raging fires,
 Fed in its caves from vast sulphureous fumes,
 With inward thunder shakes the distant spires,
 And from its gulph a flaming torrent pours :
 Down the rough steep, the fiery deluge rolls,
 In smoaking cataracts, its molten waves :
 Like burning Phlegethon ! no mound controuls
 Th' impetuous flood !—not flight the victim saves—
 For Ocean's bounds the glowing lava gains ;
 And woods and cities burns ; and smoaks along the plains :

XVIII.

With equal fury, fierce Bellona's fires
 Dire conflagration spread on every side :
 Such hostile rage Tisiphone inspires,
 As when proud Troy detain'd the Spartan bride ;
 Or, as when Rome, with more than rival hate,
 Intent to seize the empire of the world,
 Like the dread ministers of angry fate,
 Destruction 'gainst the walls of Carthage hurl'd.
 Nathless, thy sons Britannia's force withstand :
 Thy hope inspires their souls ; and still protects the land.

XIX.

E'en when grim Tyranny, with giant-stride, †
 And foul, devouring jaws, pursued his prey,
 His harpy-talons all extended wide
 To seize th' expiring victim as she lay :
 While black Despair sat brooding o'er the land,
 And frowning Fate upheld the doubtful scale,
 E'en then, thy fav'rite son, at thy command,
 The fierce, terrific gorgon dar'd assail.
 The savage monster bleeds beneath his sword :
 And his victorious arm Columbia's hopes restor'd.

NOTES.

* Battle of Bunker's hill.

† General Washington's retreat through the Jerseys in December 1776, succeeded by the ever-memorable victories of Trenton and Princeton.

XX.

When from the regions of the angry north,*
 The storm, impetuous, scowl'd—as erst of yore—
 When Rome beheld it's myriads issuing forth,
 To wrest th' imperial diadem she wore :
 Still, as the louring tempest onward came
 And gathering horrors fill'd the welkin wide,
 Sudden disperse the clouds before thy flame :
 And ere their rage begins, the storms subside.
 With prosperous gales the bark of freedom glides :
 Her distant port beholds ; and stems th' opposing tides.

XXI.

Again a dim eclipse obscures thy beam, †
 While through the south, the mad tornado flies ;
 With dreadful flash the livid lightnings gleam :
 And deep-mouth'd thunders shake the vaulted skies.
 “ Let there be light ! ” then spake the eternal word :
 And darkness fled before thy heav'nly ray ;
 To peace the jarring firmament's restor'd,
 While Chaos, trembling, yields his wonted sway.
 Fair smiles the face of heaven beneath thine eye :
 In adamantine cells, the storms imprison'd lie. ‡

XXII.

To latest time shall the recording page
 The glorious annals of Columbia tell :
 Enrolled there shall live each patriot sage
 And gallant chief, who fought or nobly fell.
 Thy name, great Washington, shall first appear—
 Thy country's ornament, thy country's shield !
 Admiring ages shall thy fame revere—
 Thou first in virtue, council, and the field !
 May laurels, ever green, thy brows surround—
 By Liberty and Fame thy glorious actions crown'd.

XXIII.

On Warren's tomb the muse shall drop a tear :
 And scatter flow'rets round his hallow'd grave ;
 Her grief the gallant Mercer too shall share,
 And thou, Pulaski, generous as brave :
 Thou, too, who didst defy the winter's blast,
 Where Wolfe before thee met his mortal wound—
 Though soon, like his, thy fleeting glories past,
 Yet grateful fame thy dying temples crown'd.
 There Arnold, too, the foster-child of fame,
 Won laurels, barter'd soon for infamy and shame.

NOTES.

* Approach of the army from Canada, under general Burgoyne, and its consequent reduction, at Saratoga, October 17, 1777.

† Reduction of the southern states ; with their subsequent recovery under the auspices of general Greene.

‡ Capitulation at York town, October 19, 1781.

|| General Montgomery, kill'd before Quebec.

XXIV.

A splendid train of heroes yet remains,*
 Whose gallant feats are not unknown to fame :
 These shall adorn the muse's future strains,
 Inspired haply, by thy chearful flame.
 Thy destiny, De Kalbe, shall then be wail'd,
 (By ruthless Britons stript thy bleeding corse ! †)
 Though by surrounding foes at once assail'd,
 Superior numbers felt thy fatal force.
 Could Britons learn to reverence the brave,
 Not, thus unshrouded, hadst thou fought thy silent grave.

XXV.

But when the British lion's savage rage
 Hath spent it's ruthless energy in vain—
 When gentle Peace again shall bless the age,
 And thou, fair Liberty, unrivall'd reign—
 Columbia, then, beware the fate of Greece,
 Nor let internal broils thy strength destroy !
 Be thine, amidst thy states to cherish peace,
 Lest curst dissensions all their blifs annoy.
 Fierce Discord, should she burst thy federal band,
 Shall strait with galling chains load thy devoted land,

XXVI.

Nor let Ambition in thy bosom rise ;
 Nor Conquest, purple-rob'd, thy sight allure :
 Their trappings fascinate unwary eyes—
 Though baneful as the robe Alcides wore.
 To thirst of empire, Rome a victim fell ;
 For thirst of empire is a thirst of wealth :
 Soon follows Luxury, with baleful spell—
 The deadliest foe to liberty, and health.
 Far be such fatal joys remov'd from thee,
 Columbia ! be thy sole ambition to be free.

XXVII.

From Britain's ills, a further lesson learn ;
 Nor let Corruption's deadly poison spread :
 The venal caitiff from thy councils spurn ;
 And wreak thy vengeance on his guilty head.
 Far rather, like Helvetia's hardy race§,
 Be poverty and toil thine envied lot—
 If Liberty thy board shall deign to grace,
 And smiling Peace adorn thy humble cot.
 Columbia thus shall live to deathless fame,
 Unrivall'd or by Rome, or Britain's vaunted name !

NOTES.

* It was by no means within the compass of so short a poem to do justice to all those who have signalized themselves, in the great contest for the liberty of America. But the omission of a short tribute to the memory of some of the most distinguished characters who had fallen in that contest, could not have been excused.

† This fact is mentioned on the authority of colonel Du Puiffon, aid to baron de Kalbe. The baron fell at Camden, August 16, 1780.

§ The Swifs.

Time's address to the ladies. In imitation of Tasso: most humbly inscribed to Miss E. Randolph, of James river, in Virginia,

By her, &c.

Rob. Bolling, jun.

YE fair, with youth and beauty vain,
 Who Cytherea's laws disdain,
 Still conqu'ring on, unconquer'd still,
 You shall—yes you—my power feel.
 The trophies of those lovely eyes,
 Will shortly, girls, become my prize.
 Your heav'nly charms and honour'd pride
 Will be, poor things, my prize beside.
 Yes: tremble at my name: for know,
 I'm Time—your lord and greatest foe,
 Who, flying, do you greater ill
 Than Venus can, do what she will.
 E'en while I speak, from those fine eyes
 Less keen the languid lightning, flies;
 The ringlets from your tresses fall,
 The rose leaves your cheeks; and all
 That warm'd each sighing youth before,
 Seem ruins of your charms—no more.
 You little mind, that, day and night,
 On rapid wings I take my flight.
 Oh heedless! for with me decay
 Your shining fame and pride of sway:
 And, with them, each terrestrial thing,
 Nay e'en yourselves are on my wing.
 But why, ah me! why do I stay,
 Neglectful of my daily way?
 Come, tell me then; for I must go;
 Say, what avails it, that you show
 Such coolness to the nuptial fire,
 Which nature and kind heav'n inspire;
 If soon and long you will regret,
 Too late the self-impos'd deceit?
 The hour will come—it comes apace—
 Which gives me vict'ry o'er each grace,
 That shines in ev'ry rosy face.
 Then Love, from his delightful throne—
 Your sprightly eyes—I will pull down:
 And rigid Age, oppress'd with pain,
 Instead of sportive Love, shall reign.
 Repentance, 'stead of lofty Pride,
 Shall in your humbled minds reside,
 Which, like a looking glass, will shew
 What once you were, and what you're now:
 And shew and mark the void between
 What is your state, what might have been.
 But I will torment more than these,
 Your customs alter, as I please;
 For, know, the jocund dance and song
 To slaves of mine no more belong.
 Nor do my slaves (attend, ye fair)
 Rich, flowing robes and jewels wear:

Where Nature, all blooming and fair,
Comes blushing, led on by sweet May:
And bids ev'ry beauty appear,
As tho' she would tempt you to stay.

Then stay, and together we'll rove,
And mark where these beauties prevail:
Together we'll visit the grove,
Together we'll visit the vale:
We'll stray by the banks of the brook,
We'll gather the sweetest of flow'rs,
While heav'n, approving, shall look,
And smile on a friendship like ours.

And oft, at the close of the day,
When fann'd by the zephyrs of June,
Then join'd by the shepherds, we'll stray,
Beneath the soft light of the moon.
Thy Corydon, too, shall be there;
Shall fondly the moments improve:
For what has a shepherd to fear,
When the bosom is open to love?

Then leave not thy shepherd to mourn;
Ah! leave not the friend of thy heart:
How sad shall we be—how forlorn—
How wretched—if Emma depart!
And will she then hasten away?
Will she rashly abandon the grove?
Is she deaf to what Friendship can say?
Is she deaf to the accents of Love?



' S E L E C T E D P O E T R Y .

Benevolence: by *Thomas Darwes, jun. esq. of Boston.*

O BLIND to all the blessings of the skies,
Who think God's great delight in vengeance lies!
Your gloomy souls, of gross ingredients made,
Admit no solace thro' the tenfold shade.
All, all is dark—a magazine of care;
The vulture passions make sedition there.
The mansion of the heart, that ought to prove
The modest temple of the pow'r of love,
Has lost all peace within. Compassion flies,
Turn'd out a vagrant to the open skies:
And Zeal usurps the abdicated throne,
Who measures heav'n's injustice by her own.

Here bright-ey'd Fancy, in reflective lays,
Looks thro' the shades of time to ancient days;
Points where an altar, rais'd by Zeal's own hands,
Sacred to monstrous Immolation stands.

To bribe the spotless Majesty on high,
Who views all nature with a Father's eye,

There Homicide a bloody tribute pays ;
 In heav'n's pure name, unhallow'd off'rings blaze.
 Preposterous Superstition lights the pyre ;
 On Fury's blast the bickering flames aspire :
 The loaded winds with savage howlings rise,
 " And swell the pomp of awful sacrifice."
 I see th' offenceless victim, writhing, bound,
 His heart-fetch'd cries in drums and trumpets drown'd.
 Incumbent Horror o'er the stake presides ;
 Th' expiring wretch his ling'ring torture chides :
 'Till Death arrive, and, bursting from her bars,
 The naked spirit wander to the stars.

Our stern forefathers, of that barbarous age,
 Long left in legacies their holy rage.
 Blind Bigotry, who man to brute degrades,
 Blots all the stars, and sees all heav'n in shades,
 With sullen sway long rul'd the gothic night ;
 And sons refin'd upon their fathers' spite ;
 Worshipp'd from fear th' infernal monarch ; then
 His throne erected in the hearts of men.

But now, while Learning's lamp dispels the gloom,
 And copious golden beams the world illum—
 When men, like Chauncy*, deep in nature's lore,
 And arm'd with rich supplies from Reason's store,
 From classic urns long-hidden truths display,
 And teach admiring man the nobler way :
 Then Virtue triumphs in th' elated mind,
 And, rising, leaves ideal clouds behind ;
 All base-born, low malignities retire,
 Repell'd and smitten by the soul's bright fire :
 The veil of Ignorance is rent away,
 Pale Fear dissolves before the bursting ray.
 Man feels the growing strength by mercy giv'n,
 And, conscious of his station, looks to heav'n.

So when the sun first breaks upon the east,
 (In rainbow robes the whole horizon drest)
 Ofttimes condensing vapours round him grow,
 Exhal'd from many a lake that lies below.
 Thro' doubling mist, his wid'ning face displays
 The fiery vision of refracted rays:
 The bias'd vulgar misconceive the sign,
 And, big with omen, drought and death divine.
 But while th' erroneous moralists admire,
 And dress in vengeance the celestial fire ;
 From the cold ocean gentle Zephyr springs,
 With soul-reviving breath and healing wings.
 Before th' elastic gale the vapours fly ;
 The clouds file off, and scud along the sky.

NOTE.

* Dr. Chauncy's character may be seen in the American Museum Vol. VII. page 8c.

Then from his vivid throne the king of day,
 With milder majesty, and chaster ray,
 Looks forth unvail'd; the laughing valley fills;
 And clothes in green and gold, the echoing hills.

Wide as the sun his bright dominion spreads,
 Heav'n-born Benevolence her bounty sheds.
 She, meek-ey'd goddess, quits th' angelic sphere,
 To banish grief, and dry the human tear.
 Plenty's rich urn her willing arms sustain,
 Life, Hope, and Joy, exulting in her train.
 Her ear is open to the orphan's cry,
 Her soul expanding as the poor pass by.
 From her blest'd tongue the words of manna flow,
 And carry courage to desponding woe.
 Objects of aid she seeks through all the land,
 Diffusing bounty with a Saviour's hand.
 Thro' prison-bars she darts a pitying eye,
 Her heart, responsive, echoes sigh for sigh:
 Nor scorns she ev'n the malefactor's chain:
 She mourns his guilt, but mitigates his pain.
 The wretch she asks not, in what climaté bred,
 To what profession or religion wed;
 That's not the subject of her mission there—
 To succour all who want, is all her care.

With Love's apology and Candour's veil,
 The multitude of errors to conceal;
 The long-elaps'd injury to forget,
 And as the debtor weeps, forgive the debt;
 Full titles of renovating hope to roll
 Thro' the dry channels of the feverish soul—
 These are, O bright Benevolence, thy ways,
 And these the solid basis of thy praise!
 When Cæsar's fame, and Malb'ro's deeds are past,
 Th' effects of thy philanthropy shall last.
 In nature's wreck, the juster fates shall see
 Distinguish'd worth; and fix their eyes on thee;
 A preference far thy honest heart shall find,
 Before the proud destroyers of mankind.
 Their lapsing honours shall forbear to save:
 But thy blest name shall triumph o'er the grave.



Verses, sacred to the memory of Benjamin Franklin, L. L. D. &c. &c.

SINCE 'tis our lot upon this mortal stage,
 To combat pain and sickness, grief and age,
 Why should we murmur at approaching death?
 Or why reluctantly resign our breath?
 Our sighs, our anguish, Reason disavows,
 Since Franklin to the king of terrors bows.

Say, how shall I begin his various praise?
 Truth led him through all Nature's wond'rous maze.

Earth! to the sage thy greenest wreaths allow,
 Whose wisdom taught the swain to guide the plough
 By Reason's laws—to turn the fruitful soil
 By useful rules, and scientific toil;
 Thy cultivated bosom to adorn
 With cooling fruits, and life-sustaining corn;
 And prov'd, Philosophy! to thy true friends,
 The man, who pants for heav'n, to earth attends.

Ocean! his death thy waters should deplore,
 Rolling thy plaintive billows to the shore,
 Where Franklin rests. Thy pow'rs he understood;
 Fathom'd thy depths; and analyz'd thy flood.
 What tho' he prov'd, that earth thy waves restrains,
 And rescues from thy reign her hills and plains,
 Still he deserves thy tribute of applause:
 Thy properties he knew, and gave thee laws.

Air! in the praises of the sage unite,
 Who saw thy paths with more than human sight.
 Fair Science taught her son the winds to know,
 Whence they all come, and whither they must go.

O Electricity! from thee he draws
 A large—a glorious portion of applause;
 Lightning! confess the glory of the sage,
 Who dar'd with all thy terrors to engage.
 Thy nature he explain'd; and bade us gaze,
 Fearless, on thy wide-spreading, quiv'ring blaze.
 Humanity! this proof of art applaud:
 Ye sceptres! bow to Franklin's glorious rod,
 Which draws the furious fluid from its course,
 And bids it spend on earth its baffled force.

New England! glory in thy foremost son;
 What though on earth his honour'd course be run?
 Thy fame and his shall evermore endure:
 He knew thy rights, and made those rights secure;
 Nor thine alone; to him a nation owes
 Conquest in war, and now a blest repose—
 To him, whose wisdom wond'ring France obey'd,
 Whilst Lewis glow'd, great Washington to aid.

France, when the awful news shall reach thine ear,
 Thy sons in fable garments should appear.
 On Passy's plains, from vulgar eyes retir'd,
 Lov'd by the good, and by the great admir'd,
 Like Sicily's enlighten'd son, serene,
 He grasp'd, O Policy, thy nice machine,
 And mov'd court, city, camps, and plains, to dare,
 In Freedom's cause, the glorious toils of war.
 France! if to him thou owe that splendid light,
 Which sav'd thee from Oppression's dreary night,
 Record his name in thy historic page—
 There let the statesman triumph with the sage—
 And since thy sons Philosophy adore,

His death with many a tender sigh deplore,
On whom with wonder all thy fages gaz'd,
And whom Voltaire with justice oft has prais'd.

O Britain! to his memory be just:
A valiant people wars not with the dust.
In youth, to thee by sympathy allied,
He knew thy worth: in age he scorn'd thy pride.
His various virtues thou shouldst learn to prize;
Checking thy haughtiness, he made thee wise.

But why should partial praise be his? The mind,
Which labour'd for the good of all mankind,
Due homage should receive, from pole to pole—
Theme of each tongue and pride of ev'ry soul.

Europe! the glories of the sage revere:
Free from false pride, and uneduc'd by fear,
Who stood, unaw'd, before the Gallic throne,
Propt by true worth, and grandeur all his own.
O may his lessons spread o'er wond'ring lands,
From frozen wilds, to 'Tagus' golden sands,
Till'en Byzantium shall his genius bless,
And bow at once to Freedom and the press.

What various blessings from one man may flow,
Whom heav'n with sense and virtue taught to glow!
Asia! thy sons his precepts soon shall hear:
Thy tyrants in their turn shall learn to fear;
Whilst chains (so Int'rest, join'd with Zeal, demands)
Insensibly shall drop from Slav'ry's hands.

Nor be our praises to those arts confin'd,
Which seem above its sphere to raise the mind.
Franklin was born life's various scenes to grace,
A bright example to man's erring race.
His splendid worth a willing land confess,
Whilst every gentler virtue warm'd his breast.
Ye, whom vile sophistry oft leads astray,
At Fancy's shrine unworthy vows to pay;
Who, while bold knaves admire, and fools applaud,
First rail at nature, and then sneer at God—
By Franklin taught, the husband's worth approve,
And the soft duties of parental love.
How great the merit, and the bliss how sweet,
When in fond union, Love and Science meet!

Thou, Pennsylvania! o'er his ashes bend;
Revere the mem'ry of thy steady friend.
Thee he adopted with parental love;
Daily thy blessings to enhance he strove—
True to religion, which detests controul,
And guides to heav'n, thro' Freedom's paths, the soul.
He found religious liberty with thee,
And priz'd thy sons—for they are mild and free.

Then, Pennsylvania! ev'ry tribute pay;
Erect the sculptur'd marble o'er his clay:

Thus youth at equal praise shall boldly aim,
And catch at Franklin's tomb, worth's hallow'd flame.



Epitaph on Dr. Franklin written by himself about forty years ago.

THE BODY OF
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, PRINTER,
LIKE THE COVER OF AN OLD BOOK,
(ITS CONTENTS WORN OUT,
AND STRIPT OF ITS COVERING AND GILDING,)
LIES HERE,
FOOD FOR WORMS:
YET
THE WORK SHALL NOT BE LOST
BUT SHALL AGAIN APPEAR,
IN A NEW AND BEAUTIFUL EDITION,
CORRECTED AND REVISED BY
THE AUTHOR.



The American farmer.

A Simple farmer, far remov'd from all
The pomp and grandeur of this busy ball,
With fear and trembling leaves his quiet groves,
To pay a tribute to the life he loves.

He sings the farmer, whose enlighten'd mind
Is sway'd by judgment, and by books refin'd;
Blest with an income, from incumbrance clear,
Of twice three hundred pounds, in gold, a year.
And where so blest, as here, the farmer's lot—
Sole owner of his independent cot?
He sees no palace rear its tow'ring head,
In guilty splendour, near his humble shed:
But heav'n-born Freedom, like the lamp of day,
O'er all, alike, extends her genial ray.

Then here repair, ye poor unhappy swains,
Condemn'd to labour on European plains!
Luxuriant crops our fertile vallies yield,
And the same hand, which sows, may reap the field.
See lavish Nature all her charms display,
Where wild Onio winds his devious way.
O'er boundless forests beams the blushing morn:
And azure skies the trackless wilds adorn.
Here, to your efforts make the woodlands bow,
And drive, thro' yielding earth, the stubborn plough:
Bid peace and culture all their fruits expand,
And golden harvests wave o'er all the land.

Let others strive in splendid scenes to shine:
Th' obscure and humble path of life be mine.
I joy, to wander o'er the bloomy vale,
Where Health rides laughing on the western gale:

I joy, unseen, o'er grassy lands to stray,
 When setting Phœbus sheds a gentler day.
 Thus reign'd our fathers o'er the rural fold—
 Wise, hale, and honest, in the days of old.

And thou, great WASHINGTON! accept the lay:
 To thee the farmer's warmest thanks I pay.
 Now Peace comes smiling, on her snow-white car,
 To check the rage, and heal the wounds of war.
 He sees with joy his flocks and herds increase,
 And reaps the produce of his fields in peace.
 Not so, when late we saw Britannia pour
 Her slavish thousands on our happy shore:
 We saw her sons o'er happy bands prevail,
 And hostile banners wave in ev'ry gale:
 We saw our barb'rous and exulting foes,
 With savage fierceness, glory in our woes.
 In that dread hour, when o'er each patriot soul
 Despair and horror reign'd without controul,
 In that dark hour, to guide us thro' the war,
 Beam'd the bright splendor of Virginia's star:
 And soon thy arm dispers'd the servile band,
 And scatter'd blessings o'er a grateful land.



Bethlehem—a poem: by a young lady of Maryland.

TO Bethle'm's sacred groves and shady seats,
 Religion from the noisy world retreats:
 From earth's vain pomp she leads the willing maid,
 To chant her anthems in the hallow'd shade;
 Tears some fond youth from an unhallow'd love,
 And bids his breast her purer transports prove.
 Oh may no Abelard's wild passion there,
 Teach the deep groves to echo his despair!
 No Eloisa, torn by wild desires,
 There "find an altar for forbidden fires."
 Far! far! ye demons, fly the calm retreat,
 And hover round the ruin'd paraclete.
 In Bethle'm's groves may purer incense rise,
 And purer anthems pierce the azure skies:
 To happier themes their grateful harps be strung,
 And fair creation's rising glories sung,
 Or JESUS' birth awake the raptur'd thought
 Of bliss unfading, by his suff'rings bought;
 Of life eternal, joys which ever bloom!
 And radiance sparkling from the mould'ring tomb;
 The suff'ring saint with endless conquest crown'd,
 Ye cavern'd rocks exulting echo round!
 Ye softer whispers of the winding vale,
 In fond responses murmur back the tale!
 In distant cadence, hark! the heav'nly theme
 Floats on the air, and dies along the stream.

* O ne'er again may Peace forsake the scene,
 Nor War's rude sounds invade thy sweet serene,
 The hostile band no more usurp the plain,
 And vice no more thy holy walks profane !
 Yet boast not, Bethle'm, that thy happy shade
 Alone possesses the seraphic maid :
 In B——d's shades, P——e's groves she charms,
 And ev'ry breast with holy rapture warms.



Federal-hall—by captain Philip Freneau.

WITH eager step and wrinkled brow;
 The busy sons of care,
 Disgusted with less splendid scenes,
 To Fed'ral-hall repair.

In order plac'd, they patient wait
 To seize each word that flies :
 From what they hear, they sigh or smile,
 Look chearful, grave, or wise.

Within these walls, the doctrines taught
 Are of such vast concern,
 That all the world, with one consent,
 Here strives to live—and learn.

The tim'rous heart that cautious shuns
 All churches, but its own,
 No more observes its wonted rules,
 But ventures here alone.

Four hours a day each rank alike,
 (Those who can walk or crawl)
 Leave children, business, shop, and wife,
 And steer for Fed'ral-hall.

From morning task, of mending soals,
 The cobbler hastes away :
 At three returns ; and tells to Kate
 The business of the day.

The debtor, vex'd with early duns,
 Avoids his hated home ;
 And here and there at random roves,
 'Till hour of congress come.

The barber, at the well-known time,
 Forgets his lather'd man,
 And leaves him, grac'd with half a beard,
 To shave it—as he can.

The tailor, plagu'd with suits on suits,
 Neglects sir Fopling's call ;
 Forsakes his goose ; disdain his board ;
 And flies to Fed'ral-hall.

NOTE.

* During the late war Bethlehem was in possession of the continental army.

In virgam Franklinianam,

ODE ALCAICA.

Auctore Antonio Mussi, philosophiæ professore, Mediolani.

DIRIS per urbes religionibus
Camposque latè strata metu gravi,
Humana gens horrebat olim
Tartareum tonitru tyrannum
Nimbos vocantem : cœlo equitans nigro,
Dùm Saga, passè crine, sonantium
Iras procellarum laceffans,
Vipereo fureret flagello.

Formidolosa infomnia ! “ Num Pater
“ Naturæ iniquis imperium arbitris
“ Permittat ? ” Has dudùm tenebras
Dispulit exoriens Sophia.

At non timores pectore funditùs
Excussit atros. Vix tonuit polus,
Jam vertici impendere vulgus
Ætheream trepidat ruinam.

“ Ergo usque gentes sternere gestiat
“ Telum coruscans triste Diespiter,
“ Sedesque funestet piorum,
“ Ipse suas jaculatus arces ?

“ Qui cuncta leni numine temperat,
“ Solemque flammis, et Boream gelu,
“ Terramque complexu rotundam,
“ Gurgitibus mare belluosis,

“ Nostros in usus Omnituens parat,
“ Num semper in nos immedicabilem
“ Molitur ictum, dùm tonante
“ Fulgur agens quatit astra curru ?
Non ille frustra carum hominis caput
Diva efficacis munit ingeni

Virtute, quâ terras patentes,
Aëraque, oceanumque regnet.
Sophis sagaces ille animos dedit
Tentare naturæ abdita : non vices
Subvertere — æternasque leges
Sacrilegâ violare dextrâ.

Hâc mente, Franklin, nubibus imperas,
Vulgare temnens exanimum pecus :
Virgaque sublimi coerces
Fulmineum inviolatus ignem :

Justâ ille labens innocuus viâ
Sensum silenti flumine avens petit,
Telluris amplexum parentis,
Et sociæ freta cœca flammæ ;
Quæ sub profundis monstra frementia
Exercet antris, dùm polum anhelitu
Terrasque quassant, montiumque,
Ignivomo reboant hiatu.

At tu, corusco in turbine, splendidum
Securus effers philosophus caput

VOL. VII.

Remota dum turris fragoso
Fulgure collabefacta fumat.
Regina signis te Philadelphia
Subscribit immortalibus : “ Hic Sophus,
“ Hic ille Franklin, qui tyrannis
“ Sceptra, Jovi rapuitque fulmen.”
Nunc ipsa virgam provida sospitan
Europa centum sustulit urbibus :
Europa nunc artes doceri
Barbaricâ* stupet Americâ.
Urbs alma princeps Insuorum ! adhuc
tremis

Sub sole larvas ? Suspice Palladis†
Fastigium : ferrata circum
Tecta volans fugat ecce curas
Fulgore puro libera veritas.

At insolenti ne sapientiâ,
Mortalis æternum labores
Fallere consilium, caveto :
Franklinianis mille licet domus
Horrescat hastis, certus ahenea
Per septa, per fidos recessus,
Sontem animam petet ignis ultor.

Virtus, quietis pectoribus sacrum
Tutamen, arces possidet Alpibus
Stantes serenis proeliantem
Sub pede despiciens procellam.



The prospect. By a lady in Princeton.

AS wand'ring late o'er hill and dale,
My footsteps reach'd a dewy
vale,

Charm'd with the variegated scene,
The blossoms sprinkled on the green—
The moon, behind a sable shroud,
Now gliding from the azure cloud,
Cast a more pleasing lustre round,
And milder rays the mountains crown'd;
With meditative eye I view'd
The silvan spot on which I stood :
And tracing all the landscape o'er,
New beauties rose, unseen before.

NOTE.

* The reader will easily perceive that this word is used to form a beautiful contrast between what America is now, and what she was hardly more than a century ago.

† Regii gymnasi Braydenfis hac in urbe Mediolano, quod anno 1784, munitum est sex virgis Franklinianis, jubente principe.

[7]

The muses' turret struck my sight
 Glittering with reflected light,
 There, blooms the academic grove,
 Where all the sons of science rove;
 And here, the walk and silver spring
 Which tempt Nasovian youth to sing,
 When first they touch the trembling
 lyre,

And court the muses to inspire;
 Sweet shades, where Contemplation
 dwells,

With ———, and all her joys reveals;
 While she accosts his list'ning ear,
 In strains more soft than vernal air—
 Attunes his soul with heav'nly peace,
 And makes each jarring passion cease:
 Here, treading philosophic ground,
 His deep researches know no bound,
 But flow in streams of useful sense,
 Which Truth employs him to dis-
 pense

Dress'd in the charms of Eloquence. }

See, where golden osters grew,
 A village rises to my view,
 In elegant simplicity,
 From all the din of business free,
 Order and Neatness both declare,
 The owners breathe in classic air.
 The hamlets too at distance plac'd,
 In woodbine bow'rs display their taste:
 And fays, and dryads, here are seen:
 And all the Graces haunt the green;
 The green that on her bosom bears,
 The nurse of statesmen and of seers,

While nature here brings ev'ry sweet,
 To decorate the muses' seat.



Take time, and think about it.

YE lasses gay, in beauty's bloom
 All blithe and debonair,
 Think not too boldly I presume,
 In warning thus the fair.

When beauty rises to the view,
 The men will buz—ne'er doubt it—
 'This maxim mind—when they pur-
 sue—

Take time to think about it.

When ev'ry flatt'ring art they try,
 And praise your shape and air—
 Your blooming cheeks and sparkling
 eye—

Take heed, dear girls, beware.

The honey of your rosy lip
 They'll strive to gain, ne'er doubt it:
 Yet ere you let them have a sip,
 Take time and think about it.

But when the constant lover woos,
 Endow'd with manly sense,
 Then listen to his tender vows,
 With trifling forms dispense.

He'll scorn to flatter or deceive,
 If worthy—never doubt it;
 Your hand to such then freely give,
 'Nor think too long about it.



Characteristic sketch of the Long Island Dutch.

STILL on those plains their num'rous race survive,
 And, born to labour, still are found to thrive;
 Through rain and sunshine, toiling for their heirs,
 They hold no nation on this earth like theirs.
 Where'er they fix, all nature smiles around—
 Groves bend with fruit, and plenty clothes the ground;
 No barren trees to shade their domes, are seen;
 Trees must be fertile, and their dwellings clean;
 No idle fancy dares its whims apply,
 Or hope attention from the master's eye.
 All tends to something that must self produce,
 All for some end, and ev'ry thing its use.
 Eternal scow'rings keep their floors afloat,
 Neat as the outside of the Sunday coat.
 The wheel, the loom, the female band employ—
 These all their pleasure, these their darling joy.

The strong-ribb'd lasfs no idle passions move,
 No nice ideas of romantic love;
 He to her heart the readiest path can find,
 Who comes with gold, and courts her to be kind.
 She heeds not valour, learning, wit, or birth,
 Minds not the swain—but asks him, what he's worth ?
 No female fears in her firm breast prevail,
 The helm she governs, and she trims the sail :
 In some small barque the way to market finds,
 Hauls aft the sheet, or veers it to the winds :
 While, lac'd ahead, subservient to her will,
 Hans smokes his pipe, and wonders at her skill.

Health to their toils—thus may they still go on—
 Curse on my pen ! what virtues have I drawn !
 Is this the gen'ral taste ? No—truth replies—
 If fond of beauty, guiltless of disguise,
 See (where the social circle meant to grace)
 The handsome Yorker shades her lovely face ;
 She, early led to happier tasks at home,
 Prefers the labours that her sex become ;
 Remote from view, directs some fav'rite art,
 And leaves to hardier man the ruder part.



On general Washington.

GREAT without pomp, without ambition brave—
 Proud, not to conquer fellow men, but save—
 Friend to the weak—a foe to none but those
 Who plan their greatness on their brethren's woes—
 Aw'd by no titles—undefil'd by lust—
 Free without faction, obstinately just—
 Too wise to learn from Machiavel's school,
 That truth and perfidy by turns should rule—
 Warm'd by religion's sacred, genuine ray,
 Which points to future bliss th' unerring way ;
 Yet ne'er control'd by superstition's laws,
 The worst of tyrants in the noblest cause.

London, 1789.



Verses, by a lady. Addressed to dr. Franklin, with a pair of worked ruffles, Dec.
 1769.

THESSE flow'rs, dear sir, can boast no lively bloom,
 Nor can regale you with a sweet perfume ;
 This dreary season no such present yields,
 The trees are naked, unadorn'd the fields :
 The gardens have their sweets and beauty lost ;
 But Love and Gratitude, unchill'd by frost,
 Put forth this foliage—poor, indeed, I own ;
 Yet trust th' intent will for the faults atone.
 Altho' my produce not with nature's vies,
 I hope to please a friend's indulgent eyes.
 For you my fancy and my skill I tried—
 For you my needle with delight I plied—
 Proud ev'n to add a trifling grace to you,

rom whom philosophy and virtue too
I've gain'd : if either can be counted mine,
In you they with the clearest lustre shine.

My noble friend ! this artless line excuse,
Nor blame the weakness of your Polly's nuie ;
The humble gift with kind complacence take,
And wear it for the grateful giver's sake.

M. S.



On the American and French revolutions.

BORNE on the wings of time, another year,
Sprung from the past, assumes its proud career :
From that bright spark, which first illum'd these lands,
See Europe kindling, as the blaze expands,
Each gloomy tyrant, sworn to chain the mind,
Presumes no more to trample on mankind :
E'en potent Louis trembles on his throne,
The gen'rous prince, who made our cause his own,
More equal rights his injur'd subjects claim,
No more a country's strength—that country's shame ;
Fame starts, astonish'd at such prizes won,
And rashness wonders how the work was done.

Flush'd with new life, and bright'ning at the view,
Science, triumphant, moulds the world anew ;
To these far climes in swift succession moves
Each art that reason owns, and sense approves.
What though his age is bounded to a span
Time sheds a nobler dignity on man :
Some happier breath his rising passion swells,
Some kinder genius his bold arm impels ;
Dull Superstition from the world retires,
Dishearten'd zealots haste to quench their fires ;
One equal rule, o'er twelve vast states extends ;
Europe and Asia join to be our friends,
Our active flag, in ev'ry clime display'd,
Counts stars on colours, that shall never fade ;
A far-fam'd chief o'er this vast whole presides,
Whose motto honour is—whom virtue guides ;
His walks forsaken in Virginia's groves,
Applauding thousands bow where'er he moves,
Who laid the basis of this empire sure,
Where public faith should public peace secure.
Still may she rise, exalted in her aims,
And boast to ev'ry age her patriot names,
To distant climes extend her gentle sway,
While choice—not force—bids ev'ry heart obey :
Ne'er may she fail, when Liberty implores
Nor want true valour to defend her shores,
Till Europe, humbled, greets our western wave,
And owns an equal—whom she wish'd a slave.



A P P E N D I X II.

P U B L I C P A P E R S .

A pastoral letter from the synod of New York and Philadelphia, to the people under their charge.

Very dear brethren,

YOU will easily remember, that in May, 1775, the synod thought proper to address a pastoral letter to the people under their inspection, on the state of public affairs. At that interesting period, hostilities had just commenced between Great Britain and America; and a long and bloody conflict was to be expected. Now, that conflict is over: and we have the best reason to suppose (the preliminaries being signed and ratified) that a happy and honourable peace will be speedily settled by a definitive treaty. We could not, therefore, longer delay addressing to you the following letter, which will contain our sentiments on this happy occasion, and our advice, as to the duty incumbent upon all ranks, in return for so great a mercy.

We cannot help congratulating you, on the general and almost universal attachment of the presbyterian body to the cause of liberty and the rights of mankind. This has been visible in their conduct, and has been confessed by the complaints and resentment of the common enemy. Such a circumstance ought not only to afford us satisfaction on the review, as bringing credit to the body in general, but to increase our gratitude to God for the happy issue of the war: had it been unsuccessful, we must have drunk deeply of the cup of suffering. Our burnt and wasted churches, and our plundered dwellings, in such places as fell under the power of our adversaries, are but an earnest of what we must have suffered, had they finally prevailed.

The synod, therefore, request you to render thanks to Almighty God, for all his mercies, spiritual and temporal—and, in a particular manner, for establishing the independence of the united states of America. He is the supreme disposer of all events: and to him belongs the glory, the victory, and the majesty. We are persuaded, you will easily recollect many circumstances, in the course of the struggle, which point out his special and signal interposition in our favour. Our most remarkable successes have generally been, when things had just before worn the most unfavourable aspect; as at Trenton and Saratoga at the beginning—in South Carolina and Virginia towards the end of the war. It pleased God to raise up for us a powerful ally in Europe; and when we consider the unwearied attempts of our enemies, to raise dissensions by every topic that could be supposed inflammatory and popular, the harmony that has prevailed, not only between the allied powers, but the troops of different nations and languages, acting together, ought to be ascribed to the gracious influence of divine providence. Without mentioning many other instances, we only further put you in mind of the choice and appointment of a commander in chief of the armies of the united states, who, in this important and difficult charge, has given universal satisfaction; who is alike acceptable to the citizen and the soldier—to the state in which he was born, and to every other on the continent; whose character and influence, after so long a service, are not only unimpaired, but augmented. Of what consequence this has

been to the cause of America, every one may judge; or, if it needs any illustration, it receives it from the opposite situation of our enemies, in this respect. On the whole, every pious person, on a review of the events of the war, will certainly be disposed to say, with the psalmist, “the Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.”

Suffer us to put you in mind of the duty which you owe to God, in return for this great national deliverance. You ought to testify your gratitude by living in his fear. This is the only way by which public prosperity can become a real mercy to you. It were to be wished, indeed, that in our contests, about the most important interests of a temporal nature, we could still remember, not only that eternity is of greater moment than any thing that relates merely to the present life, but that all outward things, and even civil liberty itself, ought to be considered as subordinate and subservient to an everlasting happiness. It would not be an honour to us to be wholly unconcerned about the rights of ourselves and others, as men and as citizens; yet the great object of our duty, and, we hope, of our desires, is, to watch for your souls, as those that must give an account to God. We therefore earnestly beseech every one, who is nominally of our communion, not to be satisfied with a form of godliness, denying the power thereof. The substance of religion is the same to all denominations; neither is there any preference due to one before another, but in so far as it has superior advantages in leading men to the saving knowledge of the only living and true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent, whom “to know is life eternal.”

There is no doubt, that you look upon it as a happy circumstance in the late revolution, that the rights of conscience are unalienably secured, and even interwoven with the very constitutions of the several states. The duty which you owe to the community at large, for this inestimable blessing, is to support civil authority, by being subject not only “for wrath, but also for conscience sake,” and by living “quiet and peaceable lives, in all godliness and honesty.” It is a truth of much moment, and particularly to be remembered at this time, not only that the virtue of the people in general is of consequence to the stability of every civil society, but that it is of much greater moment to the stability of republics or free states, than those of a different kind. In monarchies, a sense of honour, the subordination of rank in society, and the vigour of despotic authority, supply in some measure the place of virtue, in producing public order: but in free states, where the power is ultimately lodged in the body of the people, if there is a general corruption of the mass, the government itself must speedily be dissolved.

You cannot but have observed, that the war has occasioned great irregularity and relaxation, as to the observation of the sabbath, and attendance on public ordinances. In some places, congregations are broken up; in some places, for a considerable time, attendance was difficult, dangerous, or impossible. The public service, also, which made some things really necessary, was often made a pretence for irregularity, when no necessity existed. It is, therefore, your duty now, that peace and harmony have returned, to revive and restore the respect due to the sabbath and the worship of God’s sanctuary. The regular administration of divine ordinances is a blessing that cannot be too highly valued, or purchased at too great a price. We hope, therefore, that you will, in general, exert yourselves, and do every thing in your power, that will serve to promote so noble a purpose. Be cheerful and liberal, in assisting to educate pious youth for the ministry. Let vacant congregations be active and diligent, to supply themselves with fixed pastors; and let those, which have fixed pastors, strengthen their hands in their Master’s work—not only by obedience in the Lord—but by making such provision for their comfortable subsistence, as that their duty may be practicable. We make this demand clearly and explicitly, because it is founded upon the plainest reason—upon the word of God—upon general or common utility, and your own interest;

and make no doubt that wherever there is true religion, it will be heard and complied with.

We look upon it as a very happy circumstance in the political revolution that has happened in America, that neither in its rise nor progress was it intermixed or directed by religious controversy. No denomination of christians among us have any reason to fear oppression or restraint, or any power to oppress others. We therefore recommend charity, forbearance, and mutual service. Let the great and only strife be, who shall love the Redeemer most, and who shall serve him with the greatest zeal. We recommend the strict exercise of discipline to the societies under our care. Let us not seek to increase our numbers by relaxation, but to justify the excellence of our principles by the inoffensive, exemplary, and holy conversation of those who embrace them. The ultimate trial of religious truth is by its moral influence; therefore, as he is undoubtedly the best husbandman who raises the richest crops, so those are the best principles, which make the best men. This is the great rule laid down by our Saviour, "by their fruits ye shall know them."

By order,

JOHN M'CRERY, Moderator.

Philadelphia, May 1783.



A general constitution of the protestant episcopal church in the united states of America.

ARTICLE I.

THERE shall be a general convention of the protestant episcopal church in the united states of America, on the first Tuesday of August, in the year of our Lord, 1792—and on the first Tuesday of August, in every third year afterwards—in such place as shall be determined by the convention: and special meetings may be called at other times, in the manner hereafter to be provided for. And this church, in a majority of the states which shall have adopted this constitution, shall be represented, before they shall proceed to business; except that the representation from two states shall be sufficient to adjourn: and in all business of the convention, freedom of debate shall be allowed.

Art. 2. The church, in each state, shall be entitled to a representation of both the clergy and the laity; which representation shall consist of one or more deputies—not exceeding four of each order—chosen by the convention of the state: and in all questions, when required by the clerical or lay representation from any state, each order shall have one vote; and the majority of suffrages, by states, shall be conclusive in each order; provided such majority comprehend a majority of the states represented in that order. The concurrence of both orders shall be necessary to constitute a vote of the convention. If the convention of any state should neglect or decline to appoint clerical deputies—or if they should neglect or decline to appoint lay deputies—or if any of those, of either order, appointed, should neglect to attend, or be prevented by sickness or any other accident—such state shall nevertheless be considered as duly represented by such deputy or deputies, as may attend, whether lay or clerical. And if, through the neglect of the convention of any of the churches, which shall have adopted, or may hereafter adopt this constitution, no deputies, either lay or clerical, should attend at any general convention, the church in such state shall nevertheless be bound by the acts of such convention.

Art. 3. The bishops of this church, when there shall be three or more, shall, whenever general conventions are held, form a house of revision; and when any proposed act shall have passed in the general convention, the same shall be transmitted to the house of revision, for their concurrence. And if the same

shall be sent back to the convention, with the negative or non-concurrence of the house of revision, it shall be again considered in the general convention; and if the convention shall adhere to the said act, by a majority of three fifths of their body, it shall become a law, to all intents and purposes, notwithstanding the non-concurrence of the house of revision; and all acts of the convention shall be authenticated by both houses. And in all cases, the house of bishops shall signify to the convention their approbation, or disapprobation—the latter, with their reasons, in writing—within two days after the proposed act shall have been reported to them for concurrence; and in failure thereof, it shall have the operation of a law. But, until there shall be three or more bishops, as aforesaid, any bishop, attending a general convention, shall be a member, ex officio; and shall vote with the clerical deputies of the state to which he belongs. And a bishop shall then preside.

Art. 4. The bishop, or bishops, in every state, shall be chosen agreeably to such rules as shall be fixed by the convention of that state. And every bishop of this church shall confine the exercise of his episcopal office to his proper diocese or district, unless requested to ordain, or confirm, or perform any other act of the episcopal office, by any church destitute of a bishop.

Art. 5. A protestant episcopal church, in any of the united states, not now represented, may, at any time hereafter, be admitted on acceding to this constitution.

Art. 6. In every state, the mode of trying clergymen shall be instituted by the convention of the church therein. At every trial of a bishop, there shall be one or more of the episcopal order present; and none but a bishop shall pronounce sentence of deposition or degradation from the ministry, on any clergyman, whether bishop, or presbyter, or deacon.

Art. 7. No person shall be admitted to holy orders, until he shall have been examined by the bishop, and by two presbyters; and shall have exhibited such testimonials and other requisites, as the canons, in that case provided, may direct. Nor shall any person be ordained, until he shall have subscribed the following declaration: "I do believe the holy scriptures, of the old and new testament, to be the word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation: and I do solemnly engage to conform to the doctrines and worship of the protestant episcopal church in these united states." No person, ordained by a foreign bishop, shall be permitted to officiate as a minister of this church, until he shall have complied with the canon or canons, in that case provided, and have also subscribed the aforesaid declaration.

Art. 8. A book of common prayer, administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, articles of religion, and a form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons, when established by this or a future general convention, shall be used in the protestant episcopal church in those states, which shall have adopted this constitution.

Art. 9. This constitution shall be unalterable, unless in general convention, by the church, in a majority of the states, which may have adopted the same; and all alterations shall first be proposed in one general convention, and made known to the several state conventions, before they shall be finally agreed to or ratified in the ensuing general convention.

In general convention, in Christ-church, Philadelphia, August the eighth, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.

WILLIAM WHITE, D. D. bishop of the protestant episcopal church, in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and president of the convention.

Signed also by the rest of the members of the convention.

To the president of the united states. The address of the religious society called quakers, from their yearly meeting for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and the western parts of Virginia and Maryland.

BEING met in this our annual assembly, for the well-ordering the affairs of our religious society, and the promotion of universal righteousness—our minds have been drawn to consider, that the Almighty, who ruleth in heaven and in the kingdoms of men, having permitted a great revolution to take place in the government of this country—we are fervently concerned, that the rulers of the people may be favoured with the council of God, the sure means of enabling them to fulfil the important trust committed to their charge; and in an especial manner, that divine wisdom and grace, vouchsafed from above, may qualify thee to fill up the duties of the exalted station, to which thou art appointed.

We are sensible, thou hast obtained great place in the esteem and affections of people of all denominations, over whom thou presidest: and many eminent talents being committed to thy trust, we much desire they may be fully devoted to the Lord's honour and service, that thus thou mayest be an happy instrument in his hand, for the suppression of vice, infidelity, and irreligion, and every species of oppression on the persons and consciences of men; so that righteousness and peace, which truly exalt a nation, may prevail throughout the land, as the only solid foundation that can be laid for the prosperity and happiness of this or any country.

The free toleration, which the citizens of these states enjoy in the public worship of the Almighty, agreeable to the dictates of their consciences, we esteem among the choicest of blessings; and as we desire to be filled with fervent charity for those who differ from us in faith and practice—believing that the general assembly of saints is composed of the sincere and upright-hearted of all nations, kingdoms, and people—so we trust we may justly claim it from others; and in a full persuasion that the divine principle, we profess, leads into harmony and concord, we can take no part in carrying on war on any occasion, or under any power; but are bound in conscience to lead quiet and peaceable lives, in godliness and honesty amongst men, contributing freely our proportion to the indigences of the poor, and to the necessary support of civil government, acknowledging those “who rule well, to be worthy of double honour;” and if any professing with us are, or have been, of a contrary disposition and conduct, we own them not therein—having never been chargeable, from our first establishment, as a religious society, with fomenting or countenancing tumults or conspiracies, or disrespect to those who are placed in authority over us.

We wish not improperly to intrude on thy time, or patience; nor is it our practice to offer adulation to any: but as we are a people, whose principles and conduct have been misrepresented and traduced, we take the liberty to assure thee, that we feel our hearts affectionately drawn towards thee, and those in authority over us, with prayers that thy presidency may, under the blessing of heaven, be happy to thyself and to the people; that through the increase of morality and true religion, divine providence may condescend to look down upon our land, with a propitious eye; and bless the inhabitants with a continuance of peace, the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth; and enable us gratefully to acknowledge his manifold mercies: and it is our earnest concern, that he may be pleased to grant thee every necessary qualification to fill thy weighty and important station to his glory; and that finally, when all terrestrial honours shall fail and pass away, thou, and thy respectable consort, may be found worthy to receive a crown of unfading righteousness in the mansions of peace and joy forever.

Signed in and on behalf of our said meeting, held in Philadelphia, by adjournments from the 28th of the ninth month to the third day of the tenth month inclusive—1789.

NICHOLAS WALN, clerk of the meeting this year.

ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN,

I Receive with pleasure your affectionate address; and thank you for the friendly sentiments and good wishes which you express, for the success of my administration, and for my personal happiness.

We have reason to rejoice in the prospect, that the present national government, which, by the favour of divine providence, was formed by the common counsels, and peaceably established with the common consent of the people, will prove a blessing to every denomination of them: to render it such, my best endeavours shall not be wanting.

Government being, among other purposes, instituted to protect the persons and consciences of men from oppression—it certainly is the duty of rulers, not only to abstain from it themselves, but, according to their stations, to prevent it in others.

The liberty, enjoyed by the people of these states, of worshipping Almighty God agreeable to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their blessings, but also of their rights. While men perform their social duties faithfully, they do all that society, or the state, can with propriety demand, or expect; and remain responsible only to their Maker for the religion, or mode of faith, which they may prefer or profess.

Your principles and conduct are well known to me: and it is doing the people called quakers no more than justice, to say, that (except their declining to share with others the burden of the common defence) there is no denomination among us, who are more exemplary and useful citizens.

I assure you very explicitly, that in my opinion the conscientious scruples of all men should be treated with great delicacy and tenderness: and it is my wish and desire, that the laws may always be as extensively accommodated to them, as a due regard to the protection and essential interests of the nation may justify and permit.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

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Constitution of the Maryland Society, for promoting the abolition of slavery, and the relief of free negroes, and others, unlawfully held in bondage.

THE present attention of Europe and America to slavery, seems to constitute that crisis in the minds of men, when the united endeavours of a few may greatly influence the public opinion; and produce, from the transient sentiment of the times, effects, extensive, lasting, and useful.

The common father of mankind created all men free and equal: and his great command is, that we love our neighbour as ourselves, doing unto all men, as we would they should do unto us.

The human race, however varied in colour or intellects, are all justly entitled to liberty: and it is the duty and the interest of nations and individuals, enjoying every blessing of freedom, to remove this dishonour of the christian character from amongst them—From the fullest impression of the truth of these principles—from an earnest wish to bear our testimony against slavery in all its forms—to spread it abroad as far as the sphere of our influence may extend—and to afford our friendly assistance to those who may be engaged in the same undertaking—and in the humblest hope of support from that Being, who takes, as an offering to himself, what we do for each other—

We, the subscribers, have formed ourselves into “The MARYLAND SOCIETY, for promoting the ABOLITION of SLAVERY, and for the RELIEF of FREE NEGROES, and OTHERS, unlawfully held in bondage.”

THE CONSTITUTION.

I. The officers of the society are, a president, vice-president, secretary, a treasurer, four counsellors, an electing committee of twelve, an acting-committee

of six members : all these, except the acting committee, shall be chosen annually by ballot, on the first seventh-day, called Saturday, in the month, called January.

II. The president, and, in his absence, the vice-president, shall subscribe all the public acts of the society.

III. The president, and, in his absence, the vice-president, shall moreover have the power of calling a special meeting of the society, whenever he shall judge proper, or six members require it.

IV. The secretary shall keep fair records of the proceedings of the society : he shall also conduct the correspondence of the society, with a committee of three, appointed by the president : and all letters, on the business of the society, are to be addressed to him.

V. Corresponding-members shall be appointed by the electing-committee. Their duty shall be, to communicate to the secretary, and his assistants, any information, that may promote the purposes of this institution, which shall be transferred by him to the acting committee.

VI. The treasurer shall pay all orders drawn by the president, or vice-president ; which orders shall be his vouchers for his expenditures. He shall, before he enters on his office, give a bond of not less than 200*l.* for the faithful discharge of his duty.

VII. The duty of the counsellors shall be, to explain the laws and constitutions of the states, which relate to the emancipation of slaves ; and to urge their claims to freedom, when legal, before such persons, or courts, as are authorized to decide upon them.

VIII. The electing-committee shall have the sole power of admitting new members. Two-thirds of them shall be a quorum for this purpose. And the concurrence of a majority of them, by ballot, when met, shall be necessary for the admission of a member. No member shall be admitted, who has not been proposed at a general-meeting of the society ; nor shall an election for a member take place, in less than one month after the time of his being proposed. Foreigners, or other persons, who do not reside in this state, may be elected corresponding-members of the society, without being subject to an annual payment ; and shall be admitted to the meetings of the society, during their residence in the state.

IX. The acting-committee shall transact the business of the society, in its recess ; and report the same at each quarterly-meeting. They shall have a right, with the concurrence of the president, or vice-president, to draw upon the treasurer, for such sums of money, as shall be necessary to carry on the business of their appointment : four of them shall be a quorum. After their first election, at each succeeding quarterly-meeting, there shall be an election for two of their number.

X. Every member, upon his admission, shall subscribe the constitution of the society ; and contribute ten shillings, annually, in quarterly payments, towards defraying its contingent expenses. If he neglect to pay the same, for more than six months, he shall, upon due notice being given him, cease to be a member.

XI. The society shall meet on the first seventh-day, called Saturday, in the months, called January, April, July, and October, at such time and place as shall be agreed to, by a majority of the society.

XII. No person, holding a slave as his property, shall be admitted a member of this society : nevertheless, the society may appoint persons of legal knowledge, owners of slaves, as honorary-counsellors.

XIII. When an alteration in the constitution is thought necessary, it shall be proposed at a previous meeting, before it shall take place—All questions shall be

decided, where there is a division, by a majority of votes—In those cases, where the society is equally divided, the presiding officer shall have a casting vote.

Present OFFICERS of the SOCIETY:

PRESIDENT, Philip Rogers.

VICE-PRESIDENT, James Carey.

SECRETARY, Joseph Townsend.

TREASURER, David Brown.

COUNSELLORS, Zebulon Hollingsworth, Archibald Robinson.

HONORARY-COUNSELLORS, Samuel Chase, Luther Martin.

ELECTING-COMMITTEE, James Ogleby, Isaac Greist, George Matthews, George Prestman, Henry Wilson, John Bankson, Adam Fonerden, Jas. Eichelberger, William Hawkins, William Wilson, Thomas Dickson, Ger. Hopkins.

ACTING-COMMITTEE, John Brown, Elisha Tyson, James M'Cannon, Elias Ellicott, William Trimble, George Dent.

September 8, 1789.



TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

SIR,

Norfolk, 13th Nov. 1789.

I Inclose you one of the papers circulated by the philanthropic society. You will find it well worth perpetuating in your Museum: and I hope the precedent will be found worthy the attention of America, wherever similar institutions are needful. I trust the subject it contains, will draw the notice of your correspondents, and that they will hand it to the world with the encomiums it justly merits.

Yours,

WILLIAM TATHAM.

Address to the public, from the philanthropic society, instituted in London, Sept. 1788, for the prevention of crimes, and for a reform among the poor; by seeking out, and, as orphans, training up to virtue and usefulness in life, the children of vagrants and criminals, and such who are in the paths of vice and infamy; by this means to save them from ruin, and prevent their becoming injurious to society.

NOTWITHSTANDING that great sums are annually expended in this country, for the service of the poor, it is a melancholy fact, that much want and misery still exist. And although the necessary severity of the laws, and the frequency of punishments, are subjects of general regret, vices and crimes continue to prevail; and even increase in an enormous degree.

The depravity, found in human nature, must give pain to a benevolent mind: and every friend to order and public good, sees with concern the daily outrages and indecencies of those, who are abandoned to profligacy and vice. The existence of these evils proves the inefficacy of all the means which have hitherto been attempted for their remedy; and points out the necessity of trying other measures, altogether of a different kind.

A remedy is wanting, that shall aid and co-operate with the law; prevent the growth of evil; and snatch the innocent from destruction: that shall deprive the wicked of successors, the jails of inhabitants, justice of its victims; and by all these means, add citizens to society.

Long experience has shewn, that punishments cannot subdue vicious propensities, deeply rooted in the mind; and that the characters of men commonly depend on the impressions they receive in early life. The combined forces of habit, example, and necessity, drag on to their ruin, those, who are once entangled in the snares of the wicked: and, were justice to be armed with additional terrors, it would still be unable to stop the torrent of corruption, impelled by so many and powerful causes. Increased severity would but make men more artful and more desperate; would occasion new devices and new crimes, to assist or to conceal the old.

There is but one remedy for these evils, within our power; this is, by training up to virtue and industry the children of the worst and most atrocious among the vagrant and profligate poor—those children, who, in their present condition, are destined to succeed to the hereditary vices of their parents; and become the next race of beggars and thieves.

In general, the children of the notoriously-wicked have been involved in the odium of their parents' guilt: and the opportunity of training them up, in their younger days, to useful purposes in life, hath been irremediably neglected, greatly to the prejudice of society, and to the utter ruin of themselves. It is the peculiar distinction of this institution, to seek infants in the nurseries of vice and iniquity; in order to train up these embryo-robbers and nuisances, to useful purposes in life; and thus to draw riches and strength to the state, even from sources of impoverishment and decay.

The advantages, attending well governed establishments for children, are universally admitted: and the same means, applied to an extent that shall comprehend the whole of the evil in question, must operate directly, mildly, but effectually, to its entire removal. On these principles, sanctioned by the experience of ages, the present plan is formed, with a view to eradicate vice and misery from the community, to a degree that has been thought unattainable.

The children are to be received, unless under peculiar circumstances, only from seven to fourteen years of age*; and kept constantly trained to habits of industry.

At a proper age, they are to be bound apprentice; in which, regard will be had to their talents and deserts:

A scrupulous attention will be paid to the characters of all persons, concerned in the care of the society's wards.

Each will be required to keep an account of the conduct of those under their charge; in order, by a due distribution of rewards and punishments, to check vicious propensities, and cultivate good dispositions.

The erection of an edifice, and all unnecessary expenses for magnificence, will be avoided; and the whole of the supplies employed on purposes of immediate utility.

The society is prepared, by strenuous and unremitting exertions, to pursue the attainment of its object, to such an extent, as its fund will permit; and to the same extent, the public cannot fail to reap the benefit of its labours: the grand mass of poverty, vice, and disease, will be diminished; and their sources exhausted. The effect of this will extend to the reduction of every species of public burden, which poverty and vice induce—poor rates, hospitals, and prisons; and to the restoration of peace, good order, and personal security. To this it must be added, that the individuals, adopted by the society, will be saved from inevitable ruin—from crimes and punishments—from misery and disease.

A number of children have already begun to experience the good effects of the society's exertions. Some of their parents are convicts of various descriptions; and others have already suffered for their crimes. Almost naked, and heirs, alike, to misery and vice, their own wretchedness already equalled their parents' depravity.

More will continually be selected, as the benevolence of the public shall supply the means of their immediate support: and their numbers, bearing always a due proportion to the state of the funds, will be the most certain testimony of the faithful appropriation of the public bounty.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE plans of this charity have for some time contained lists of the children received, together with the most striking circumstances, that constituted their qualification for its benefits.

NOTE.

* For the reason of the alteration in the age, see the postscript,

It has been adjudged proper, in future, to discontinue the circulation of such lists—referring those, who may be desirous of information, to the journals of the society. This intention was first suggested in tenderness to distant relatives, upon whom these details might bring an unmerited disgrace: but another reason has now arisen out of the experience, attending the progress of this business—tenderness to the children's immediate kindred and friends. It is happily found, that this institution has a good name, in those resorts of the wicked and the miserable, from whence it selects infants, to redeem them from ruin. At first, these unhappy people, sunk into the contempt of the world, and abandoned to despair, heard with wonder the tidings of a voluntary charity, intended to benefit children, such as theirs; astonishment suspended belief; and not conceiving that such benevolence could exist towards them, in a world which turns its eyes with horror from their condition, they dreaded some sinister purpose: and parental affection strongly urged them rather to suffer their offspring to perish with themselves, than consign them to an unknown fate.

But it is now found, that joy and confidence have succeeded to anguish and distrust; that the same animal feeling, common to every part of creation, as well as to the human species, causes even wicked men to seek the welfare of their young, and to partake in their happiness; an emotion of gratitude produces a transient suspension of crimes—and, forgetting their own warfare with society, for the first time they look on the world as a friend deigning to extend the arm of charity into the depths of their misery, laden with unlooked-for blessings.

Such being the impressions the rumour of this institution has made, it is no less politic than just, to suppress the recital of that infamy in the parents, which all must desire should be forgotten by their posterity; and not to make the single virtue, of giving their children to be saved from ruin, a ground for proclaiming the scandal of their past lives.

There will doubtless be found exceptions to the above representation: but they can be only among those whose depravity and hardness of heart have arisen to an unusual pitch. Upon such will be enforced the laws, against which their lives continually offend, to rescue their unhappy offspring from their destructive authority.

There are now above thirty children under the society's care. As soon as these wards have, by persons appointed in town, been freed from their rags, filth, and loathsome diseases, they are sent to houses hired for their more convenient instruction in virtuous principles and useful labours. A part will be taught the various employments of civil life, to augment the riches of the state: and part will be trained up, as a supply of hands for the navy, to contribute towards their country's defence.

The admission of youth, at an age so much riper than was originally designed, is founded upon an experience of the practicability of reclaiming vagrant children to good order, even so late as at thirteen or fourteen. This, therefore, greatly extends, and brings forward, the prospects of the benefits hoped-for from the charity, by opening a door for those, who are on the very brink of ruin, at a period when they are about to commence the more serious depredations on the public, and when they are capable of engaging immediately in useful labour.



*Extract from the presentments of the grand jury of Ninety-six, South Carolina
Dec. 3, 1788.*

WE present as a grievance of the greatest magnitude, the many late interferences of the legislature of the state, in private contracts between debtor and creditor. We should be wanting in our duty to our country, and regardless of the obligation of our solemn oath, and the high trust at this time de

volving upon us, by operation of the laws of the land, did we omit this occasion, between the expiration of one legislature, and the meeting of a new representative body, to express our utter abhorrence of such interferences. We feel ourselves in duty bound to say, that the many acts of the legislature, screening the debtor from the just demands of his fair and bona-fide creditor, have had a very pernicious influence on the morals and manners of the people. They have operated as a check to honest industry; and have given birth to a fatal delusion, that persons, by making purchases of property on a credit, and again disposing of such property, would be sure to amass fortunes; and the pernicious influence of apparent success in a few, has drawn from labour and the pursuits of mechanic arts, and other their proper professional callings, a great number, who are now preying upon society, and heaping ruin on the credulous, unwary, honest, and simple part of the community. Nor does the evil end here—but we find that the fatal stab given to credit, has obliged the merchant to lay an additional advance on his goods, to counterbalance the risk and losses from the repeated interferences of the legislature; by which means, the honest, industrious man is taxed for the delinquency and default of the artful and designing, who, having got his creditor's property into his hands, seeks every occasion, and lays hold of every subterfuge, to prevent his being obliged to restore any part, or make any compensation to his creditor for the same. These are a small part of the many domestic inconveniences we experience from such acts of the legislature: but we think greater regard should be paid to our national character; and are of opinion, that a faithless community, in the society of other states and nations, is full as deserving of the detestation and abhorrence of mankind, as a knavish individual in private society. Let it be remembered, that it was upon credit, and by the use of the funds of other countries, that we have been enabled to convert a howling wilderness into fine cultivated fields and a well inhabited country: and we think it should be our first endeavour to re-establish that credit, by which we may be enabled to proceed; and that this will best be done, by restoring mutual confidence, giving stability to the laws, and leaving inviolate private contracts. Better that a few individuals should suffer (even should that be the event) than that a whole community should be distracted, distressed, and stigmatised for want of faith, and for a total disregard to national honour. We therefore hope that the legislature, at their first meeting, will take the matter into a more serious consideration, and take such steps as will secure private credit and mutual confidence, and prevent the designing debtor from ruining his honest and just creditor.

Given under our hands and seals, this 3d of December, 1788.

Thomas Wilson, foreman,

Joseph Brown,

John M'Cord,

William Huggins,

William Moore,

James A. Williams,

John Green,

John Golightly,

John Wilson,

John Grefern,

J. Muckelwroh,

Thomas Livingston.

Isaac Ray,

Benjamin Mitchel,

CONGRESS of the UNITED STATES.

Begun and held at the city of New-York, on Wednesday, the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine.

The conventions of a number of the states having, at the time of their adopting the constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added—and as extending the ground of public confidence in the government, will best insure the beneficent ends of its institution—

RESOLVED, by the senate and house of representatives of the united states of

America, in congress assembled, two thirds of both houses concurring, that the following articles be proposed to the legislatures of the several states, as amendments to the constitution of the united states, all or any of which articles, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, to be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of the said constitution, viz.

ARTICLES, in addition to, and amendment of, the constitution of the united states of America, proposed by congress, and ratified by the legislatures of the several states, pursuant to the fifth article of the original constitution.

I. After the first enumeration, required by the first article of the constitution, there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred; after which, the proportion shall be so regulated by congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred representatives—nor less than one representative for every forty thousand persons—until the number of representatives shall amount to two hundred; after which, the proportion shall be so regulated by congress, that there shall not be less than two hundred representatives, nor more than one representative for every fifty thousand persons.

II. No law, varying the compensation for the services of the senators and representatives, shall take effect, until an election of representatives shall have intervened.

III. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

IV. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

V. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

VI. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated: and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation—and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

VII. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment by a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger: nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law: nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

VIII. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury, of the state and district, wherein the crime shall have been committed; which district shall have been previously ascertained by law; and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

IX. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy, shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved: and no fact, tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the united states, than according to the rules of common law.

X. Excessive bail shall not be required; nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

XI. The enumeration, in the constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others, retained by the people.

XII. The powers, not delegated to the united states, by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG,

Speaker of the house of representatives.

JOHN ADAMS, vice-president of the united states,
and president of the senate.

Attest.

JOHN BECKLEY, clerk of the house of representatives:

SAMUEL A. OTIS, secretary of the senate.



Amendments to the new constitution proposed by the convention of North Carolina.

1st. **T**HAT congress shall not alter, modify, or interfere in the times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, or either of them, except when the legislature of any state shall neglect, refuse, or be disabled by invasion or rebellion to prescribe the same, or in cases, when the provision, made by the state, is so imperfect, as that no consequent election is had.

2d. That congress shall not, directly or indirectly, either by themselves, or through the judiciary, interfere with any one of the states, in the redemption of paper money already emitted, and now in circulation, or in liquidating and discharging the public securities of any one of the states; that each and every state shall have the exclusive right of making such laws and regulations for the above purposes, as they shall think proper.

3. That the members of the senate and house of representatives shall be ineligible to and incapable of holding any civil office under the authority of the united states, during the time, for which they shall respectively be elected.

4. That the journals of the proceedings of the senate and house of representatives, shall be published at least once in every year, except such parts thereof, relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as, in their judgment, require secrecy.

5. That a regular statement of the receipts and expenditures of all public monies shall be published at least once every year.

6. That no navigation law, or law regulating commerce, shall be passed without the consent of two-thirds of the members present in both houses.

7. That no soldier shall be enlisted for any longer term than four years, except in the time of war, and then for no longer term than the continuance of the war.

8. That some tribunal, other than the senate, be provided for trying impeachments of senators.

Nov. 23, 1789.

JAMES GALLAWAY, *chairman.*



SPEECH of M. RADAUD de St. ETIENNE,

Delivered in the national assembly of France, on the subject of religious liberty.

I HAVE the honour of being the representative of a great body of people. The senechaussee I represent, contains 500,000 inhabitants, 120,000 of whom are protestants—of which number I myself am. The whole body of my constituents have instructed me to demand an act of general justice; nor do I fear to stand up here, peculiarly situated as I am, to urge the equity of their demand; because the rights I claim, and which I am ready to defend, are our rights as well as yours: they are the rights of men and Frenchmen.

“ I found my confidence, in one of your own principles, which is, that liberty

is a possession common to us all. He, who attacks the liberty of others, is fit only to live in slavery. Liberty is a sacred and inviolable right men bring with them into the world; and extends over their opinions. Liberty of opinion is out of the grasp of power, and makes a sanctuary of the heart. To constrain the conscience is unjust: to combat against that conscience is sacrilege: to torture that conscience is to be intolerant, and to violate every maxim of morality and religion. Error is not a crime: it is truth for him who professes it. Where is the man, who is sure of his own rectitude, and can pronounce with certainty on the errors of his neighbour? A form of worship is a dogma: a dogma hinges on opinion: and opinion is inseparable from liberty. It is attacking freedom, therefore, to attempt to force a man to adopt a dogma, different from his own. To act thus, is to be intolerant and unjust: it is persecution, fostering hypocrisy, or insulting courage.

“ In the last edict in favour of the non-catholics, nothing was granted them but what it was impossible to refuse. This is the king’s own language in his edict. I allude to the right granted them of legalizing their marriages and baptisms, and the permission of burying their dead. O humiliating concessions! O degraded Frenchmen!—And is it in this enlightened country, and in the eighteenth century, that the nation is divided into two classes of men, one of which has long groaned under the most horrible proscription! I will speak out, and say to the assembly, that the pretended boon of last year was received with the profoundest shame and sorrow. We will not be hypocrites: we will not be objects of your contempt, if we are still doomed to remain objects of jealousy and persecution. It shall be ours to retain the genuine French honour—disdaining an hypocrisy which would disgrace the intentions of the legislature. It is not a favour demanded of you by your brethren: it is justice: and the impartial liberty, which reigns in this assembly, will not surely distribute justice with partiality. The country has hitherto been a stepmother for the protestants: they do every thing for her: and she does nothing for them in return.

“ But I return to my principles, or rather yours, by declaring, that all men are born and remain free. Is not this consecrating the liberty of all men? You have acknowledged, and do still acknowledge in your consciences, the liberty of non-catholics. Every exclusive privilege, in matter of religion, militates against, and clashes with, your general principles, as it is founded on the constraint and deprivation of the smaller number. Yours is only the law of the strongest. Might I not plead your own principle, then, your recent conduct, in justification of disobedience?

“ Instructed by long and bloody experience of the past, it is time to break down those barriers which separate man from man, Frenchman from Frenchman.

“ My country is free: let her shew herself worthy of the blessing, by distributing equal rights to all her children. Until the constitution shall have granted the equality I claim, I adopt the whole of the motion of M. de Castellane, that “No man can be troubled for his religious opinions, nor can any man be troubled in his religious worship.”



Address of a deputation from the Jews of Alsace and Lorraine to the national assembly of France.

“ MESSEIGNEURS,

“ **I**T is in the name of the eternal author of all justice and truth—it is in the name of that God, who in giving every one the same rights, has prescribed to all the same duties—it is in the name of humanity, outraged for ages past, by the ignominious treatment, which the unhappy descendants of the most ancient of all people have undergone, in almost every country on the globe, that we now come to beg, you would be pleased to take their deplorable state into consideration.

“Every where persecuted—every where degraded—yet always subject—never rebellious—meeting with scorn and contempt from all people, when they should only have experienced toleration and pity—the Jews, whom we humbly represent, encourage themselves to hope, that amidst the important concerns, in which you are engaged, you will not reject their petition; that you will not disdain their complaints; but that you will attend, and with some concern, to the timid remonstrances they presume to form in that state of deep humiliation in which they are overwhelmed.

“We will not take up your time, gentlemen, by dwelling on the nature and justice of our demands; they have already been stated in the different memorials we have had the honour of laying before you.

“May we owe to you an existence less grievous than that to which we are now condemned! May we be brought from that opprobrious shade, in which we have so long remained! May men look upon us as their brethren! May that divine charity, so particularly recommended by you, be extended also to us! May a complete reform take place in those inhuman institutions, to which we have submitted! and may this reform, hitherto too unsuccessfully sought for, and which we now with tears solicit, be effected by you, and be a favour from your hands!”

The president of the assembly returned the following answer:

“The important motives, with which you support your requests, do not allow the assembly to attend to them with unconcern. It will take your petition into consideration; and will be glad to restore your brethren to tranquility and happiness, of which, in the mean time, you may inform your constituents.”



Alexandria association, against smuggling.

WE, the merchants, traders, and inhabitants of the town of Alexandria, believing it to be the duty of every citizen, in a republican government, to observe and support the laws thereof, by which alone freemen ought to be governed—and highly approving of the commercial regulations of congress, by which commerce is put on a just and equal footing throughout the united states, and by which, if duly observed, American manufactures will be greatly encouraged and promoted:—Do hereby associate together, and mutually promise and agree with each other, not only duly to observe the commercial regulations made by congress, ourselves, but to compel the observance of them by others, as much as lies in our power—particularly by discountenancing and discouraging smuggling, which we consider as injurious to the fair trader, and prejudicial to the morals of those concerned in it: and when duties are justly and equally imposed for the support of government, and the general good of the community, we deem it to be as disreputable and dishonest to defraud the public of such duties, as it is to defraud an individual: and in order to prevent that dishonourable practice, we will not purchase any goods, wares, or merchandise, which we have good reason to believe were smuggled. We also consider it to be the duty of every good citizen, to give information of any person whom they shall know to be guilty of smuggling; and we do thus publicly declare, that, if any person shall hereafter be guilty thereof, to the knowledge of any of us, we will give information thereof to the proper officers of government: and to remove any suspicion that in so doing we may be influenced by self-interested motives, we do pledge ourselves, that the reward any of us shall be entitled to, in consequence of giving such information, shall be appropriated to some public use, for the benefit of this town in such manner as a majority of the subscribers shall direct.

Alexandria, December 21, 1789.

Translation of a letter written by the society of the friends of the negroes in France, to the different bailliages, or districts, entitled to send delegates to the states-general.

GENTLEMEN,

AT the very time in which America shook off her servitude, the generous friends of liberty conceived, that their cause would be degraded, if the slavery of the negroes received the sanction of law. A free man, who holds slaves, or approves of his countrymen's holding them, either acknowledges himself guilty of injustice, or must assume as a principle, that liberty is only an advantage procured by force, not a right received from nature. The abolition, therefore, of negro slavery was esteemed by the united states, and by the convention, in which they were represented, not only a measure dictated by sound policy, but an act of justice, required by humanity and honour. And indeed, how could they claim, without blushing, those declarations of right—those inviolable bulwarks of the liberty and security of the people, if they indulged themselves in the continual violation of their most sacred principles?—With what propriety could they talk of those rights, had they debased them into arbitrary conditions of mutual agreement, by shewing in their conduct, that they did not think them intended for all mankind?

As the French nation is now busy in recovering rights, the exercise of which she has neglected, she will doubtless shew a spirit similar to that of the people, whose cause she has espoused—to whom, probably, she owes a great part of her knowledge—and whose cool and steady wisdom (notwithstanding the difference of circumstances, of obstacles, and the proposed end) it were to be wished she would imitate. How can the nation protest against abuses, sanctioned by time, and established by legal forms, and urge against them the natural and unprescriptive rights of mankind, and the authority of reason, if she tolerate, by silence on the subject, so glaring a violation of reason and natural right, as the slavery of the negroes?

The society of the friends of the negroes therefore trust, the nation will consider the trade in slaves, and slavery, among the evils, the destruction of which, they must resolve on, and prepare for: and they address themselves confidently to their countrymen, met to choose their representatives, to bring to their view these criminal customs, established by violence, sanctioned by law, and pleaded for by prejudice.

We know, there are abuses which cannot be remedied in a day; which, being connected with political interest, or seeming to be so, are only to be done away with the precaution requisite to insure the desirable object; and are not to be bought at too dear a rate: and we do not request you to vote for the instant overthrow of such evils.

We now beseech you only to turn your attention to the sufferings of 400,000 men, consigned to slavery by treachery or force—condemned with their families to labour, without hope of release—exposed to the rigorous and arbitrary treatment of their masters—deprived of all the rights of nature, and of society—and reduced to the condition of domestic animals; having only, like them, the interest of their owners as a pledge of their lives and happiness.

We lay at your feet the cause of twenty nations, and of many millions of mankind, whose liberty, peace, manners, and virtues, have been these two hundred years sacrificed to the interests of commerce, and those interests probably ill understood!

We request you to insert in your instructions, a special one, enjoining your deputies to require of the general states, to consider of the means of putting an end to the slave-trade, and of preparing for the abolition of slavery: for it is too degrading to human nature, to suppose, that such abuses can be necessary to the po-

litical existence and prosperity of a great nation—that the welfare of twenty-four millions of Frenchmen must be necessarily supported by the misery of 400,000 Africans—or that nature has provided for men no means of happiness, uncorrupted with the tears of men like themselves, and undefiled with blood. And we must be permitted also to wish, that France may have the honour of setting an example to the nations, which interest will soon oblige them to follow.

Ye may be told, that this business is foreign to your purpose: but can any of the rights of justice and humanity be so to noble and feeling minds? The assertion, however, is deceitful. What is opposed to those who wish to soften the hard lot of slaves? Necessity—policy—custom. And are not necessity, policy, and custom, opposed to your own wishes, when you demand justice for yourselves? Is it not your dearest interest to maintain that no custom, no prerogative, should stand against rights which have their foundation in nature itself? If ye will condescend to look into books tending to apologize for slavery, or setting forth the difficulty of subverting it, ye will perceive that the principles and concessions they contain, will equally justify every kind of tyranny, and every inroad on the rights of humanity.

We are not content with declaring slavery to be unjust, and the slave-trade a source of crimes: but we desire you to consider, whether in this question, as in many others, sound policy and justice do not go hand in hand; whether the very pecuniary interest of the nation do not require a change of principles and conduct as much as the interests of humanity; and whether, as far as regards the abolition of the slave trade, this pecuniary interest do not require speedy and efficacious exertions, which it may be imprudent to delay.

We are accused of being enemies to the planters: we are enemies only of injustice: but we do say, that no man can by any means become another man's property. We do not want to injure their possessions: but we want to purify the source of their riches, and to render them innocent and lawful. In short, whilst we thus plead in behalf of the negroes, we speak the language of many planters, who are sufficiently well-informed to perceive, that our views are not contrary to their permanent interest—and sufficiently candid to assist us in a work, which has for one object the giving them the liberty to be humane and just.

We are, gentlemen,

Your very humble and most obedient servants,

The MARQUIS DE CONDORCET,
BREBAN,
GRAMAGNAC,

President,
Treasurer,
Secretary.



Protest of the minority of the assembly of Pennsylvania, against a clause, of a bill for the emission of paper money, making that money a tender in payment of debts,

DISSENTIENT.

Firstly. **B**ECAUSE the value of money, and particularly paper money, depends upon the public confidence; and, where that is wanting, laws cannot support it, and much less penal laws.

Secondly. Because penalties on not receiving paper money, must, from the nature of the thing, be either unnecessary or unjust. If the paper be of full value, it will pass current, without such penalties; and if it be not of full value, compelling the acceptance of it, as equivalent to specie, is iniquitous.

Thirdly. Because such penalties impair the public credit: they shew a diffidence of the paper in those who emit it, and thereby raise a like diffidence in those who are to receive it: their tendency, therefore, is to injure, instead of benefiting, what they are intended to support.

Fourthly. Because it is inconsistent with the principles of liberty, to prevent a

man from the free disposal of his property, on such terms, and for such considerations, as he may think fit.

Fifthly. Because restrictions on the use or sale of those things, which are the produce of human labour or ingenuity, relax the spirit of honest industry; and promote idleness, fraud, and dissipation; from whence must necessarily follow public poverty and distress.

Sixthly. Because a sacred regard to promises and engagements, is the basis of social duty and social virtue. Wherefore, every legislature ought to enforce it by its precepts, and every magistrate by his example: but measures, like the present, will have a contrary effect; and render our courts of justice the ministers of iniquity. Instead of compelling the performance of contracts, they not only permit and countenance, but aid and assist, the violation of them. Hence it must follow, that the magistrates will be disrespected; the laws contemned; and the morals of the people polluted.

Seventhly. Because every measure, to enforce the acceptance of money, renders it the interest of debtors to depreciate it: fraudulent debtors will pursue that interest, and violate the spirit of the law; by compelling a compliance with the letter of it.

Eighthly. Because experience has demonstrated, that such measures have not prevented depreciation, but have enabled bad men to take advantage of it, to the injury of the honest, and the absolute ruin of many who were once in easy and affluent circumstances.

Ninthly. Because, from the manner in which it is proposed to issue our paper, the circulating medium will be diminished, instead of being increased; and a faithful collection of the taxes will make the remainder necessary. Wherefore there is very little reason to apprehend a refusal of it; and still less, for adopting such violent remedies.

Tenthly. Because we conceive the funds, on which our paper is to be emitted are so amply sufficient, that they give us, and must give all others, who consider them, the fullest confidence in it. We cannot, therefore, consent to any one act which may shew the least want of that confidence; being convinced, that if the paper should depreciate, it can only be attributed to that cause.

Eleventhly. Because those penalties are directly contrary to the resolutions of congress, lately communicated to us. We humbly conceive, that great attention and respect should be paid to every recommendation of that honourable body. And we are of opinion, that nothing will sooner terminate the present war, than harmony and thorough confidence between the congress and the several legislatures.

In assembly, April 6, 1781.

Henry Hill,	Thomas Mifflin,	Joseph Park,
Adam Reigart,	David Thomas,	James Jacks,
George Gray,	John Patton,	William Harris,
Thomas Lilly,	Moses M ^c Clean,	John Steinmetz,
John Allison,	Evan Evans,	Joseph Powell,
Robert Morris,	Mark Bird,	James Dickson.

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Act of the state of South Carolina, to encourage destroying beasts of prey.

WHEREAS it is found necessary to give some encouragement to the destroying beasts of prey, which of late have been very mischievous to some of the interior parts of this state.

Be it therefore enacted by the honourable the senate, and house of representatives, now met and sitting in general assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that all and every person and persons whatever, who shall hereafter kill, in this state, any of the beasts of prey hereinafter mentioned, shall have the following rewards, viz.

For a panther or tiger,	Ten shillings,
For a wolf, - - -	Ten shillings,
For a wild cat, - - -	Five shillings:

which rewards shall be discountable for the public taxes of this state, with the collectors thereof.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every person, killing any of the beasts of prey above mentioned, within this state, and entitled to the reward for the same, shall carry the scalp, with the two ears of such beasts of prey, fresh; and shall give sufficient proof to any one justice of the peace within this state, that such beast was killed within this state: such magistrate, first destroying the ears, shall give such person a certificate of the same, gratis.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this act shall continue in force for the space of five years from the passing thereof; and from thence to the end of the next sitting of the general assembly, and no longer.

In the senate-house, this 11th day of March, 1786, and in the 10th year of the independence of the united states of America.

JOHN LLOYD, president of the senate.

JOHN FAUCHERAUD GRIMKE,

Speaker of the house of representatives.



Resolves of inhabitants of Cheraw district, in South Carolina, respecting sheriffs' sales, &c.

Cheraw district, October 16, 1788.

WE, the subscribers, inhabitants of the district of Cheraw, in the state of South Carolina, taking into serious consideration our present deplorable and unhappy situation, from the want of a circulating medium, which we find, by woful experience, cannot be procured even by the most eminent planter for any merchantable produce—and beholding, with sorrow, the many instances of cruelty and oppression, which are daily held up to our view, of worthy and respectable families being too often reduced from a state of ease and affluence, to the verge of penury and distress by sheriffs' sales: and, as it has pleased the Almighty Father of the universe to withhold from us, until the last crop, the means of extirpating ourselves from our numerous creditors, by several years' loss of our labour, and by other concomitant circumstances—beholding, at the same time, with aching hearts, the inefficacy of the instalment act, held out to us as our sure support—We declare ourselves bound by every tie of civil society, of parental and filial love, to stand by, assist, and support each other, in carrying into effect, according to their true intent and meaning, the following resolutions:

Resolved, that we will, at all times, and all places, pay due submission to the laws of our state; and that we will, whenever we shall be called upon, or shall find it necessary, exert ourselves in aiding any and every officer of the state, in carrying them into execution, to their full intent and meaning, except only in such cases, where humanity itself would shrink back, in seeing the property of our neighbours and relations wrested from them, and conveyed to others, without any, or a very small, diminution of their creditors' demands.

Resolved, that in order to do ourselves, our creditors, and our debtors justice, we will deliver to any two or more honest and approved men (who shall be deemed qualified to assess the same) whenever demanded of us, good and sufficient property to answer just demands; and we will, upon its being approved, execute good and sufficient titles and conveyances for the same, to the demanding party.

Resolved that we will, at the risk of every thing precious and dear to us, stand by, support, and protect each other, in preventing, to all intents and purposes,

every sale, which may now or shall be advertised a sale for cash, when taken by execution, by any sheriff or constable in this district.

Resolved, and it is hereby earnestly recommended to every sheriff and constable, within this district, to take particular notice of, and pay due attention to, these our resolves; and that we will, to the extent of our power, and at the risk of every thing dear to us, support and protect all and every such sheriff, who shall, by any means, be endangered by paying the attention herein requested.

Resolved, if any sheriff or constable, within this district, be found acting in any wise contrary to the above resolves, he or they so acting, shall be deemed an enemy to humanity, and shall be treated accordingly: and we are determined, let the consequences be what they may, to put a speedy and effectual stop to such proceedings, in all parts of this district.

Resolved, that these resolutions continue in full force, until the house of general assembly, now about to be convened in Charleston, shall make known what farther can be done, favourable to our present deplorable situation: to whose wisdom we leave it, with our most hearty prayers, that it will please the great giver of all good things, to endow them with wisdom to direct, and vigour to enforce, whatever shall be found most conducive to the welfare of this state in particular, and of the united states in general.



An Indian talk, delivered at Fort Pitt, July 1786, with the answer.

“Brothers,

“WE have come a great way on behalf of our wives and children; it is on their behalf that we tread on this ground,” *a belt*. “The great man above has given us a bright day to meet our brothers. We have come a great way, and it is to make bright the chain of amity between us: we have one end and you the other. Take you one between both your hands, thus, and hold it fast as we hold it:”—*a belt*.

“Brothers,

“We are poor, wretchedly poor; give us something to cover our backsides, and send us clothed home. A chief amongst us has seen a saddle which he wants—brothers, give us this,” *two strings*—“brothers, our young men passing through the town, have smelled whiskey: after smelling we shall go unhappy away without tasting—brothers, give us a keg:” *three strings*, and then a *general hough* by the different tribes.

Answer—By an officer.

“Brothers,

“We are glad to see you, and to establish friendship. As the streams in our country and in yours, though so far apart, run always, so let your friendship and ours be as perpetual. You are poor—and we are poor also. We have had a long war with the great king beyond the water; whose people came over into this country, and burnt our houses, and took away a great part of our clothing. We followed them, and killed them all: but before we had come up with them, they had burnt and torn up the blankets they had taken from us. We have not yet had time to make a great number more. We are strong in numbers; but, like you, we are poor: but of what we have, we will give a part.

“Brothers,

“When you are at home, hunt and collect fur; and when you come to us, bring it with you: in return for which, our traders will be able to give you blankets and other things.

“Brothers,

“While you are with us, be sober, and drink little whiskey, lest you do amiss, and be ashamed of it. The great sun, which you see above you, when he is thirsty, takes the end of a cloud, and sucks the water out of it.

“*Brothers,*

“*Do you drink water*”—*no grunt by any of the tribes*—“*we will give you a few kegs of whiskey*”—*a general snort.*



Extract from a law of the general court of Massachusetts, passed in the year 1665, respecting spinning.

BE it ordered by the authority of this court, that all hands, not necessarily imployed on other occasions, as women, girls, and boyes, shall be, and hereby are, enjoyned to spinn, according to their skill and ability: and that the selectmen in every town, do consider the condition and capacity of every family, and accordingly do assess at one or more spinners; and because several families are necessarily imployed the greatest part of their time, in other busines, yet, if opportunities were attended, some time might be spared at least by some of them for this work, the said selectmen shall therefore assess such at halfe and quarter spinners according to their capacities. And every one thus aforesaid for a whole spinner, shall for time to come, spin every year for thirty weeks, three pound a week of linen, cotton, or woollen, and so proportionably for halfe and quarter spinners, under the penalty of twelve pence a pound short: and the selectmen shall take special care for the execution of the order, which may easily be effected, by dividing their severall townes into ten, six, five, &c. parts, and to appoint one of the ten, six, five, &c. to take an account of their divisions, and to certify the select men if any be defective in what they are assessed, who shall improve the penalties, imposed on such as are negligent, for the encouragement of those who are diligent in this work.



Advertisement of the select men of Boston, respecting mourning.

T A K E N O T I C E.

AN economical plan of mourning was adopted before the revolution: and its salutary effects have been experienced by almost every family in this town: since which, those wholesome regulations have been passed into a law: notwithstanding which, it has lately been broken in upon in several instances. The inspectors of the police, that no one may hereafter plead ignorance, have caused the law respecting the same, to be published; and give notice, that any future breach of it, will be prosecuted without favour or affection.

Boston, April 30, 1788.

To prevent excess and vain expense in mourning, &c.

IT is hereby ordered, that in future no scarfs, gloves, or rings, shall be given at any funeral in this town; nor shall any wine, rum, or other spiritous liquor, be allowed, or given, at, or immediately before, or after, any funeral in this town, under pain that the person or persons giving, allowing, or ordering the same, shall respectively forfeit and pay the sum of twenty shillings for each offence.

And it is further ordered, that whatever male person shall appear or walk in the procession of any funeral in this town, with any new mourning, or new black, or other new mourning coat, or waistcoat—or with any other new black apparel, save and except a black crape around one arm—or shall afterwards, on account of the decease of any relation, or other person, or persons, put on and wear any other mourning, than such piece of black crape around one arm—shall forfeit and pay the sum of twenty shillings for every day he shall put on, and wear, or appear in the same.

And no female, of whatsoever degree, shall put on, wear, or appear at any funeral in this town, in any other mourning or new black clothes whatever, other than a black hat or bonnet, black gloves, black ribands, and a black fan, on

pain to forfeit and pay the sum of twenty shillings; and also forfeit and pay a like sum of twenty shillings for every day she shall at any time at, or after such funeral put on, wear, or appear in such new clothes, as for mourning, other than black hat, bonnet, black gloves, black ribands, and black fan as aforesaid.



Protest, against wearing long hair, of the governor, &c. of Massachusetts.

FORASMUCH as the wearing of long hair, after the manner of Russians and barbarous Indians, has begun to invade New England, contrary to the rule of God's word, which says it is a shame for a man to wear long hair, as also the commendable custom generally of all the godly of all our nation, until within these few years:

We, the magistrates, who have signed this paper, for the shewing of our own innocency in this behalf, do declare and manifest our dislike and detestation against the wearing of such long hair, as against a thing uncivil and unmanly, whereby men doe deforme themselves and offend sober and modest men, and doe corrupt good manners. We doe therefore earnestly intreat all the elders of this jurisdiction, as often as they shall see cause, to manifest their zeal against it in their public administrations, and to take care that the members of their respective churches be not defiled therewith; that so, such as prove obstinate, and will not reforme themselves, may have God and man to witness against them. The third month 10th day, 1649.

JO. ENDICOTT, *governor,*

THOS. DUDLEY, *deputy governor,*

RICHARD BELLINGHAM,

RICHARD SALTONSTALL,

INCREASE NOWELL,

WILLIAM HIBBINS,

THOS. FLINT,

ROB. BRIDGES,

SIMON BRADSTREET.



Address of the merchants of Sheidam, in Holland, to his excellency John Adams, esq. after their high mightinesses the lords states general of the united provinces of the Netherlands had acknowledged the freedom and independence of the united states of North America.

IF ever any circumstances were capable of recalling to the minds of the people of these provinces, the most lively remembrance of the cruel situation, to which their forefathers found themselves once reduced, under the oppressive yoke of Spanish tyranny, it was, no doubt, the terrible and critical moment, when the colonies of North America, groaning under the intolerable weight of the chains, with which the unbounded ambition of Great Britain had loaded them, were forced into a just and lawful war, to recover the use and enjoyment of that liberty, to which they were entitled by the sacred and unalienable laws of nature.

If ever the citizens of this republic have had an occasion to remember, with sentiments of the liveliest gratitude, the visible assistance and protection of a Being, who, after having constantly supported them during the course of a long, bloody war, which cost their ancestors eighty years' hard struggles and painful labours, deigned, by the strength of his powerful arm, to break the odious fetters under which we had so long groaned, and who, from that happy era to the present time, has constantly maintained us in the possession of our precious liberties—if ever the citizens of these provinces have been bound to remember those unspeakable favours of the Almighty—it was no doubt at that moment when haughty Britain began to feel the effects of divine indignation, and when the vengeance of heaven defeated her sanguinary schemes; it was when, treading under foot the sacred ties of blood and nature, and meditating the destruction of her own offspring, her arms were every where baffled in the most terrible and exemplary manner; her troops

defeated; and her armies led into captivity; and at last that haughty power, humbled by that heaven, which she had provoked, saw the sceptre, which she had usurped, fall from her enfeebled hand, and America, shaking off the cruel yoke which an unnatural stepmother had endeavoured to impose forever upon her, thanked bounteous heaven for her happy deliverance.

If ever the inhabitants of this country, and those of this city in particular, have had a just cause for joy, and good grounds to conceive the highest hopes of prosperity, it was undoubtedly at that so muchwished-for moment, when, with an unanimous voice, the fathers of the country declared the united states of America to be free and independent, and acknowledged your excellency as minister plenipotentiary and envoy of the illustrious congress.

Impressed with the various sentiments of respect, joy, and gratitude, with which the unspeakable favours of the Almighty towards both countries must inspire every feeling and sensible mind—encouraged besides, by so many happy omens, the subscribers, in behalf of the merchants and inhabitants of this city, have the honour to congratulate your excellency, as the representative of the American congress, and to assure you, in the strongest terms, that if any event, recorded in the annals of our country, be capable of impressing us with the liveliest joy, and of opening to our minds the happiest prospect, it is that glorious and ever-memorable day, when our august sovereigns, the lords states general of the united provinces of the Netherlands, solemnly acknowledged the independence of the united states of America; a step, which, under the pleasure of God, must become the foundation of unalterable friendship, and the source of mutual prosperity to the two republics, whose union, being cemented by interests henceforth common and inseparable, must forever subsist, and be constantly and religiously preserved by our latest posterity.

Allow us, then, ye deliverers of America! ye generous defenders of her infant liberties! to congratulate your illustrious envoy, and express to him the lively satisfaction we feel at an event which crowns the wishes of the nation. Accept the fervent prayers which we address to heaven, beseeching the Almighty to shower down his blessings on your republic and her allies.

Permit us also to recommend to you, in the strongest manner, the interests of our country, and of this city in particular.

Let those of our citizens, who have been most zealous in promoting the acknowledgment of your independence, enjoy always a particular share of your affection.

Permit us, in fine, that faithful to ourselves, and attentive to whatever can interest our commerce, the only source of our prosperity, we may flatter ourselves, that the produce of this flourishing city, our strong liquors, and other merchandize, may be freely imported into your states without any hindrance, or without being subjected to heavy duties; and may the protection, with which you honour us, and the privileges that you will grant us, rivet the bonds of our mutual friendship, and be to both nations the source of an unceasing prosperity.

Signed in behalf of the merchants of the town of Sheidam, by

Jacobus Nolet,
Mattheus Schul,

Gerardus Bouffy,
Jan Verlauw.



British house of commons, May 15, 1789.

Copy of the twelve propositions submitted by mr. Wilberforce, to the consideration of the committee of the British house of commons, to whom the report of the privy council, various petitions for the abolition of the slave trade, and other papers relative thereto, had been referred—which propositions were, by consent, ordered to lie on the table.

I. THAT the number of slaves, annually carried from the coast of Africa, in British vessels, is supposed to amount to about 38,000.

That the number, annually carried to the British West India islands, has amounted to about 22,500, on an average of four years, to the year 1787, inclusive.

That the number, annually retained in the said islands, as far as appears by the custom-house accounts, has amounted, on the same average, to about 17,500.

II. That much the greater number of the negroes, carried away by European vessels, are brought from the interior parts of the continent of Africa, and many of them from a very great distance.

That no precise information appears to have been obtained, of the manner in which these persons have been made slaves.

But that from the accounts, as far as any have been procured on this subject, with respect to the slaves brought from the interior parts of Africa, and from the information which has been received respecting the countries nearer to the coast, the slaves may in general be classed under some of the following descriptions :

1st. Prisoners taken in war.

2dly. Free persons sold for debt, or on account of real or imputed crimes, particularly adultery and witchcraft ; in which cases they are frequently sold with their whole families, and sometimes *for the profit of those, by whom they are condemned.*

3dly. Domestic slaves, sold for the profit of their masters—in some places at the will of their masters—and in some places on being condemned by them, for real or imputed crimes.

4thly. Persons made slaves by various acts of oppression, violence, or fraud, committed either by the princes and chiefs of those countries on their subjects, or by private individuals on each other, or lastly by Europeans, engaged in this traffic.

III. That the trade, carried on by European nations on the coast of Africa, for the purchase of slaves, *has necessarily a tendency to occasion frequent and cruel wars among the natives ; to produce unjust convictions, and punishments for pretended or aggravated crimes ; to encourage acts of oppression, violence, and fraud ; and to obstruct the natural course of civilization and improvement, in those countries.*

IV. That the continent of Africa, in its present state, furnishes several valuable articles of commerce, highly important to the trade and manufactures of this kingdom ; and which are in a great measure peculiar to that quarter of the globe : and that the soil and climate have been found by experience well adapted to the production of other articles, with which we are now either wholly or in great part supplied by foreign nations.

That an extensive commerce with Africa, in these commodities, might probably be substituted in the place of that which is now carried on in slaves, so as at least to afford a return for the same quantity of goods as has annually been carried thither in British vessels : and lastly, that such a commerce might reasonably be expected to increase in proportion to the progress of civilization and improvement on that continent.

V. That the slave trade has been found by experience to be *peculiarly injurious and destructive* to the British seamen, who have been employed therein. And that the mortality among them has been much greater than in his majesty's ships stationed on the coast of Africa—or than has been usual in British vessels, employed in any other trade.

VI. That the mode of transporting the slaves from Africa to the West Indies, necessarily exposes them to *many and grievous sufferings*, for which *no regulations* can provide an *adequate remedy* ; and that in consequence thereof, a large proportion of them *has annually perish* during the voyage.

VII. That a large proportion of the slaves, so transported, has also *perished* in the harbours in the West Indies, *previous* to their being sold. That this loss is stated by the assembly of the island of Jamaica, at about four and a half per cent. of the number imported; and is, by medical persons of experience in that island, ascribed in a great measure to diseases contracted during the voyage; and to the mode of treatment on board the ships, by which those diseases have been *suppressed for a time*, in order to render the slaves fit for immediate sale.

VIII. That the loss of newly imported negroes, within the first three years after their importation, bears a *large proportion* to the whole number imported.

IX. That the natural increase of population among the slaves in the islands, appears to have been impeded principally by the following causes.

1st. The inequality of the sexes in the importations from Africa.

2d. The general dissoluteness of manners among the slaves, and the want of proper regulations for the encouragement of marriages, and of rearing children.

3d. The particular diseases which are prevalent among them, and which are in some instances attributed to too severe labour, or rigorous treatment, and in others to insufficient or improper food.

4th. Those diseases, which affect a large proportion of negro children in their infancy, and those to which the negroes newly imported from Africa, have been found to be particularly liable.

X. That the whole number of the slaves in the island of Jamaica, in 1768, was about - - - - - 167,000
That the number in 1774, was, as stated by governor Keith, about 193,000
And that the number in December, 1787, as stated by lieutenant governor Clark, was about 256,000

That by comparing these numbers, with the numbers imported into, and retained in the island, in the several years from 1768 to 1774 inclusive, as appearing from the accounts delivered to the committee of trade, by mr. Fuller, and in the several years from 1775 inclusive, to 1787, also inclusive, as appearing by the accounts delivered in by the inspector general, and allowing for a loss of about 1-22d part, by deaths, on ship-board, after entry, as stated in the report of the assembly of the said island of Jamaica, it appears that the annual excess of deaths, above births, in the island, in the whole period of 19 years, has been in the proportion of about 7-8ths per cent. computing on the medium number of slaves in the island during that period. That in the first six years of the said nineteen, the excess of deaths was in the proportion of rather more than one on every hundred of the medium number. That in the last thirteen years of the said nineteen, the excess of deaths was in the proportion of about three-fifths on every hundred of the medium number; and that a number of slaves, amounting to 15,000 is stated by the report of the island of Jamaica to have perished during the latter period, in consequence of repeated hurricanes, and of the want of foreign supplies of provisions.

XI. That the whole number of slaves in the island of Barbadoes, was, in the year 1764, according to the account given in to the committee of trade, by mr. Braithwaite, 70,706
That in 1774, the number was, by the same account, 74,874
in 1780, by ditto, 68,270
in 1781, after the hurricane, according to the same account, 63,148
in 1786, by ditto, 62,115

That by comparing these numbers, with the number imported into this island, according to the same account (not allowing for any re-exportation) the annual excess of deaths above births in the ten years from 1764 to 1774, was in the proportion of about five to every hundred, computing on the medium number of slaves in the island during that period.

That in the seven years, from 1774 to 1780, both inclusive, the excess of deaths was in the proportion of about one and one third, on every hundred, of the medium number.

That between the years 1780 and 1781, there appears to have been a decrease in the number of slaves of about 5,000.

That in the six years from 1781 to 1786, both inclusive, the excess of deaths was in the proportion of rather less than seven eighths in every hundred, of the medium number.

And that in the four years, from 1783 to 1786, both inclusive, the excess of deaths was in the proportion of rather less than one third in every hundred on the medium number.

And that during the whole period, there is no doubt, that some were exported from the island, but considerably more in the first part of this period, than in the last.

XII. That the accounts from the leeward islands and from Dominica, Grenada, and St. Vincents, do not furnish sufficient grounds for comparing the state of population in the said islands at different periods, with the number of slaves, which have been from time to time imported into the said islands, and exported therefrom. But that from the evidence, which has been received, respecting the present state of these islands, as well as of Jamaica and Barbadoes, and from a consideration of the means of obviating the causes which have hitherto operated to impede the natural increase of the slaves, and of lessening the demand for manual labour, without diminishing the profit of the planter, it appears, that *no considerable or permanent inconvenience would result from discontinuing the importation of African slaves.*



To the senate and house of representatives of the united states. The address of the people called quakers in annual assembly convened.

FIRMLY believing, that unfeigned righteousness in public, as well as private stations, is the only sure ground of hope for the divine blessing, whence alone rulers can derive true honour—establish sincere confidence in the hearts of the people—and, feeling their minds animated with the ennobling principle of universal good-will to men, find a conscious dignity and felicity in the harmony and success attending the exercise of a solid uniform virtue; short of which the warmest pretensions to public spirit, zeal for our country, and the rights of men, are fallacious and illusive.

Under this persuasion, as professors of faith in that ever-blessed, all-perfect Lawgiver, whose injunction remains of undiminished obligation on all who profess to believe in him, “Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them,” we apprehend ourselves religiously bound to request your serious christian attention to the deeply-interesting subject, whereon our religious society, in their annual assembly, in the tenth month, 1783, addressed the then congress, who, though the christian rectitude of the concern was by the delegates generally acknowledged, yet not being vested with the power of legislation, they declined promoting any public remedy against the gross national iniquity of trafficking in the persons of fellow-men: but divers of the legislative bodies of the different states on this continent, have since manifested their sense of the public detestation due to the licentious wickedness of the African trade for slaves, and the inhuman tyranny and blood-guiltiness inseparable from it: the debasing influence whereof most certainly tends to lay waste the virtue and of course the happiness of the people.

Many are the enormities, abhorrent to common humanity and common ho

nessy, which, under the federal countenance given to this abominable commerce, are practised in some of the united states, which we judge it not needful to particularize to a body of men, chosen, as eminently distinguishable for wisdom and extensive information: but we find it indispensably incumbent on us (as a religious body) assuredly believing that both the true temporal interests of nations and eternal well-being of individuals, depend on doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly before God, the Creator, Preserver, and Benefactor of men—thus to attempt to excite your attention to the affecting subject, earnestly desiring, that the infinite Father of spirits may so enrich your minds with his love and truth, and so influence your understandings by that pure wisdom which is full of mercy and good fruits, as that a sincere and impartial inquiry may take place, whether it be not an essential part of the duty of your exalted station, to exert upright endeavours to the full extent of your power, to remove every obstruction to public righteousness, which the influence and artifice of particular persons, governed by the narrow mistaken views of self-interest, have occasioned—and whether, notwithstanding such seeming impediments, it be not in reality within your power, to exercise justice and mercy, which, if adhered to, we cannot doubt must produce the abolition of the slave trade.

We consider this subject so essentially and extensively important, as to warrant a hope, that the liberty we now take, will be understood, as it really is, a compliance with a sense of religious duty, and that your christian endeavours to remove reproach from the land, may be efficacious to sweeten the labour, and lessen the difficulties, incident to the discharge of your important trust.

Signed in, and on behalf of, the yearly meeting for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and the western parts of Maryland and Virginia—held in Philadelphia by adjournments, from the 28th day of the 9th month to the 3d day of the 10th month, inclusive, 1789.

BY NICHOLAS WALN,

Clerk to the meeting this year.



Address of the roman catholics to George Washington, president of the united states.

SIR,

WE have been long impatient to testify our joy and unbounded confidence on your being called, by an unanimous vote, to the first station of a country, in which that unanimity could not have been obtained without the previous merit of unexampled services, of eminent wisdom, and unblemished virtue. Our congratulations have not reached you sooner, because our scattered situation prevented our communication and the collecting of those sentiments which warmed every breast. But the delay has furnished us with the opportunity, not merely of prefacing the happiness to be expected under your administration, but of bearing testimony, to that which we experience already. It is your peculiar talent, in war and in peace, to afford security to those, who commit their protection into your hands. In war, you shield them from the ravages of armed hostility: in peace, you establish public tranquility, by the justice and moderation, not less than by the vigour, of your government. By example, as well as by vigilance, you extend the influence of laws on the manners of our fellow citizens. You encourage respect for religion; and inculcate, by words and actions, that principle, on which the welfare of nations so much depends, that a superintending providence governs the events of the world, and watches over the conduct of men. Your exalted maxims, and unwearied attention to the moral and physical improvement of our country, have produced already the happiest effects. Under your administration, America is animated with zeal for the attainment and encouragement of useful literature: she improves her agriculture; extends her commerce; and acquires with foreign nations a dignity unknown to her before. From these happy events, in which

none can feel a warmer interest than ourselves, we derive additional pleasure, by recollecting that you, sir, have been the principal instrument to effect so rapid a change in our political situation. This prospect of national prosperity is peculiarly pleasing to us, on another account; because, whilst our country preserves her freedom and independence, we shall have a well-founded title to claim from her justice *the equal rights of citizenship, as the price of our blood spilt under your eyes, and of our common exertions for her defence, under your auspicious conduct*—rights, rendered more dear to us by the remembrance of former hardships. When we pray for the preservation of them, where they have been granted—and expect the full extension of them from the justice of those states, which still restrict them*—when we solicit the protection of heaven over our common country, we neither omit, nor can omit recommending your preservation to the singular care of divine providence; because we conceive that no human means are so available to promote the welfare of the united states, as the prolongation of your health and life, in which are included the energy of your example, the wisdom of your councils, and the persuasive eloquence of your virtues.

JOHN CARROLL, *in behalf of the roman catholic clergy.*

CHARLES CARROLL, *of Carrollton,*

DANIEL CARROLL,

DOMINICK LYNCH,

THOMAS FITZSIMONS.

} *in behalf of the roman catholic laity.*

ANSWER.

To the Roman catholics in the united states of America.

GENTLEMEN,

WHILE I now receive with much satisfaction your congratulations on my being called by an unanimous vote, to the first station in my country—I cannot but duly notice your politeness in offering an apology for the unavoidable delay. As that delay has given you an opportunity of realizing, instead of anticipating, the benefits of the general government—you will do me the justice to believe, that your testimony of the increase of the public prosperity, enhances the pleasure, which I should otherwise have experienced from your affectionate address.

I feel that my conduct, in war and in peace, has met with more general approbation than could have reasonably been expected: and I find myself disposed to consider that fortunate circumstance, in a great degree resulting from the able support, and extraordinary candour, of my fellow citizens of all denominations.

NOTE.

* The restrictions here alluded to, are in the following clauses, which, for the information of our readers, we have extracted:

“No *protestant* inhabitant of this colony shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right, merely on account of his religious principles: but all persons, professing a belief in the faith of *any protestant sect*, who shall demean themselves peaceably under the government, as hereby established, shall be capable of being elected into any office of profit and trust,” &c.—Constitution of New Jersey, sect. 19.

“No person who shall deny the truth of the protestant religion, shall be capable of holding any office or place of trust or profit in the civil department within this state.”—Constitution of North Carolina, sect. 32.

“No person shall be eligible to a seat in the senate, unless he be of the protestant religion.”—Constitution of South Carolina, sect. 12.

“No person shall be eligible to sit in the house of representatives, unless he be of the protestant religion.” Idem, 13.

The prospect of national prosperity now before us, is truly animating; and ought to excite the exertions of all good men, to establish and secure the happiness of their country, in the permanent duration of its freedom and independence. America, under the smiles of divine providence—the protection of a good government—and the cultivation of manners, morals, and piety—cannot fail of attaining an uncommon degree of eminence, in literature, commerce, agriculture, improvements at home, and respectability abroad.

As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow, that *all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community ARE EQUALLY ENTITLED TO THE PROTECTION OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT.* I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality. And I presume that your fellow citizens *will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution, and the establishment of their government*—or the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the roman catholic faith is professed.

I thank you, gentlemen, for your kind concern for me. While my life and my health shall continue, in whatever situation I may be, it shall be my constant endeavour to justify the favourable sentiments which you are pleased to express of my conduct. And may the members of your society in America, animated alone by the pure spirit of christianity, and still conducting themselves as the faithful subjects of our free government, enjoy every temporal and spiritual felicity.

March, 1790.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.



Report of a committee of both houses of the legislature of Massachusetts, appointed to consider on further amendments in the constitution of the united states.

THAT having carefully examined and considered the subject referred to them—they are fully of opinion, that further amendments in that constitution are necessary to secure the liberties of the people, and the blessings of a free and efficient system of government; and that such amendments ought now to be attended to, and made so particular, as will have a tendency to preserve the forms of a federal republic, and to prevent a consolidation of the states. As this important subject is now brought before the legislature—and the people have a favourable opportunity to deliberate upon it—the committee think it is proper for the general court, at the present time, to suggest to the members from this state in congress, several principles of amendments, to be attended to, as soon as the important business now before congress, will admit.

It is with diffidence, the committee express their opinion on this very interesting subject: but as it is made their duty, they have made it their endeavour to consider the subjects referred to them, with the attention they deserve. And though they think the states have been highly favoured in laying the foundation of a good government; yet they conceive much is to be done, to define and complete the system.

The committee, in their enquiries, have been influenced by those truths and principles which are held sacred in all free and enlightened countries; and have inferred the proposed amendments, from what they conceive to be the fundamental principles of a free and energetic system of government for an extensive community.

They feel the fullest conviction, that the liberties and prosperity of the united states, must rest on a general government, adequate to the common defence and general welfare, and on state or local governments, constitutionally secured in their proper stations; and therefore, that every good man will seasonably oppose a consolidation of the states—an event that must, probably, be attended with the loss of every thing dear to a free, virtuous, and manly people.

Your committee believe it is a truth, very generally admitted in this country, that the greatest portion of political happiness is enjoyed in that equality which prevails in well regulated republics; that there is a constant effort, in each order of men, to destroy this equality, to exalt itself and depress the others: to prevent the ruinous effects of which, many checks must be engrafted into the constitution; and every part of the people have its constitutional influence, and proper means of defence in the government: and to this end, not only a senatorial branch, but a full and substantial representation of the body of the people, must be effectually provided for.

That it is a fundamental principle, that such a representation, and power to lay and collect taxes—to form and control the military forces of a community, ought to go together in all cases, where not evidently impracticable; and that the legislature of the society ought to be so formed, that the sense of the majority therein may correspond with the sense of the major part of the people; that the powers of those who govern, ought to be accurately limited and defined by the instruments and compacts of association; and that where the sovereignty is divided and qualified—and lodged in a federal head for certain purposes, and in local governments, for certain other purposes—the line of distinction ought to be very carefully drawn, to prevent encroachments.

On attentively examining the constitution of the united states, the committee are of opinion, that the powers of the general government, in several instances, are not well defined or limited: that there is not a just line of distinction drawn between them, and the powers of the local governments; and that there is no such representation as before mentioned, in the legislature of the union.

It appears to the committee, that it is agreeable to the very essence and design of a federal system, that there be a general legislature, composed of a few members; and that a more numerous and substantial representation of the people be assembled in the state legislatures: and therefore it follows, that the councils of the union must have a natural bias to vigour, order, and an aristocratical system of policy; and that the state governments must have a like bias to popular liberty, and popular measures. To make the democratic temper of the latter, and the different temper of the former, mutual checks on each other, and thereby conducive to the happiness of the whole, is peculiar, perhaps, to a republic like ours; and a part of the political science, yet in some measure to be learned.

In a single legislature, the senatorial and popular branches prevent the extremes of each other by mutual negatives in all, or particular cases: and how far this fundamental principle can, with safety and propriety, be extended to a general and state government, in a great republic, must require much discernment and reflexion, time and experience, to determine. The committee conceive, however, that some important means to lessen the abuses of democracy on one hand, and of aristocracy on the other, now present themselves. By increasing and improving the representation in the general government, and making some of the state governments (if necessary) less popular, they will become less destructive of each other: and by giving a negative in certain cases, when practicable, each will be enabled to defend itself against the other; and a medium between the extreme views of both, be happily produced: and by limiting and defining powers, and by a proper distinguishing line, each may be kept in its proper place. As the constitution now stands, the committee are of opinion, it will cherish those natural inequalities among men, from which will, in time, result constitutional distinctions, or an uneasiness in the body of the people, which, by sudden commotions, may endanger or demolish the whole system.

The committee by no means agree with those who contend, that the natural tendency of a system like ours, is towards an undue increase of the powers of the state governments, nor with those who contend that the democratic temper

of the people, is a sufficient check upon the extensive powers of the general government. Certain it is, that this temper must tend to destroy all government, if not constitutionally directed. It must have its due weight, in order to prevent the making of certain laws—or irregularly operate, to prevent their execution.

This subject of amendments is too extensive to be treated at large, or in particular detail. The committee, therefore, have more particularly in this report, made it an object to bring into view, such principles as appear to them, to be deserving of more immediate attention. It appears to them to be a most important object, duly to examine the legislative powers of congress, respecting internal taxes, the militia, peace establishments, regulations of elections, the federal judiciary, and federal territories, and in various ways to check and limit those powers in their exercise. It is very obvious, that the legislative powers of the general government, as to these objects, may be so exercised, as, in a short period of time, materially to alter the condition of the community, and the first principles of the government: and it is, in the opinion of the committee, equally obvious, that the body of the people ought to have some further and more effectual control on the formation of the laws, and over those who make the laws, relative to these subjects.

If it be necessary, that congress should retain and exercise the powers vested in that body; yet many useful checks may be provided. Merely to elect the senators and representatives of the federal head, can be but imperfect security to the body of the people, against a system of politics, very repugnant to their general sentiments; for it is clear, that in a federal republic, the aristocratical part of the community, will very generally be elected to administer the general government.

In altering the constitution, all agree, that the body of the people, in their state legislatures, or in their conventions, ought to be consulted: because, otherwise, the public opinion could not be known, and all parts of the federal system be secure: and perhaps this principle, under different modifications, may well be applied to some few important cases in federal legislation.

The committee are sensible, the weakness and embarrassments of the confederation, and the many obstructions in the forms of government in the united netherlands, are to be avoided: but a federal head, possessing almost entire sovereignty, and no ways checked by the local governments, may be equally dangerous, and destructive of the system, of which it is intended as a part. If a direct tax, a plan for forming the militia, or a large peace establishment, should be proposed by the general government, and be disapproved, by a large majority of the state legislatures, ought such measures to be adopted?

Having made the foregoing observations, the committee submit the following principles of amendments, for consideration, and recommend that constitutional provision be made—

I. That congress shall not interfere in the regulations of the elections of its members, except in cases where the state legislatures shall neglect or refuse to make regulations; and that the qualifications of senators and representatives be expressly defined in the constitution.

II. That congress erect no company with exclusive advantages of commerce.

III. That congress have power to establish a uniform rule of inhabitancy, or settlement of the poor of the different states, throughout the united states.

IV. That republican forms of government be established in the districts which are, or shall be, ceded to the united states.

V. That congress shall, by law, provide for calling forth the posse comitatus, for executing the laws of the united states.

VI. That the general government exercise no power, but what is expressly delegated.

VII. That a part of the internal resources of taxation be appropriated to the united states, and that a part thereof be exclusively reserved to the respective states, with such exceptions, however, and under such limitations, as war and other extraordinary exigencies may require.

VIII. That no system, for forming the militia, be established—and that no establishment of troops in a time of peace, beyond a limited number, be made—if disapproved by a specified number of the state legislatures, within a limited time after the bills for those purposes shall be laid before them.

IX. That the judiciary powers of the united states be more explicitly defined, and more accurately distinguished from those of the respective states.

X. That the senate shall not possess all the executive and judicial powers now vested in that body.

XI. That it be left to the several states, to make compensations to their senators and representatives respectively, for their services in congress.

XII. That the state legislatures have power to recall, when they may think it expedient, their federal senators, and send others in their stead; and that the senators be chosen all at the same time, and for the term of four years.

In the foregoing investigations, it has been the main object of the committee, to bring into view, amendments which shall secure the blessings of freedom, without injuring the nerves of government.

As to internal taxes, the committee further observe, that so long as there shall remain, in all cases, concurrent power in congress, and the respective state legislatures, to tax the same objects, it will be impracticable for the union or separate states to estimate their revenues; and consequently to estimate, with any degree of certainty, on performing their respective engagements.

Permanently to secure the liberties and happiness of America, the committee believe a due modification of the legislative powers before mentioned, and further checks in the constitution are essential; as well as a fair and honest administration of the general and local governments.

The committee are convinced, that the people of this state, when they adopted the constitution of the united states, wished for and expected further amendments, than those which have been recommended; and that they are now anxious to have their liberties more explicitly secured to them.

After dilating on general principles, the committee have brought into view more particular propositions, resting assured, that from the premises laid down, will result such amendments as will answer the just expectations of all our citizens.



Abstract of the net proceeds of the duties on imports and tonnage.

	<i>Dols.</i>	<i>cts.</i>
New Hampshire, from 11th Aug. to 31st Dec. 1789,	7,789	21 $\frac{1}{2}$
Massachusetts, from 10th do. to 31st do. 1789,	113,439	54 $\frac{1}{2}$
Connecticut, from 11th do. to 31st do. 1789,	20,352	87 $\frac{1}{2}$
New York, from 5th do. to 31st do. 1789,	152,198	97
New Jersey, from 1st do. to 31st do. 1789,	1,971	51
Pennsylvania, from 10th do. to 31st do. 1789,	188,497	94
Delaware, from 1st do. to 31st do. 1789,	6,573	98 $\frac{1}{2}$
Maryland, from 10th do. to 31st do. 1789,	87,751	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Virginia, from 17th do. to 31st do. 1789,	142,028	62
South Carolina, from 31st do. to 1st do. 1789,	55,032	61 $\frac{1}{2}$
Georgia, from 22d do. to 1st do. 1789.	8,850	80 $\frac{3}{4}$
Dollars,	784,487	14 $\frac{3}{4}$
Deduct for drawbacks 2 per cent.	15,689	74
Dollars,	768,797	40 $\frac{3}{4}$

Treasury department, March 4, 1790.

ALEX. HAMILTON, sec. treat.

Constitution of the Hibernian society for the relief of emigrants from Ireland.

TO a benevolent mind, no object can be more grateful, as none is more laudable, than to relieve the distressed: to effect this desirable purpose, few institutions have had a greater tendency, than the national societies, established in this country, for the protection and assistance of those emigrants, whom misery, misfortune, or oppression has compelled to forsake their native country, and fly to "the asylum," which is here to be found for "the oppressed of all nations." By these societies, emigrants have been rendered happy in their situations, and useful citizens; oppression has been punished; migration hither encouraged; misery alleviated; and consequently, the temptations, to wander from the paths of rectitude, diminished. These reasons, and others equally forcible, have induced us, the subscribers, to enter into an association, and adopt the following constitution.

I. This society shall be called "the Hibernian society for the relief of emigrants from Ireland."

II. This society shall hold quarterly meetings on the first Mondays of March, June, September, and December, in every year.

III. On the first Monday of April next, there shall be chosen by ballot, a president, a vice-president, a secretary, a treasurer, two counsellors, and two physicians, to serve in their respective stations, until the meeting in December, 1790: at which time, and at the December meeting in every year, thereafter, an election shall be held in the like manner, for the said officers respectively.

IV. The duty of the president shall be to preside at all meetings of the society; regulate the debates; and determine all questions of order: and in case of an equality of voices on any contested matter, he shall have a casting vote. He shall have power to draw on the treasurer for such sums of money as the society shall, at any of their meetings, order to be paid. He shall subscribe all acts and other instruments of the society; and shall call special meetings of the society, when thereto requested by a quorum of the acting committee.

V. The vice-president shall, in the absence of the president, preside at each meeting; and shall have all the powers and authorities, and perform all the duties, of the president: but if the president and vice-president shall be absent, the meeting shall choose a chairman by shew of hands: and the person so chosen, shall preside, and have all the powers and authorities, and perform all the duties, of the president.

VI. The secretary shall keep fair and regular entries of all rules and regulations of the society—a register of the names of the members—and minutes of the proceedings of the several meetings. He shall make out and attest certificates of the admission of members; record all fines incurred; and furnish the treasurer with an account thereof. He shall give public notice of the time and place of the respective meetings of the society; and generally do and perform all such business, incident to his office, as the society shall from time to time require.

VII. The treasurer shall receive all subscriptions, quarterly payments, fines, donations, and other personal property of the society; and keep fair accounts of his receipts and expenditures. He shall not pay any money but by warrant from the president, or, in his absence, from the vice-president or chairman, or from a quorum of the acting committee, in the body of which warrant shall be expressed the use or uses for which the same is given: which warrant, with a receipt for the sum therein expressed, shall be his voucher. He shall submit his accounts to the inspection of the president or vice-president, when thereto required. He shall, previously to the December meeting, settle his accounts with a committee of the society, to be for that purpose appointed, at the meeting in September of every year:

and he shall pay all orders drawn upon him agreeably to those rules and regulations; but not otherwise.

VIII. A committee, to consist of twelve members, which shall be denominated "The acting committee of the Hibernian society," shall be chosen by ballot, at the first meeting of the society, which committee shall be divided into three classes: the first class shall be relieved from their duty, at the expiration of six months from the first Monday of March instant; the second class, at the expiration of twelve months, and the third class, at the expiration of eighteen months, from the same time. The vacancies, thus caused, shall be filled up by the meetings at which they shall severally happen: and the members, then chosen to fill such vacant classes, shall serve for the term of eighteen months from the term of their respective appointments: the like rotation shall be observed ever afterwards: but nothing in this article contained, shall prevent any member, who may have already served in one of the classes, from being re-elected. Any five of the said committee shall be a quorum, and have power to draw on the treasurer for such sums of money, as the duties assigned them shall from time to time require: but no such quorum shall be formed, unless each member of the committee shall have had due notice of the time and place of meeting.

IX. The duty of the acting committee shall be to receive applications for assistance; to send two or more of their members to visit all vessels arriving in this port from Ireland with passengers; to make strict enquiry into the character and circumstances of those who may in their judgment be entitled to relief; and to afford them such assistance as the nature of their respective cases may require, and the funds of the society will admit. And the more effectually to prevent and punish imposition and oppression of emigrants by owners, masters, or freighters of vessels, or by any other persons whomsoever—and to afford immediate aid to those who may be afflicted with sickness—they shall be empowered to call for the advice of the counsellors and physicians, in their respective professions.

X. There shall be a committee of three members, (to be balloted for, classed, and relieved, in the like manner as the acting committee), which shall be called the committee of correspondence, whose duty it shall be, to correspond with institutions of a similar nature, and by such means as to them shall seem most effectual promote the establishment of others. They shall address and transmit copies of this constitution to characters of respectability and influence in the different parts of this state, and solicit their exertions to procure donations; and shall prepare letters, which, when submitted to the inspection, and sanctioned by the signature of the president, they shall transmit, with copies of this constitution, to such persons, at the different sea-ports in Ireland, whence emigrants generally come, as may most probably be instrumental in disseminating information of the intention of this institution.

XI. Every member shall subscribe this constitution; and at the time of subscribing, shall pay to the treasurer, for the use of the society, a sum not less than two dollars: and at every quarterly meeting shall pay, for the like use, not less than three-eighths of a dollar. Any person, desirous of becoming a member of this society, at or after the meeting in June 1790, shall be proposed at a quarterly meeting, and balloted for at a succeeding one; when, if there be a majority of the members present in his favour, he shall be admitted; but not otherwise; and every member of this society shall receive a certificate of his admission, signed by the president, and attested by the secretary.

XII. Any member, residing in this city, or the liberties thereof, who shall be two quarterly payments in arrears, shall be fined one eighth of a dollar: and if he shall neglect or refuse to pay such fine, and shall be four quarters in arrears, he shall be no longer considered a member. And if any member, residing without the limits aforesaid, shall be eight quarters in arrears, he shall be fined one eighth of

dollar; and if he shall neglect or refuse to pay such fine, and shall be twelve quarters in arrears, he shall be no longer considered a member.

XIII. The foregoing rules and regulations shall be deemed and taken as the fundamental laws of the society: and no part of them shall be altered or amended, but by motion made at a quarterly meeting (of which public notice shall be given) and agreed to at a subsequent meeting by a majority of the members present.

Philadelphia, March 22, 1790.

Signed,

THOMAS M'KEAN, *president.*

Attest. MATHEW CAREY, *secretary.*



Charge of the hon. James Wilson, esq. judge of the federal circuit court for the district of Pennsylvania, to the grand jury of said court, delivered April 12, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

AS you are the first grand jury that has been assembled in the circuit court for Pennsylvania, under the constitution of the united states, it is highly probable, that little business of a particular nature will come before you. Perhaps, therefore, no occasion can be fitter, than the present, to address you on a subject of great, of general, and of lasting importance, and, at the same time, intimately connected with your official character and views. I mean, the utility, the power, and the duty of juries.

In a well-constituted government, the great movements of the state receive their first force and direction immediately from the people, at elections. The influence of that force and that direction ought to pervade all the subsequent progress and stages of the public business. The will and genius of the citizens should diffuse their tints and colourings over every part of the web of government, however finely spun, or intricately woven. In this manner, will one inestimable property of a constitution be preserved and secured. It will be always accommodated to the dispositions, manners, and habits of those, for whom it is intended,

The administration of justice and the municipal laws, is that part of government, which comes most intimately home to the business and bosoms of men. Where the relation of the laws to facts and transactions is obscure or difficult, and, of consequence, gives rise to doubts and controversies, the intervention of skilful and unbiassed interpretation and application of the laws, is essentially necessary. This is the province of judges. But before justice can be fully and satisfactorily dispensed, something further, and of importance equally great and extensive, must be done. Facts must be investigated and authenticated: the circumstances attending transactions must be developed and ascertained. In order to make the proper estimates, and to discover the true results of things, consideration must be given not only to what is said, but to the character and situation of the witness, who speaks it—and to the character and situation of the person, concerning whom it is spoken. Now the province of juries opens upon us. Let us survey it in all its beauty and extent. If I deceive not myself, we shall return from the excursion, fully and agreeably convinced, that as government receives its first moving force, it receives its last finishing efficacy, from the personal acts and energies of the people.

If the administration of justice, which is one great end of civil society, were entirely committed to one selected body of men, deprived, by their situation and by the functions of their office, from having many opportunities of knowing particularly the circumstances and characters of the parties, who come before them, it could not be expected, that the proper and practical adjustment of facts to characters, would, in every instance be made. In this case, a competent number of

sensible and unprejudiced jurymen, selected and assembled for the purpose will be best qualified for tracing, investigating, and weighing the truth. They will be triers not only of the facts, but also of the credibility of the witnesses. They will be a strong and uniform defence against the influence of remote or defective information, on the one hand—and against the undistinguishing operations of systematic inflexibility, on the other. A single witness will not be rejected by them, because he is single: nor will they believe two witnesses, if probability and reason encounter their testimony.

These are advantages of the trial by jury even in civil cases. But, in criminal cases, how much are those advantages heightened and appreciated! The executor of the law should be vested with numerous, extensive, and important powers: but, while it is necessary to give such powers, it is also necessary to guard against their inconveniencies, by assigning to them proper checks and controuls. The executive power, of prosecuting crimes and offences, might be dangerous and destructive, if exercised solely by judges occasionally appointed, or appointed during pleasure, for that purpose. To prevent this, two precautions are used. One is, that the judges are appointed during good behaviour: the other is, that a double barrier—a presentment, as well as a trial, by jury—is placed between the liberty and security of the citizen, and the power and exertions of administration.

Diligent enquiries, and true presentments to make, is the part allotted to grand juries: those presentments well and truly to try, is the part allotted to traverse juries.

Next, and inferior only to the trust reposed in the legislature, is that reposed in grand juries, in point of national concern. To them emphatically belongs the character of being a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to those that do well. They are entrusted with the custody of the portals of the law, that into the hallowed dome, no injustice may be permitted to enter. They make, in the first instance, the important discrimination between the innocent and the guilty: to the former they give a passport of security: the latter they consign to a final trial by a traverse jury. That a proper measure be meted out to both, is an object of the highest importance, considered either in a public or in a private point of view.

The manner, in which grand juries ought to make enquiries, well deserves to be attentively considered. It has been declared by some, that grand juries are only to enquire, “whether what they hear be any reason to put the party to answer,”—“that a probable cause to call him to answer, is as much as is required by law.” But, indeed, such a declaration is very little consonant to the oath—the best evidence of the law—which every grand jurymen is obliged to take. He swears, that he “will enquire diligently,”—“that he will present the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.” As little is such a declaration consonant to ancient authority and practice. “In those days,” says my lord Coke, speaking of the reign of Edward I. “in those days (as yet it ought to be) indictments, taken in the absence of the party, were formed upon plain and direct proof, and not upon probabilities or inferences.” Still as little is such a declaration consonant to the voice of reason and sound sense. An indictment has been filed—and with no small degree of propriety—the verdict of the grand jury. “It ought to impart all the truth, which is requisite by law; and every part material ought to be found by the oath of the indictors.” Now, is it consistent with reason or sound sense, that a verdict found upon oath—upon an oath to make diligent enquiry—should be the vague, perhaps the visionary, result merely of probability? Ought not moral certainty to be deemed the necessary basis, of what is delivered under the sanction of an obligation so solemn and so strict? The doctrine, that a grand jury may rest satisfied merely with probabilities, is a doctrine, dangerous as well as unfounded: it is a doctrine, which may be applied to countenance and promote the vilest and most oppressive purposes: it may be used, in pernicious rota-

tion, as a snare, in which the innocent may be entrapped, and as a screen, under the cover of which the guilty may escape.

It has been alleged, that grand juries are confined, in their enquiries—to the bills offered to them—to the crimes given them in charge—and to the evidence brought before them by the prosecutor. But these notions are much too contracted: they present but a very imperfect and unsatisfactory view of the duty required from grand juries, and of the trust reposed in them. They are not appointed for the prosecutor, or for the court: they are appointed for the government, and for the people: and of both the government and people it is surely the concernment, that, on one hand, all crimes—whether given or not given in charge—whether described, or not described with professional skill—should receive the punishment which the law denounces; and that, on the other hand, innocence, however strongly assailed by accusations, drawn up in regular form, and by accusers, marshalled in legal array, should, on full investigation, be secure in that protection, which the law engages that she shall enjoy inviolate. The oath of the grand jurymen—and his oath is the commission under which he acts—assigns no limits, except those marked by diligence itself, to the course of his enquiries: why, then, should it be circumscribed by more contracted boundaries? Shall diligent enquiry be enjoined?—And shall the means and opportunities of enquiry be prohibited or restrained? No. Thus enquiry should be made concerning the accusers—concerning the accusation—and concerning the party accused. Concerning each of those topics of enquiry, they should enquire of one another mutually—of the witnesses produced on the part of the prosecution—of such other witnesses as shall be offered in a proper manner, and by proper persons—of every one, who will give them information. They ought to go further still—they ought to send for such as any of them think able to give testimony, that will be pertinent and material.

It would be easy—it might be useful—to dilate under each of those heads: but the nature of this address will not permit the attempt.

We have not even yet seen the full extent of the trust reposed in grand juries. They are a great channel of communication between those, who make and administer the laws, and those, for whom the laws are made and administered. All the operations of government, and of its ministers and officers, are within the compass of their view and research. They may suggest public improvements, and the modes of relieving public inconveniences: they may expose to public inspection, or to public punishment, bad public men, and bad public measures.

Such and so important is the office of grand juries. Mature deliberation, sound judgment, and strict impartiality are essentially requisite to the adequate fulfilment of their high trust. They ought, therefore, to be composed of men, distinguished by their talents and their virtues—of men, entitled to the first grade of character in the county or state, for the body of which they are selected to enquire. It is the duty of the returning officer, that such men be returned. When this is done, grand juries preserve and illustrate the dignity and excellence of their institution.

The law has provided—as far as it is possible by law to provide—that no improper persons should be placed on juries. If any reasonable exception can be taken, either to the whole panel, or to particular jurors returned on it, the whole panel, or such jurors, will, on a challenge for such cause, be quashed or set aside. And an indictment found by the grand jury, who, or any of whom, are liable to such exceptions, will be null and void.

In a trial, on which the life of the person accused depends, he enjoys a peculiar privilege—a privilege suggested by the finest feelings of humanity: he may challenge a certain number of jurors without shewing any the most remote cause of rejection. In difficult and dangerous emergencies, how sudden, how inconstant, how capricious, are oftentimes the emotions of the soul! When on the voice of

the jurors the prisoner's life is suspended, is it unnatural to suppose, that his mind, fluctuating, trembling, and solicitous, should conceive prejudices, even unaccountable ones, on the view of some, who are called and appear to pronounce his fate? That the supposition is not unnatural, some, who have experienced only the sensations of professional sympathy on such occasions, can, in the strongest manner, bear witness. Tender indulgence is shewn to human nature in that trying hour: and he, who has so many other embarrassments surrounding and pressing him, is relieved from the very excruciating one, however unfounded—an unfavourable opinion of his jury. Besides—when he challenges for cause, unless he succeed in establishing that cause in the opinion of others, as well as in his own, his challenge will be set aside. In his timid and suspicious state, he will apprehend, that his unsuccessful challenge will not be entirely without its effect in the mind of the juror, whose impartiality has been questioned, and whose resentment may, therefore, be provoked. His alarm will thus be increased, by the consequences of the very means, which he took to prevent it. To remove all these disquietudes from his doubtful mind, the law allows a challenge for cause, which has been over-ruled, to be succeeded by one that is peremptory.

The relative powers of courts and juries form an interesting subject of enquiry. It is of the utmost consequence, that it be fully and accurately understood. A well-known distinction between their provinces has been long recognized and established. The judges decide questions of law: the juries decide questions of fact. When these questions can be decided separately, there is no difficulty or doubt concerning their separate powers. But, in many cases, the question of law is so intimately and inseparably blended with the question of fact, that the decision of one necessarily involves the decision of the other. It will be readily admitted, on all hands, that, in the resolution of points of law, the greatest regard ought to be paid to the direction of the judges. But still the question occurs—suppose a difference in sentiment between the judges and the jury, with regard to the law—and suppose the law and the fact to be so closely interwoven, that one cannot be settled, without embracing at the same time, a determination of the other—what is to be done? The jury must do their duty, and their whole duty: they must decide upon the law, as well as upon the fact. This doctrine is peculiarly applicable to criminal cases; and from them, indeed, derives its peculiar importance. When a person is to be tried for a crime, the accusation charges against him not only the particular fact, which has been committed, but also the motive, to which it owed its origin, and from which it receives its complexion. The first is neither the only, nor the principal object of examination or discussion. On the second depends the innocence or the criminality of the action. The verdict must decide not only upon the first—but also, and principally, upon the second: for the verdict must be co-extensive and commensurate with the charge. It is not unusual, and on many occasions, it is prudent, for the jury to draw up and exhibit, in a special verdict, a particular statement of the facts, and to pray from the court a judgment of the law resulting from them. But this they are not obliged to do. They may, if they please, find a general verdict, which determines equally the fact and the law.

It may seem, at first view, to be somewhat extraordinary, that twelve men, untutored in the study of jurisprudence, should be the ultimate interpreters of the law, with a power to over-rule the directions of the judges, who have made it the subject of their long and elaborate researches, and have been raised to the seat of judgment for their professional abilities and skill. But a deeper examination of the subject will reconcile us to what, at first, may appear incongruous. In criminal cases, the design is, as has been already intimated, closely interwoven with the transaction: and the elucidation of both depends on a collected view of particulars, arising not only from the testimony, but also from the character and conduct of the witnesses, and sometimes likewise from the character and conduct of

the prisoner. Of all these the jury are fittest to make the proper comparison and estimate: and therefore, it is most eligible to leave it to them, after receiving the direction of the court in legal questions, to take into their consideration all the circumstances of the case, the intention as well as the facts—and determine, upon the whole, whether the conduct of the prisoner has or has not been within the meaning of the law.

The origin of juries it is not easy to trace or explain: but their antiquity is unquestionably very high. One thing is certain—the institution, at whatever time it was invented or improved, and whoever were its inventors or improvers, does honour to human policy: it is the most admirable method for the trial and investigation of the truth—and the best guardian both for public and private liberty—that has hitherto been discovered by the ingenuity of man.

We are told by the celebrated Montesquieu, that Rome, that Sparta, that Carthage—states once so free and so prosperous—have lost their liberties, and have perished. Their fate he holds up to the view of other states, as a *memento* of their own. But there is one consolatory distinction, which he did not take, and which we will apply in our favour. In Rome, in Sparta, in Carthage, the trial by jury did not exist, or was not preserved. The liberties of our country cannot be insecure, while this trial remains sacred and inviolate.

Juries undoubtedly may make mistakes: they may commit errors: they may commit gross ones: but, changed as they constantly are, their errors and mistakes can never grow into a dangerous system. The native uprightnes of their sentiments will not be bent under the weight of precedent or authority. Besides—their mistakes and their errors, except the venial ones on the side of mercy, made by traverse juries, are not without redress. Of an indictment found by a grand jury, the person indicted may be acquitted on his trial. If a bill be returned “*ignoramus*,” improperly, the accusation may be renewed before another grand jury. With regard to the traverse jury, the court, if dissatisfied with their verdict, have the power—and will exercise the power—of granting a new trial. This power, while it prevents or corrects the effects of error, preserves the jurisdiction of juries unimpaired. The cause is not evoked before a tribunal of another kind. A jury of the country—an abstract as it may be properly called, of the citizens at large—summoned, selected, impaneled, and sworn as the former, must still decide.

We now see the circle of government, beautiful and complete. By the people, its springs are put in motion originally: by the people, its administration is consummated. At first—at last—their power is predominant and supreme.

GENTLEMEN,

By the constitution, and by a law passed in the month of September last, the judicial authority of the united states is vested in a supreme court, in circuit courts, and in district courts.

The jurisdiction of the circuit courts in criminal matters is an object of your immediate attention.

These courts have “exclusive cognizance of all crimes and offences cognizable under the authority of the united states,” except when it is or shall be otherwise provided by law: and they have “concurrent jurisdiction with the district courts, of the crimes and offences cognizable therein.” The crimes and offences, cognizable in the district courts, are those “cognizable under the authority of the united states—committed within their respective districts, or upon the high seas; where no other punishment than whipping, not exceeding thirty stripes, a fine, not exceeding one hundred dollars, or a term of imprisonment, not exceeding six months, is to be inflicted.”

In describing crimes, and ascertaining their punishment, the attention of the national legislature has been employed, as far as circumstances would permit: and a general law upon that subject will probably be passed in a short time.

Of the offences already known to the constitution and laws of the united states, I shall give you the following very concise account :

“ Treason against the united states consists only in levying war against them, in adhering to their enemies, or giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be attainted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.”

“ No attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.”

It well deserves to be remarked here, that, with regard to treason, a new and great improvement has been introduced into the government of the united states. Under that government, the citizens have not only a legal but a constitutional security against the extension of the crime, or the imputation of treason. Treasons, capricious, arbitrary, and constructive, have often been the most tremendous engines of despotic or of legislative tyranny. Even in England, there have been times when, in the emphatic language of parliament itself, so many “ pains of treason were ordained by statute, that no man knew how to behave himself, to do, to speak or say for doubt of such pains.” With such times the united states cannot be visited, while their present excellent constitution shall continue in force. Under its protecting wings, the citizen is covered from the fury even of legislative tempests.

As the crime of treason is correctly and permanently ascertained ; so its punishment is restricted to the proper object. The innocent are not involved in the fate and ruin of the guilty : the rights of blood and of inheritance are respected and preserved.

By an act to regulate the collection of duties, it is declared, that, “ in all cases where an oath or an affirmation is, by that act, required from a master or other person, having command of a ship or vessel, or from an owner or consignee of goods, wares, and merchandise, if the person so swearing or affirming shall swear or affirm, falsely, such person shall, on indictment and conviction thereof, be punished by fine or imprisonment, or both, in the discretion of the court before whom the conviction shall be had, so as the fine shall not exceed one thousand dollars, and the term of imprisonment shall not exceed twelve months.”

By the same law it is enacted, “ that if any officer of the customs shall directly or indirectly take or receive any bribe, reward, or recompense, for conniving, or shall connive at a false entry of any ship or vessel, or of any goods, wares, or merchandise, and shall be thereof convicted, every such officer shall forfeit and pay a sum not less than two hundred, nor more than two thousand dollars, for each offence, and be for ever disabled from holding any office of trust or profit under the united states : and any person giving or offering any bribe, recompense, or reward for any such deception, collusion, or fraud, shall forfeit and pay a sum not less than two hundred, nor more than two thousand dollars, for each offence.”

—“ That if any person shall forcibly resist, prevent, or impede any officer of the customs, or his deputies, or any person assisting them in the execution of their duty—such person so offending shall, for every offence, be fined in a sum not exceeding four hundred dollars.”

“ That if any goods, wares, or merchandise, entered for exportation, with a view to draw back the duties, or to obtain any allowance given by law on the exportation thereof, shall be landed in any port or place within the limits of the united states,” as mentioned in the said act, “ all persons concerned therein shall, on indictment and conviction thereof, suffer imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months.”

By an act for registering and clearing vessels, it is provided, “ that if any person or persons shall falsely make oath or affirmation to any matters therein required to be verified—such person or persons shall suffer the like pains and pe-

nalties, as shall be incurred by persons committing wilful and corrupt perjury."

"That if any person or persons shall forge, counterfeit, erase, alter, or falsify any certificate, register, licence, permit, or other document, mentioned in the act, or to be granted by any officer of the customs—such person or persons shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of five hundred dollars."

By an act to establish the treasury department, it is enacted, "that no person, appointed to any office, instituted by that act, shall directly or indirectly be concerned or interested in carrying on the business of trade or commerce—or be owner, in whole or in part, of any sea vessel—or purchase by himself, or another, in trust for him, public lands, or any other public property—or be concerned in the purchase or disposal of any public securities of any state, or of the united states—or take or apply to his own use any emolument or gain for negotiating or transacting any business in the said department, other than what shall be allowed by law. And if any person shall offend against any of the prohibitions of that act, he shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and forfeit to the united states the penalty of three thousand dollars; and shall, upon conviction, be removed from office, and for ever thereafter incapable of holding any office under the united states."

All these laws, you perceive, have a reference to the collection and administration of the national revenue. That revenue has hitherto arisen altogether, and it is hoped, will long arise chiefly from duties, and from imposts on articles of consumption. This mode of taxation is peculiarly fitted for the situation and circumstances of our national government: it is, of all modes, the least inconvenient and the most productive. Mr. Young, a very sensible writer, on practical politics and agriculture, observes, in his northern tour, that a "tax on live stock and improvements, which raises a million, is more burdensome than others on consumption, which raise six times the sum." The reason of this is explained by the illustrious Neckar. "Taxes on the produce of lands," says he, "are an advance required from the proprietors: those, on articles of consumption, are restraints laid on expenses. The riches of those, who pay taxes on their landed income, consist only of that income: the riches of those, who pay the duties on articles of consumption, are drawn from the incomes of each individual in the kingdom, and even from those of foreigners residing in it."

To you, gentlemen, it would surely be superfluous, to prove or illustrate the necessity and importance of vigilance, vigour, and impartiality, in the collection of the public revenue. The smuggler offers the grossest insult to the majesty of the people; and makes the most pointed attack upon their property. He insults their majesty; for he arrogantly usurps the power of levying contributions upon them in fraud, or in defiance of their authority, expressed solemnly and legitimately by their representatives. He attacks their property: for of every shilling, which he thus diverts from the public service to his private emolument, they must supply the deficiency. The united obligations, therefore, of interest and of honour, combine in stimulating every citizen to detect such pernicious violations of the laws, and to drag forth to merited punishment those who are guilty of them. To promote those valuable purposes, you feel yourselves in the character of grand jurymen, peculiarly bound and empowered.

In the course of your business, you will find the court always disposed to give you their best assistance and advice.

The following address was then presented to the court:

THE grand jury for the district of Pennsylvania have heard, with great pleasure and satisfaction, the excellent charge delivered to them by the circuit court, which clearly points out their office and duty, and the several objects of their enquiry.

The necessity and propriety of the revenue laws being strictly and fairly exe-

cuted, have been so clearly explained, and so cogently urged, that we feel ourselves, as grand jurymen, engaged to declare, that the zeal which has heretofore animated us, as citizens, will induce us, on all occasions, to use our utmost endeavours to support the due execution of those laws, and to exert ourselves to prevent the immoral and dangerous consequences, which would ensue from an infraction, or evasion of them.

It is with particular pleasure we offer to the court our congratulations, that in a district so extensive, and including the first commercial city in the united states, we have found no cause to make even a single presentment.

The great truths and important observations so elegantly enforced in the charge, are, we conceive, highly interesting to the public: and therefore we persuade ourselves, the court will indulge us with a copy for publication.

Philadelphïa, April 12, 1790.

J. M. NESBITT, foreman.



Report of the secretary of state, respecting coinage.

THE secretary of state, to whom was referred by the house of representatives, the letter of John H. Mitchell, reciting certain proposals for supplying the united states with copper coinage, has had the same under consideration, according to instructions; and begs leave to report thereon as follows:

The person, who wishes to undertake the supply of a copper coinage, sets forth, that the superiority of his apparatus and process for coining, enables him to furnish a coinage, better and cheaper than can be done by any country or person whatever; that his dies are engraved by the first artist in that line in Europe; that his apparatus for striking the edge, at the same blow with the faces, is new and singularly ingenious; that he coins by a press on a new principle, and worked by a fire engine more regularly than can be done by hand; that he will deliver any quantity of coin, of any size and device, of pure unalloyed copper, wrapped in paper, and packed in casks, ready for shipping, for fourteen pence sterling the pound.

The secretary of state has before been apprised, from other sources of information, of the great improvements made by this undertaker, in sundry arts. He is acquainted with the artist, who invented the method of striking the edge and both faces of the coin at one blow. He has seen his process and coins, and sent to the former congress some specimens of them, with certain offers from him before he entered into the service of the present undertaker (which specimens he takes the liberty of now submitting to the inspection of the house, as proofs of the superiority of this method of coinage in gold and silver, as well as copper.)

He is therefore of opinion, that the undertaker, aided by that artist, and by his own excellent machines, is truly in a condition to furnish coin in a state of higher perfection than has ever yet been issued by any nation; that perfection in the engraving is among the great safeguards against counterfeits, because engravers of the first class are few—and elevated, by their rank in their art, far above the base and dangerous business of counterfeiting; that the perfection of coins will indeed disappear, after they are for some time worn among other pieces, and especially where the figures are rather faintly relieved, as on those of this artist; yet their high finishing, while new, is not the less a guard against counterfeits; because these, if carried to any extent, must be ushered into circulation new also, and consequently may be compared with genuine coins in the same state; that therefore, whenever the united states shall be disposed to have a coin of their own, it will be desirable to aim at this kind of perfection; that this cannot be better effected, than by availing themselves, if possible, of the services of the undertaker, and of this artist, whose excellent methods and machines are said to have

abridged; as well as perfected, the operations of coinage. These operations, however, and their expense being new and unknown here, he is unable to say whether the price proposed be reasonable or not. He is also uncertain, whether, instead of the larger copper coin, the legislature might not prefer a lighter one of billon, or mixed metal, as is practised with convenience by several other nations—a specimen of which kind of coinage is submitted to their inspection.

But the propositions under consideration, suppose that the work is to be carried on in a foreign country, and that the implements are to remain the property of the undertaker: which conditions, in his opinion, render them inadmissible, for these reasons.

Coinage is peculiarly an attribute of sovereignty. To transfer its exercise into another country, is to submit it to another sovereign.

Its transportation across the ocean, besides the ordinary dangers of the sea, would expose it to acts of piracy by the crews to whom it would be confided, as well as by others apprised of its passage.

In time of war, it would offer to the enterprises of an enemy, what have been emphatically called the sinews of war.

If the war were with the nation within whose territory the coinage is, the first act of war or reprisal might be to arrest this operation, with the implements and materials, coined and uncoined, to be used at their discretion.

The reputation and principles of the present undertaker are safeguards against the abuses of a coinage carried on in a foreign country, where no checks could be provided by the proper sovereign—no regulations established—no police—no guard exercised—in short, none of the numerous cautions hitherto thought essential at every mint: but in hands less entitled to confidence, these will become dangers. We may be secured, indeed, by proper experiments, as to the purity of the coin delivered us according to contract: but we cannot be secured against that, which, though less pure, shall be struck in the genuine dye, and protected against the vigilance of government, till it shall have entered into circulation.

We lose the opportunity of calling in and recoinng the clipped money in circulation, or we double our risks by a double transportation.

We lose, in like manner, the resource of coining up our household plate, in the instant of great distress.

We lose the means of forming artists to continue the works, when the common accidents of mortality shall have deprived us of those who began them.

In fine, the carrying on a coinage in a foreign country, as far as the secretary knows, is without example: and general example is weighty authority.

He is therefore of opinion, on the whole:

That a mint, whenever established, should be established at home; that the superiority, the merit, and means of the undertaker, will suggest him as the proper person to be engaged in the establishment and conduct of a mint, on a scale, which, relinquishing nothing in the perfection of the coin, shall be duly proportioned to our purposes.

And in the mean while, he is of opinion, the present proposals should be declined.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

April 14, 1790.



Association, to prevent smuggling, of the merchants and traders of Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, 15th September, 1789.

WE the subscribers, merchants and traders of the city of Philadelphia, do hereby pledge ourselves to each other, and to our fellow-citizens at large, that we will not be concerned, directly or indirectly, in any trade, contrary to the

revenue-laws of the united states; but will, by every effort in our power, discourage such illicit practices, by not employing, or by dismissing from our service, any master or mate of a vessel, or any pilot, who shall be engaged in a contraband trade, or in aiding or abetting others in such collusive employments.



Resolutions of the legislature of South Carolina.

RESOLVED, that the delegates of this state be, and they are hereby, instructed to apply to congress, to assume the public debt of this state and make provision for the payment of the same, as part of the debt of the union; it having been incurred in consequence of the war between the united states and the kingdom of Great Britain.

“Resolved, that his excellency the governor be requested to obtain from the treasury, a state of the said debt, and transmit the same, together with a copy of this resolution, to the delegates.

“Resolved, that the delegates be authorized to relinquish the pecuniary claims of this state on congress, upon their assuming and providing for the payment of the public debt of this state.”

January 20, 1790.



Recommendations to school masters, by the committee appointed to carry into execution, the system of education, adopted by the town of Boston, October 15, 1789.

THAT the schoolmasters consider themselves as in the place of parents to the children under their care, and endeavour to convince them by their mild treatment, that they feel a parental affection for them.

That they be sparing as to threatenings or promises—but punctual in the execution of the one, and the performance of the other.

That they never make a dismissal from school, at an earlier hour than usual, a reward for attention or diligence: but endeavour to lead the children to consider being at school as a privilege, and dismissal from it, as a punishment.

That they never strike the children on the head, either with the hand or any instrument; nor authorise one scholar to inflict any corporal punishment on another. That, when circumstances admit, they suspend inflicting punishment, until some time after the offence committed, or conviction of the offence.

That, as far as is practicable, they exclude corporal punishment from the schools; and particularly that they never inflict it on females.

That they introduce such rewards as are adapted to stimulate the ingenious passions of the children.

That they inculcate upon the scholars the propriety of good behaviour, during their absence from school.

That they frequently address their pupils on moral and religious subjects; endeavouring to impress their minds with a sense of the being and providence of God, and the obligations they are under, to love, serve, and pray to him—their duty to their parents and masters—the beauty and excellence of truth, justice, and mutual love—tenderness to brute creatures, and the sinfulness of tormenting them and wantonly destroying their lives—the happy tendency of self-government, and obedience to the dictates of reason and religion—the duty which they owe their country, and the necessity of a strict obedience to its laws: and that they caution them against the prevailing vices, such as sabbath-breaking, profane cursing and swearing, gaming, idleness, writing obscene words on the fences, &c.

That, for the sake of uniformity, in the government of the schools, the masters in their conferences together, form systems of rules for the observance of the children, and present them to the committee for their approbation, which, being approved, shall be considered as the standing laws of the schools.



A P P E N D I X III.

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

Saturday, August 29, 1789.

IN committee of the whole house, on the bill for establishing judicial courts—
mr. Boudinot in the chair.

The third section was again under consideration—The motion for striking out the whole clause was renewed by mr. Livermore—The fate of this clause, said he, will determine the fate of the whole bill—The greatest objection that I have to it, is, that it establishes two distinct systems of judicial proceedings in the united states. He then stated certain cases, in which there would be such clashing and interferences, as would be attended with great difficulties—Suppose, said he, a person is in the custody of a state officer, and is at the same moment taken hold of by an officer of the federal court, what is to be done—is the man to be divided? This system may open a door to collusions, in cases of debt—by having prisoners, under pretences of arrest by the federal authority, violently forced from the hands of the state officers. If these difficulties can be got over, I shall think more favourably of the bill: but I do not see how they can possibly be. We have supported the union for fourteen years, without such courts. The same, or equal abilities may be found—justice may be as well administered as heretofore—I know of no complaints, of any great consequence, that have existed: some cases of capture have been carried to the court of appeals: but they have been very few. He then adverted to the institution of courts of admiralty, in favour of establishing which, he said, the expense would not be a fiftieth part so much, and the advantage would be ten thousand times as great.

Mr. Smith (S. C.) As much will depend on the determination of this question, it is necessary it should be well considered by all the committee. It will not be easy to alter this system, when once established. The judges are to hold their commissions during good behaviour; and after they are appointed, they are only removeable by impeachment: consequently, this system must be a permanent one. The committee will not therefore determine, that there shall be district courts, until they have reflected seriously on the consequences attending their vote.

After this point is settled, the next, which occurs, is the extent of jurisdiction, to be annexed to this court. This question is as important as the former: for it will be no less difficult than improper, to enlarge or curtail the jurisdiction of a court already established. With respect to the first point, it seems generally conceded, that there ought to be a district court of some sort. The constitution, indeed, recognizes such a court; because it speaks of “such inferior courts, as the congress shall establish;” and because it gives to the supreme court, only appellate jurisdiction in most causes of a federal nature. But some gentlemen are of opinion, that the district court should be altogether confined to admiralty causes; while others deem it expedient that it should be entrusted with a more enlarged jurisdiction; and should, in addition to admiralty causes, take cognizance of all causes of seizure on land, all breaches of

impost laws, of offences committed on the high seas, and causes, in which foreigners or citizens of other states are parties. The committee are now to decide between these two opinions. After mature reflexion, I am inclined to favour the latter. What are the objections advanced against it? A gentleman, from New-Hampshire, has observed, that such an establishment will be unnecessary, expensive, and disagreeable to our constituents. Justice, he observed, could as well be administered in the state, as in the district courts: and should the state courts betray any symptoms of partiality, their adjudications would be subject to revision in the federal supreme court, which, in his opinion, afforded sufficient security. If the state courts are to take cognizance of those causes, which, by the constitution, are declared to belong to the judicial courts of the united states, an appeal must lie in every case to the latter; otherwise the judicial authority of the union might be altogether eluded. To deny such an appeal, would be to frustrate the most important objects of the federal government; and would obstruct its operations. The necessity of uniformity in the decision of the federal courts is obvious. To assimilate the principles of national decisions, and collect them, as it were, into one focus, appeals from all the state courts to the supreme court would be indispensable. It is, however, much to be apprehended, that this constant controul of the supreme federal court, over the adjudications of the state courts, would dissatisfy the people; and weaken the importance and authority of the state judges: nay more, it would lessen their respectability in the eyes of the people—even in causes, which properly appertain to the state jurisdictions; because the people, being accustomed to see their decrees overhauled and annulled by a superior tribunal, would soon learn to form an irreverent opinion of their importance and abilities. It appears, therefore, expedient, to separate, as much as possible, the state from the federal jurisdiction; to draw a broad line of distinction; to assign clearly to each its precise limits; and to prevent a clashing or interference between them. The expense is suggested as an objection to this system. It is admitted, by the gentleman who makes it, that it is proper to have district courts of admiralty. These courts must of necessity have jurisdiction of offences committed on the high seas. Now, the establishment of such a court will induce nearly all the expense that will be requisite. The extension of the system, to the length I have stated, will occasion a very trifling increase of the expense: and if the latter plan should be found, after due consideration, to be more conducive to the happiness and welfare of our constituents, than the other, a small increase of the expense ought to be no impediment to the attainment of so valuable an object. There can be no reason why our constituents should be displeased with this arrangement. The district judge will be elected from among the citizens of the state, where he is to exercise his functions; and will feel every inducement to promote the happiness, and protect the liberties of his fellow-citizens. He will be more independent than the state judges, holding his commission during good behaviour, and not being influenced by the fear of a diminution of his salary. Trial by jury will be secured in all cases, wherein it is provided in the state courts. Should the district judge be under any bias, it is reasonable to suppose it would be rather in favour of his fellow-citizens, than in favour of foreigners or the united states. By restricting the state courts to few causes of federal jurisdiction, the number of appeals will be diminished; because every cause, tried in those courts, will, for the reasons before mentioned, be subject to appeal, whereas the jurisdiction of the district court will be final in many cases. In as much therefore as those appeals are grievous to the citizens, which lie from a court within their own state to the supreme court at the seat of government, and at a great distance, they will consequently be benefited by an exemption from them. In the bill, as sent from the senate, the jurisdiction of the district courts

is not so extensive as to occasion any just alarm ; it is in my opinion rather too confined, and does not embrace objects enough. It would be difficult to take from that court any of its jurisdiction, without materially injuring the whole judicial system, except the clause relating to consuls and vice-consuls, which appears to me to be improperly annexed to the district court, and which I shall move to strike out, when we come to that part of the bill. But to what objects do the district courts extend ? To admiralty causes and trials for piracy, and offences committed on the high seas : (gentlemen have conceded that the district courts shall have jurisdiction of these cases,) to offences against the united states : (it is very proper that a court of the united states should try offences committed against the united states. Every nation on the earth punishes, by its own courts, offences against its laws) to seizures on land for breaches of the revenue laws : this power will not be censured.

It would be *felo de se*, to trust the collection of the revenue of the united states to the state judicatures. The disinclination of the judges, to carry the law into effect, their disapprobation of a certain duty, the rules of the court, or other obvious causes, might delay or frustrate the collection of the revenue ; and embarrass the national government. From this view, it appears, that the district court is not clothed with any authority, of which the state courts are stripped ; but is barely provided with that authority, which arises out of the establishment of a national government ; and which is indispensably necessary for its support. Can the state courts at this moment take cognizance of offences committed on the high seas ? If they do, it is under an act of congress, giving them jurisdiction : and in such cases the judge of the admiralty is associated with two common-law judges : this tribunal becomes then a federal court for the particular occasion, because it is established by congress. The state courts have no jurisdiction of causes arising from a national impost-law ; because no such law has heretofore existed. Where then is the ground of uneasiness suggested by gentlemen ? The foregoing observations must persuade them that their alarms have been premature. But it is said there must be court-houses, judges, marshals, clerks, constables, jails, and gibbets ; that these establishments will induce a heavy and unnecessary burden ; and have a tendency to create disgust in the people. I readily agree with the gentleman, that there are in every community some individuals, who will see with pain every new institution in the shape of a constable, jail, or gibbet ; and who think that law and courts are an abridgement of their liberty ; but I should be very sorry to concur with him, that this is a prevailing opinion. I think better of our constituents ; and am persuaded, they are sensible that these institutions are necessary for the protection of their lives and property ; and grow out of the very nature of a federal government. Care, indeed, should be taken to prevent their being grievous and oppressive : but as long as there are in the world, knaves, and rogues, and monsters, under the form of men, preying upon the honest and innocent, so long will courts and all their concomitants be wanted to redress the wrongs of the latter, and repress the depredations of the former. But let me ask the gentleman, whether a court of admiralty, and a court for the trial of offences on the high seas, which he agrees ought to be established, will not require all these institutions, viz. court-houses, clerks, sheriffs, &c. There can be no doubt of it. The extension of the jurisdiction of the district court, as far as I think it necessary, will not occasion any one article of expense, or any one institution, which will not be necessary on the gentleman's plan. To suppose that there will be a clashing of jurisdiction between the state and district courts on all occasions, by having a double set of officers, is to suppose, that the states will take a pleasure in thwarting the federal government : it is a supposition, not warranted by the disposition of our fellow-citizens, who, finding that these establishments are created

for their benefit and protection, will rather promote than obstruct them : it is a supposition equally opposed to the power of direct taxation, and to the establishment of state and county courts, which exist in the several states ; and are productive of no such inconvenience. These several courts will have their limits defined ; and will move within their respective orbits, without any danger of deviation. Besides, I am not persuaded that there will be a necessity for having separate court houses and jails : those already provided in several states, will be made use of by the district courts. I remember, when the court for the trial of piracy, under the authority of congress, was held in Charleston, the judges sat in the courthouse ; the prisoners were confined in the jail ; were under the custody of the constables ; and were executed by the orders of the sheriff of the district of Charleston. All these were state institutions : and yet the court was a federal court.

There is another important consideration ; that is, how far the constitution stands in the way of this motion : it is declared, by that instrument, that the judicial power of the united states shall be vested in one supreme and in such inferior courts as congress shall from time to time establish : here is no discretion then in congress to vest the judicial power of the united states in any other tribunal, than in the supreme court and the inferior courts of the united states. It is further declared, that the judicial power of the united states shall extend to all cases of a particular description—How is that power to be administered ? Undoubtedly by the tribunals of the united states. If the judicial power of the united states extends to those specified cases, it follows indisputably that the tribunals of the united states must likewise extend to them. What is the object of the motion ? To assign the jurisdiction of some of these very cases to the state courts, to judges, who, in many instances, hold their places for a limited period ; whereas the constitution, for the greater security of the citizen, and to insure the independence of the federal judges, has expressly declared that they shall hold their commissions during good behaviour ; to judges who are exposed every year to a diminution of salary by the state legislatures ; whereas the constitution, to remove from the federal judges all dependence on the legislative or executive, has protected them from any diminution of their compensation. Whether the inexpediency or the unconstitutionality of the motion be considered, there are more than sufficient reasons to oppose it. The district court is necessary, if we intend to adhere to the spirit of the constitution, and to carry the government into effect. At the same time I shall cheerfully assist in organizing this court, in that mode, which will prevent its being grievous or oppressive ; and will render it conducive to the protection and happiness of our constituents.

Mr. Jackson : I rise, sir, on what I conceive the most important subject, which has yet come before the house : it is what I have long considered, and with difficulty have decided ; but, on mature consideration, am impressed with the same sentiments with the gentleman from New Hampshire. It must be admitted, that society was formed before the rules, which governed that society ; and therefore the laws and rules were formed merely for the convenience of that society. In fact, the conveniency of the people is, or ought to be, the first principle of every government ; and the people have a right to expect it. Our present constitution has set out with this declaration, " We the people," in its preamble ; and therefore, in the system before us, every attention of the legislature ought to be drawn to this point. Sir, I apprehend that the system before us, is not framed, or calculated for that purpose ; but seems rather intended to destroy some of the most valuable and important privileges of the citizens. I do not wish to detract from those powers in the federal judiciary, which may be necessary and commensurate to the carrying the government fully into execution : but I consider the system unnecessary, vexatious, and expensive, and calculated to destroy the harmony and confidence of the people.

The gentleman, from South Carolina, has objected to the motion for striking out the clause, for several reasons : the first I shall notice, is, " that, in several of the states, the judges are limited in their appointments ; that inferior jurisdictions are required by the constitution ; and that the state judges are not vested with permanent salaries." Sir, those arguments fall to the ground, on referring to the constitution : the constitution does not absolutely require inferior jurisdictions : it says, " the judicial power of the united states shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish." The word *may* is not positive : and it remains with congress to determine what inferior jurisdictions are necessary, and what they will ordain and establish : for if they choose, or think no inferior jurisdictions necessary, there is no obligation to establish them: It then remains with the legislature of the union, to examine the necessity or expediency of those courts. Sir, on the subject of expediency, I, for my part, cannot see it : for I am of opinion that the state courts will answer every judiciary purpose.

The gentleman, from South Carolina, has again advanced, " that if district and circuit courts are not adopted, the harmony of the states and people will be at stake ; and that the system will be more vexatious by a series of appeals." Sir, I do not agree with this doctrine. I hold, that the harmony of the people, their liberties and properties, will be more secure, under the legal paths of their ancestors—under their modes of trial—and known methods of decision. They have heretofore been accustomed to receive justice at their own doors, in a simple form. The system, before the house, has a round of courts, appellate from one to the other ; and the poor man, that is engaged with a rich opponent, will be harrassed in a most cruel manner ; and although the sum be limited for appeals, yet, sir, the poor individual may have a legal right to a sum superior to that limitation—say above a certain amount of dollars—and not possess fortune sufficient to carry on his lawsuit. He must sink under the oppression of his rich neighbour. I am clearly of opinion, that the people would much rather have but one appeal—which, in my opinion, would answer every purpose—I mean, from the state courts, immediately to the supreme court of the continent. An admiralty jurisdiction, I will grant, may be necessary for the trial of maritime affairs, and matters relative to the revenue, to which object I would cheerfully enlarge it ; and I think, sir, for the present, it will be far more eligible. The gentleman has likewise advanced, that the expense would be as great without, as with the inferior jurisdiction. I must beg leave to differ from him ; and to declare, that it will be in the proportion of three to one. For although the clerk and marshal of the district courts are the officers proposed for the circuit courts, yet, sir, there will arise a train of inferior officers, consequently attendant on those officers, and courts, exclusive of jurors, witnesses, &c. He has likewise advanced, that it is necessary to prevent confusion. Sir, the line of distinction will be much easier preserved in the present state of the department, for many of the reasons pointed out by the gentleman from New Hampshire, exclusive of the difficulty of new rules, &c. But, sir, we are told it is necessary, that every government shall have the power of executing its own laws. This argument must likewise fall, when we find that the constitution, treaties, and laws of the united states, are, by the constitution itself, made the supreme law of the land. Sir, are not the judges of the different states bound, by oath, to support that supreme law ? Will they not recollect those oaths, and be liable to punishment, by your act, which has obliged them to take that oath, if they do not respect it as such ? assuredly they will—it is part of the compact formed with the states ; but, sir, does there not remain the appellate jurisdiction of the supreme court, to control them, and bring them to their reason ? Can they not reverse, or confirm the state decrees, as they may find them right or wrong ? Thus, then, does this last argument fall to the ground.

Sir, that the system is vexatious can be easily proved, and is too obvious. An offender is dragged from his home, his friends, and connexions, to a distant spot, where he is deprived of every advantage of former character, of relations, and acquaintance. The right of trial, by a jury of the vicinage, is done away: and perhaps he is carried to a place where popular clamour, for the moment, might decide against him; or, if allowed a trial by vicinage, or his neighbours, it is equally vexatious to drag them two or three hundred miles from their homes, with evidences, to try and give testimony, at a distant place. Every thing is to be dreaded from it. Sir, this is contrary to our wonted customs, and we need but revert to the history of Britain, after the conquest, to view what struggles against innovations of this nature that nation made. The monkish clergy joined with the kings to oppress the people; established civil law; and got the legal power into their own hands. The people took the alarm; and with the nobility contested the point, which was never finally settled until the great charter of John, which it was one of the causes of producing, and which fixed the ecclesiastical bounds. I would ask, if our modes of trial must not be as dear to our fellow-citizens as theirs to them—and if the same commotions may not reasonably be expected? I am afraid, sir, that they will be found so. Is it proper that we should be so suspicious of the state judges? I cannot, for my part, consider human nature so depraved, as to suppose, that, with an oath to observe the supreme law of the land, the state judges would not obey it. It becomes us, in my opinion, as a wise legislature, to take up, and execute the least exceptionable and milder mode, first. There is no requisition—no necessity from the constitution: if we find experiment, (and the house generally admit our laws at present to be experimental) that sufficient attention is not paid, and that our government requires, for its existence, a more energetic mode, I pledge myself to agree to any inferior jurisdictions which may be thought necessary for that purpose: but never can consent to oppress my fellow-citizens, without experiment and absolute necessity.

Mr Benson. If the clause be struck out of the bill, it will involve an abandonment of judicial proceedings on the part of the united states altogether, except in cases of appeals. The difficulties, which may arise in this case, are not justly chargeable to the bill itself: they are owing entirely to the constitution—for that is express, that the general government shall exercise all judicial powers. This legislature, therefore, has not at option to establish judicial courts, or not. The words of the system are plain and full; and the institution of the courts arises out of the very nature of the government. How far the operation of this power may extend, it is not for us to determine. Whether it will interfere with the state judicatories, is a matter that must be the result of experiment—some gentlemen suppose it will: and it may be, that it will involve the assumption of the whole judicial power; but still the clause does nothing more, than take up the letter and spirit of the constitution.

Mr. Sedgwick. The gentleman will find as great difficulties to arise upon his plan, as upon that proposed in the bill—and this is obvious—we are so circumstanced, that two distinct independent powers of judicial proceedings do exist; and I do not see how we shall get rid of the difficulty, if it is one, till there shall be a change in the constitution. I did not suppose that, at this day, it was a question—whether this government is to exercise all the powers of a government, or not? I did conceive, that such an idea had no existence in any gentleman's mind—but, sir, what does the present motion import? Its consequences go to divesting government of a power, without which, its authority is but a shadow. It is necessary to the completion of any system of government, that it should possess every power necessary to carry its laws and ordinances into execution. But, by this gentleman's idea, it is to be left to the determination of an authority, which acts independently of this legislature, whether the laws of the union shall be executed or no.

Mr. Sedgwick then touched upon the difficulties, that would arise from giving the state courts cognizance of federal questions. He also adverted to the conduct of the state legislatures, (the creators of state courts and judges) in respect to infractions and violations of contracts, &c. by which the united states had been humbled from the pinnacle of glory, to the lowest state of degradation. Under the impression of these considerations, said he, can it be supposed that this government can exist with any degree of reputation and dignity, without the power of establishing its own tribunals, and instituting its own judicial proceedings? it appears to me as necessary that they should possess this power, as that they should be united, in order to their existence as a nation.

Mr. Ames—The remarks, which gentlemen have made on the importance of this question, will be of some use in deciding it. The judicial power is, in fact, highly important to the government, and to the people; to the government, because, by this mean, its laws are peaceably carried into execution, We know by experience what a wretched system that is, which is divested of this power. We see the difference between a treaty, which independent nations make, and which cannot be enforced without war—and a law, which is the will of the society. A refractory individual is made to feel the weight of the whole community. A government, which may make, but not enforce, laws, cannot last long, nor do much good, By this power, too, the people are gainers. The administration of justice is the very performance of the social bargain on the part of government. It is the reward of their toils—the equivalent for what they surrender. They have to plant, to water, to manure the tree; and this is the fruit of it. The argument, therefore, *a priori*, is strong against the motion; for while it weakens the government, it defrauds the people. We live in a time of innovation; but, until miracles shall become more common than ordinary events, and surprise us less than the usual course of nature, I shall think it a wonderful felicity of invention, to propose the expedient of hiring out our judicial power, and employing courts, not amenable to our laws, instead of instituting them ourselves, as the constitution requires. We might as properly negotiate and assign over our legislative as our judicial power; and it is not more strange to get the laws made for this body, than, after their enactment, to get them interpreted and executed by those whom we do not appoint, and cannot controul. The field of debate is wide. The time for consideration has been so ample, and that remaining for debate, is so short, that I will not enter fully into it. The gentleman from South Carolina (mr. Smith) has very ably proved the inexpediency of the motion. I will confine myself to another point; and, if I can establish it, it will narrow the discussion.

The branches of the judicial power of the united states, are, the admiralty jurisdiction, the criminal jurisdiction, cognizance of certain common-law causes, and of such as may be given by the statutes of congress. The constitution, and the laws made in pursuance of it, are the supreme law of the land. They prescribe a rule of action for individuals. If it be disputed, whether the act done, is right or wrong, reference must be had to this rule: and whether the action is compared with the rule of action, in a state or federal court, it is equally out of the power of the judges, to say that right is wrong, and wrong right: if a man be restrained of his liberty, and sue in a state court, and the defendant shew, that he was a marshal, and served a precept according to a law of the united states, he must be cleared; otherwise the law of the united states would not be the supreme law of the land: but there is a substantial difference between the jurisdiction of the court, and the rules of decision.

In the latter case, the court has only to enquire into the facts and the rules of action prescribed to individuals: in the former, they do not enquire how, but what they may try. The jurisdiction of the court is the depositum of a trust.

The supreme power in a state is the fountain of justice. Such streams are derived from this fountain to the courts, as the legislature may positively enact. The judges, as servants of the public, can do that only, for which they are employed. The constitution has provided how this trust shall be designated. The judges must be named by their christian and surnames; commissioned during good behaviour; and have salaries. Causes, of exclusive federal cognizance, cannot be tried otherwise; nor can the judicial power of the united states be otherwise exercised. The state courts are not supposed to be deprived, by the constitution, of the jurisdiction which they exercised before, over many causes which may be tried now in the national courts. The suitors will have their choice of courts. But who shall try a crime against a law of the united states, or a new created action? Here a jurisdiction is made, *de novo*. A trust is to be exercised: and this can be done only by persons appointed as judges, in the manner before mentioned: the will of the society is expressed, and is disobeyed: and who shall interpret and enforce that will, but the persons, invested with authority from the same society? The state judges are to judge according to the law of the state, and the common law. The law of the united states is a rule to them, but not an authority for them. It controuls their decisions; but cannot enlarge their powers. Suppose an action brought, on a statute declaring a forfeiture equal to the whole of the goods, against him who shall unlade without a permit: before the law was made, no court had jurisdiction. Can a state court sustain such an action? It may as properly assume admiralty jurisdiction, or sustain actions for forfeitures on the British revenue acts. I mean no disrespect to the state courts. In some of the states, I know the judges are highly worthy of trust: they are safeguards to the government, and ornaments of human nature. But whence would they get the power of trying the supposed action? The states, under whom they act, and to whom alone they are amenable, never had any such power to give; and this government never gave them any. We may command individuals: but what right have we to require the servants of the states to serve us? Nay, sir, it is not only true, that they cannot decide this cause, if we neglect to make provision, by creating proper tribunals for the decision; but they will not be authorized to do it, even if we pass an act, declaring that they shall be invested with power: for they must be individually commissioned and salaried to have it constitutionally: and then they will not have it as the states' judges. If we may empower one state court, suppose the supreme court, we may empower all, or any, even the justices of the peace. This will appear more monstrous, if we consider the trial of crimes. A statute creates an offence. Shall any justice of the peace be directed to summon a jury to try for treason or piracy? It is true, the government will not direct a thing so wickedly absurd to be done. But who will believe government may lawfully do it? It would be tedious to pursue this subject, or even the ideas connected with it, very far. The nature of the subject renders it difficult to be even perspicuous without being prolix. My wish is to establish this conclusion, that offences, against statutes of the united states, and actions, the cognizance whereof is created, *de novo*, are exclusively of federal jurisdiction; that no persons can act as judges to try them, except such as may be commissioned agreeably to the constitution; that for the trial of such offences and causes, tribunals must be created. These, with the admiralty jurisdiction, which it is agreed must be provided for, constitute the principal powers of the district courts. If we must pay judges, we may as well employ them. The remnants of jurisdiction, which may be taken away, are scarcely worth transferring to the state courts; and may as well be exercised by our own.

Mr. Madison. It will not be doubted, that some judiciary system is necessary to accomplish the objects of the government; and that it ought to be commensurate with the other branches of the government. Under the late confederation, it could scarcely be said, that there was any real legislative power. There was no

executive branch : and the judicial was so confined as to be of little consequence. In the new constitution, a regular system is provided. The legislative power is made effective for its objects : the executive is co-extensive with the legislative : and it is equally proper that this should be the case with the judiciary. If the latter be concurrent with the state jurisdictions, it does not follow that it will, for that reason, be impracticable. It is admitted, that a concurrence exists, in some cases, between the legislative authorities of the federal and state governments : and it may be safely affirmed, that there is more both of novelty and difficulty in that arrangement, than there will be in the other.

To make the state courts federal courts, is liable to insuperable objections. Not to repeat, that the moment that is done, they will, from the highest down to the county courts, hold their tenures during good behaviour, by virtue of the constitution ; it may be remarked, that, in another point of view, it would violate the constitution, by usurping a prerogative of the supreme executive of the united states. It would be making appointments, which are expressly vested in that department, not indeed by nomination, but by description, which would amount to the same thing. But, laying these difficulties aside, a review of the constitution of the courts, in many of the states, will satisfy us that they cannot be trusted with the execution of the federal laws. In some of the states, it is true, they might, and would be safe and proper organs of such a jurisdiction. But in others, they are so dependent on the state legislatures, that, to make the federal laws dependent on them, would throw us back into all the embarrassments, which characterised our former situation. In Connecticut, the judges are appointed annually by the legislature, and the legislature is itself the dernier resort in civil cases. In Rhode Island, which we hope soon to see united with the other states, the case is at least as bad. In Georgia, even under their former constitution, the judges are triennially appointed, and in a manner by no means unexceptionable. In Pennsylvania, they hold their places for seven years only. Their tenures leave a dependence, particularly for the last year or two of the term, which forbids a reliance on judges who feel it. With respect to their salaries, there are few states, if any, in which the judges stand on independent ground. On the whole, sir, I do not see how it can be made compatible with the constitution, or safe to the federal interests, to make a transfer of the federal jurisdiction to the state courts, as contended for by the gentlemen who oppose the clause in question.

Mr. Jackson.—Sir, the importance of the question induces me to trouble the committee so far as to answer some of the arguments made use of in the opposition, and which I think necessary (to do away the impression they may have made) to be answered. The gentleman from Massachusetts (mr. Sedgwick) has carried the nation to the highest pinnacle of glory, and in a moment hurled it down to its lowest pitch ; and has charged the loss of national faith, credit, and honour, to the want of an energetic judiciary. Every good citizen will with him deplore the abject state we have been brought to : but, sir, do his arguments hold good here ? I am of opinion—and it is evident—they do not. Under our old form of government, congress had no compelling judiciary—no power of reversing the decrees of the state judges ; but is it contended that they have, or ought to have none under the present system ? It is allowed, sir, that congress shall have the power, in its fullest extent, to correct, reverse, or affirm any decree of a state court : and assuredly the supreme court will exercise this power. How then can our national faith or honour be injured in future by striking out the clause ? It must be obvious to the gentleman himself, that his fears are groundless : for the supreme court will interfere, and keep the state judiciaries within their bounds. That authority will tell them, thus far shall ye go, and no farther ; and will bring them back, when they exceed their bounds, to the principles of their institution.

Another gentleman from Massachusetts, (mr. Ames) has advanced a position

I cannot agree to: he has said, that the state courts will not, nor can, take cognizance of laws of the union, as it would be taking up matters without the bounds of their jurisdiction, and interfering with what was not left to them. Sir, I answer that gentleman with the words of the constitution, "this constitution, and the laws of the united states, made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties, &c. shall be the supreme law of the land." This surpasses in power any state laws. The judges are bound to notice them, as the supreme law: and I call on the gentleman to know, as a professional man, if a criminal were tried for a capital offence, under a state law, and could justify himself under the laws of the union, if the state judges could condemn him? Sir, they would forfeit their oaths, if he was not acquitted; this, however, he has admitted in his argument, in some measure. If there were no jurisdiction, neither could they notice the law. I acknowledge, that the gentleman has used many specious arguments; but as they rest chiefly on this ground, I think they are done away.

The gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Madison) has advanced, that, by leaving this power in the hands of the state judiciaries, or by joining their concurrent authority, you establish them as inferior jurisdictions. If the gentleman will turn to the 11th and 25th sections, he will find both those positions established; and what fell from the gentleman from Massachusetts, concerning jurisdiction, is likewise answered. The state courts, by the former, are acknowledged to have concurrent jurisdiction in a large extent, where the united states or an alien are a party; or between citizens of one state and those of another. And if the jurisdiction be acknowledged in some points, it must be supposed to be so in the fullest extent. By the 25th, sir, they are again fully established: and therefore they are now by the present system, in every light, as fully, agreeably to the gentleman's arguments, inferior jurisdictions, as they possibly could be by the principles of the gentleman from New Hampshire. And here, sir, I will advert to the general arguments, used by the gentlemen in opposition, of the necessity of power to enforce the laws of the union, and support the national existence and honour. Sir, I am opposed in some degree to this clause; for the extent of its power, even supposing the district and circuit courts abolished, swallows up every shadow of a state judiciary. Gentlemen have therefore no reason to complain of the want of federal judiciary power; for the clause declares, "that a final judgment, or decree, in any suit, in the highest court of law, or equity, of a state, in which a decision of the suit could be had, where is drawn in question the validity of a treaty, or statute of, or an authority exercised under, the united states—and the decision is against their validity; or where is drawn in question the validity of a statute of, or an authority exercised under, any state, on the ground of their being repugnant to the constitution, treaties, or laws of the united states—and the decision is in favour of such their validity; or where is drawn in question the construction of any clause of the constitution, or of a treaty, or statute of, or of a commission held under, the united states—and the decision is against the title, right, privilege or exemption, specially set up, or claimed by either party under such clause, of the said constitution, treaty, statute or commission; may be re-examined and reversed or affirmed in the supreme court of the united states." Sir, in my opinion, and I am convinced, experience will prove it, there will not, nor can be any suit or action brought in any of the state courts, but may, under this clause, be reversed or affirmed by being brought within the cognizance of the supreme court. But should there be some exceptions for the present, yet, sir, the precedent is so forcible, (for it goes so far as even to admit of constructions) that under some construction or other of some of the articles, those articles will in time be totally lost. Sir, let us look at the court of exchequer in England—revenue trials at first engrossed its whole attention—from a series of fiction, there is now no personal action, but, from construction, may be brought within their cognizance—it is only to suggest, and very seldom true, that the plaintiff is a king's debtor,

and the action is well grounded—yet there they have counter-checks and another resort—here the supreme court is final. Sir, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Burke] was right in declaring a resident on lake Erie might be dragged to New York for trial—I know not how far, in time, a man might not be dragged—for one part of this bill, without specifying the spot, declares that the circuit courts shall have power to hold special sessions for the trial of criminal causes at their discretion. On those considerations, I hope the house will not adopt the present system until the milder one be tried. It is calculated to harass and foment the people, without answering any essential purpose.

Mr. Smith (S. C.) All the difficulties and inconveniences, which the gentlemen have stated, as arising from the establishment of a district court, arise from the government itself. All the objections made to this court, apply equally against having any national judicature. Indeed, if they had any weight, they would as forcibly apply against the very institution which the gentlemen patronize, viz. a court of admiralty and piracy. If there be to be this perpetual clashing of jurisdiction, between the federal and state courts—this eternal jarring between their respective officers—will not these embarrassments exist under any judicial system, which the ingenuity of man can devise? Will they not take place under the establishment proposed by the other side? and will the mere alteration of the court, from a district to a court of admiralty and piracy, remedy the evil? But these objections come too late: a national government is established—the judicial power is a component part of that government, and must be commensurate to it. If we have a government pervading the union, we must have a judicial power of similar magnitude: we must establish courts in every part of the union. The only question is, which is the plan best calculated to answer the great object we all have in view—the carrying the judicial powers into operation, with the least inconvenience to the citizens. This double system of jurisprudence is unavoidable. It is as much a part of the constitution, as the double system of legislation: each state has a legislative power, and the congress has a legislative power, both operating on the same persons, and in many cases on the same objects. It is infinitely more difficult to mark with precision the limits of the legislative than the judicial power: no one, however, disputed the propriety of vesting congress with a legislative power over the union: and yet that power is perhaps more liable to abuse than the judicial. It has been, indeed, contended, in some of the state conventions, that congress ought not to be entrusted with direct taxation: and it is remarkable, that the same obstacles were urged against that power, which are now suggested against this institution. It was then said, that federal and state taxes could not operate at the same time without confusion: it was then facetiously asked whether the congressional and state collector, who had seized a horse for the payment of taxes, were to divide him between them? it is now asked, with equal pleasantry, whether the marshal of the district-court, and the sheriff of the state-court, who have taken the same debtor in execution, are to cut him in halves?—It was then answered, that if the state-collector seized the horse first, he would have the first satisfaction: it was also shewn, that there were frequently in the same state, state-taxes, county-taxes, and corporation-taxes; and that these never occasioned any clashing or confusion. It may now be answered, that there are at present in some of the states, state-courts, county-courts, and corporation-courts; and that these are found convenient, and unaccompanied with the clashing so much apprehended. They keep within their particular spheres; and have their limits ascertained. But, in answer to one supposition, allow me to state another: suppose a state-sheriff and a county-sheriff should seize the same debtor, would he be parcelled out between them? would not the execution, which was first served, take effect? Is not this the practice at present? and will it not be so under this system?

It is very easy for gentlemen, in the warmth of their imaginations, to suppose a variety of cases, and to raise a multiplicity of objections against any system of jurisprudence whatever. They will all be more or less liable to some objection, on the score of inconvenience; but they are submitted to, by good citizens, who are sensible that they are surest means of protecting their property, reputations, and lives.

After all that has been said, it does not appear that we differ so widely as was imagined: for the gentlemen, who advocate the motion, concede the necessity of some inferior federal court in each state. This clause does nothing more than establish an inferior federal court in each state. What then do gentlemen object to? If it be the name of the court, that may be altered—if it be the frequency of holding them, it will be very easy to amend the clause in that respect: but why move to strike out the clause altogether, when it is granted, on all hands, that there must be such a court? The objection to the extent of jurisdiction, is premature; and ought to be reserved for the clause, which ascertains the jurisdiction. If, upon an investigation of that clause, it shall appear that it ought to be restricted, that will be the seasonable time for moving to strike out the exceptionable part: but really, at present, gentlemen are making objections to one clause, which, from their own concessions, apply altogether to another.

As to several other observations, which relate to the time of holding the courts, and the mode of drawing jurors, it is unnecessary to reply fully to them at present; because it would be improper to run into a discussion of the detail, while the question is on the principle of the system. I am no less opposed to the time of holding the courts, and the mode of drawing jurors, provided by the bill, than the gentleman, from whom the objection came: and I shall add my endeavours to his, to effect an alteration in these points: but this is not the proper time: we are now on the principle, whether there shall be a district court. The same answer will apply to the objection, that the juries and witnesses will be unnecessarily harassed: every care will be taken to accommodate these courts to the convenience of the citizens of each state.

Several other difficulties have been urged, as growing out of this plan of jurisprudence: a candid discussion will remove and obviate them. It has been said, that the bill provides a number of appeals, from the state to the supreme court, through the district and circuit courts; and that the suitors may be persecuted with appeals, carried on from one court to another, through four different courts. An attentive examination of the bill is a sufficient answer to this objection. There is no appeal from the state to the district-court, and only a power of removal, in certain cases of a federal jurisdiction, from the state to the circuit-court: neither is there any appeal of fact, from the district to the circuit-court, but in admiralty causes: and these cannot be afterwards carried up to the supreme court, but where the value exceeds 1000 dollars.

It has been said, that under the idea of vicinage, a man may be dragged far from his friends to trial—from Georgia to North Carolina: but it must be remembered, that there is a constitutional provision, that the criminal shall be tried in the state, where the offence is committed: and the bill is conformable to the constitution in this respect. It has been observed, that the constitution is no bar to vesting the state-courts with federal powers; for the words, “such inferior courts as congress shall from time to time establish,” imply, that congress may not institute them: and if they be not instituted, these powers must, of course, remain with the state-courts. In reply to this argument, it is to be observed, that the words, “such inferior courts,” &c. apply to the number and quality of the inferior federal courts, and not to the possibility of excluding them altogether. It is a latitude of expression, empowering congress to institute such a number of inferior courts, of such particular construction, and at such particular places, as shall be found

expedient : in short, in the words of the constitution, congress may establish some such inferior courts as may appear requisite. But that congress must establish inferior courts, is beyond a doubt. In the first place, the constitution declares, that the judicial power of the united states shall be vested in a supreme and in inferior courts. The words "shall be vested" have great energy : they are terms of command : they leave no discretion to congress, to parcel out the judicial powers of the union to state judicatures. Where a discretionary power is left to congress by the constitution, the word "may" is employed : where no discretion is left, the word "shall" is the appropriate term : this distinction is cautiously observed. Again, the supreme court, in two cases only, has original, in all others it has appellate, jurisdiction : but where is the appeal to come from ? Certainly not from the state courts : it must come from a federal tribunal. There is another argument, which appears conclusive : the constitution provides, that the judges of the supreme and inferior courts shall hold their commissions during good behaviour ; and shall receive salaries, not capable of diminution : and it further provides, that the judicial power of the union shall be vested in a supreme and inferior courts : that is, in a supreme and inferior courts, whose judges are to hold their commissions during good behaviour, and are to possess salaries not liable to diminution.

Does not then the constitution, in the plainest and most unequivocal language, preclude us from allotting any part of the judicial authority of the union to the state judicatures ? The bill, it is said, is then unconstitutional, for it recognizes the authority of the state courts in that clause, which empowers the supreme court to overturn the decisions of the state courts, when those decisions are repugnant to the laws or constitution of the united states. This is no recognition of any such authority ; it is a necessary provision, to guard the rights of the union against the invasion of the states. If a state court should usurp jurisdiction of federal causes, and by its adjudications attempt to strip the federal government of its constitutional rights, it is necessary, that the national tribunal should possess the power of protecting those rights from such invasion. The committee have been told, that this multiplication of courts, and of appeals, will distress the citizens : and the number of appeals in Great Britain has been alluded to. I have always heard that there is no country in the world, where justice is better administered, than in that country. To its excellent and impartial administration, the prosperity, freedom, and civil rights of its citizens have been attributed : were appeals too much restrained in this country, I much question whether a great clamour would not be raised against such a restriction. The citizens of a free country, when they lose their cause in one court, like to try their chance in another. This is a privilege they consider themselves justly entitled to : and if a litigious man harrasses his adversary by vexatious appeals, he is sufficiently punished for it, by having the costs to pay. By limiting appeals to the supreme court, to sums above 1000 dollars, as is proposed, the poor will be protected from being harrassed by appeals to the supreme court.

There is one more observation, which requires an answer. It was said that the juries might be dragged from one end of a state to another : provision is expressly made against this in the bill : it is there enacted, that the juries shall be so drawn, as to occasion the smallest inconvenience to the citizens. After having very maturely considered the subject, and attentively examined the bill, in all its modifications, and heard all that has been alleged, on this occasion, I am perfectly convinced, that whatever defects may be discovered in other parts of the bill, the adoption of this motion would tend to the rejection of every system of national jurisprudence.

Adjourned.

Monday, August 31, 1789.

Continuation of the debate on the judicial bill—third section under consideration.

Mr. Livermore. I think this law will entirely change the form of government of the united states.

Several observations have been made on the clause. It is said to be the hinge on which the whole turns : some of the objections, which I have thrown out, have been attempted to be answered ; among others the great expence : by expence, I do not mean the salaries of judges : this will, however, be greater than the whole expence of the judiciary throughout the united states ; but I refer to the general expences, which must be borne by the people at large, for jails, court-houses, &c. —the expences of jurors and witnesses, and other incidental charges, will be another great burden : this is at present borne without repining ; as the people receive compensation in personal security and public justice : but if all these be to be doubled throughout, it will be justly considered as intolerable. Another burden is the rapidity of the course of prosecution in these courts, by which debtors will be obliged very suddenly to pay their debts, at a great disadvantage. Something like this occasioned the insurrection in Massachusetts. In other states, similar modes of rapidity, in the collection of debts, have produced conventions : this has been the case to the northward ; and, as I have been informed, has also to the southward.

This new-fangled system will eventually swallow up the state courts ; as those, who are in favour of this rapid mode of getting debts, will have recourse to them. He then adverted to the clashing circumstances, which must arise in the administration of justice, by these independent courts having similar powers. Gentlemen, said he, may be facetious respecting dividing the horse : but these are serious difficulties : the instances, mentioned by the gentleman from South Carolina, do not apply. The officer here is the same : the same sheriff has the precepts committed to him : and the execution does not clash : the same jail answers for both, &c.

I do not think, that the difficulties have been answered, by any of the examples brought for the purpose.

As to the instance of the trial for piracy, in the state of South Carolina, that was a particular case, which could not otherwise be provided for : but these so rarely happen, that no precedent can be drawn from them, to render it necessary to establish these perpetual courts.

He then referred to the observation, which had been made, respecting those who were opposed to the clause, offering a substitute ; and said, he thought, upon the whole, that the motion made by an hon. gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Burke) that there should be no district courts, was better than any substitute.

It may be proper, here, to refer to the constitution : he then read the clause upon this subject. The supreme federal court is to have original jurisdiction, only in certain specified cases—in all other, it is to have only appellate jurisdiction. It is argued from this, that there are to be inferior federal courts, from which these appeals are to be made. If the constitution had taken from the state courts all cognizance of federal causes, something might be said ; but this is not the case : the state courts are allowed jurisdiction in these cases.

It has been objected, that bonds, taken by the judges of the supreme court, cannot be sued in the state courts. I do not see why this cannot be done. Similar processes have been usual among us in times past : and there has been no difficulty.

Admiralty courts should have cognizance of all maritime matters : and cases of seizures should also be committed to their decision. I hope, therefore, that the clause will be disagreed to, or struck out ; and that the bill may be rejected, that a short concise system may be adopted.

Mr. Vining. I conceive that the institution of general and independent tribunals, is essential to the fair and impartial administration of the laws of the united states—that the power of making laws, of executing laws, and a judicial administration of such laws, is, in its nature, inseparable and indivisible : if not, “justice might be said to be lame, as well as blind, among us.” The only plausible argument, which has been urged against this clause, is the expence. It is true,

that expense must, in some degree, be necessarily incurred : but it will chiefly consist and end with the organization of your courts, and the erection of such buildings as may be essential—such as court-houses, jails and offices, as the gentleman has mentioned : and what, at all events, do such expenses amount to ? they are the price what is paid for the fair and equal administration of your laws : from your amazingly increasing system of government, causes must necessarily multiply, in a proportionately extensive ratio : these causes must be tried somewhere : and, whether it be in a state court, or a federal judicature, can, in the article of expense, make but little difference to the parties. It is only (for the sake of more impartial justice) transferring the business from one tribunal to another.

The gentleman has told us, that the people do not like courts ; that they have been opposed and prevented by violence—nay, by an insurrection in Massachusetts. Surely, this operates as a powerful reason to prove, that there should be a general, independent, and energetic judicature ; otherwise, if either the state judges should be so inclined, or a few sons of faction choose to assemble, they could ever frustrate the objects of justice : and, besides, from the different periods fixed by the constitution of the united states, and the different constitutions of the several states, with respect to the continuance of the judges in office, it is equally impossible, and inconsistent, to make a general uniform establishment, so as to accommodate them to your government.

I wish to see justice so equally distributed, as that every citizen of the united states should be fairly dealt by ; and so impartially administered, that every subject, or citizen of the world, whether foreigner or native, friend or foe, should be alike satisfied. By this mean, you would expand the doors of justice ; encourage emigration from all countries into your own ; and, in short, would make the united states of America, not only an asylum of liberty, but a sanctuary of justice. The faith of treaties would be preserved inviolately : your extensive funding system would have its intended operation : and your revenue, your navigation, and your impost laws, would be executed so as to receive their many advantages, and, in effect, establish the public and private credit of the union.

Mr. Stone. I have given the arguments all the attention which their weight demands, considering the respectability of the characters which have spoken upon the subject.

It has been said, that the clause, in the constitution, is imperative. If this be the case, let us see where it will carry us. It is conceded, on all hands, that the establishment of these courts is immutable : but the constitution says, that congress shall constitute such inferior courts, from time to time.

The constitution gives you a right to extend the judiciary powers to all those cases specified ; but it does not say, that these powers shall be exercised over all these cases.

He then extended this idea to the legislative power, which, it cannot be pretended, (said he) is incomplete, because it is not extended to all possible cases. Do you divest yourself of the power, by not exercising it ? Certainly not. This idea involves the principle mentioned by the gentleman from New York, (mr. Benson) that the establishment of these inferior tribunals, or district courts, will draw the whole judiciary power along with them, so that the clause, which restricts their cognizance to a certain sum, is a nullity.

State judges may be considered in two respects—as men, and as judges. As men, they are to submit to the modification of the constitution, as it respects them as citizens : as judges, they are to consider their relation, as such, to the constitution, and are to administer justice, agreeably to that constitution ; or they may resign. I can hardly bring myself to consider the subject in a reverse point of view. If it be admitted, that the judges of the several states cannot take cognizance of a law of

the united states, because they are laws, *de novo*, you annihilate their judicial capacity at a blow.

It appears to me, that there is nothing that the state courts are not competent to, but certain cases, which are specially designated.

There is no species of treason, which can be committed against the united states, which is not committed against the individual states. Bonds, given to the judges of the supreme court, and debts due to foreigners, I believe, may be sued for in any of the state courts : I think, the inconveniences which will attend these courts have been explained.

He then cited some instances, to shew that these difficulties could not be argued from past experience : there were no instances in point.

In case of a man's being committed to a state jail, the state would not grant a writ of *habeas corpus*, to convey the man to the jail of the united states : and this would apply, also, to property. He traced the effects of this clashing of the judicial powers, to a rencounter between the two *posse comitatus*, till murder was committed on both sides : in which case, said he, you must hang on both sides.

He then pointed out the advantages that foreigners would have over the citizens : a citizen can now get his money in three years, with an interest of five per cent : but, in these courts, foreigners can get their debts in one year, with an interest of seven or eight per cent.

I conceive, therefore, that this system cannot be agreeable to the people : this must suppose a revolution in the principles of their representative assemblies.

I do not think this the proper time to establish these courts : it is a measure on which the affection and attachment of the people, to the constitution, will be risked. I think it best to defer the business, till the necessity for these courts shall become apparent. I could, therefore, wish, that the power should be reserved for the occasion ; and that nothing should be done, the present session, but what is absolutely necessary.

I am for this government's moving as silently as death ; that the people should not perceive the least alteration in their situation. This power will be the most odious that can be exercised : for, as a gentleman has said, of all the wheels in the machine of government, the judicial is the most disagreeable.

Mr. Gerry was opposed to the motion for striking out the clause ; and entered into a consideration of the constructions of the several state judiciaries, by which, he said, it appeared that it was expressly against the constitution, to invest the judges of the state courts, with authority to take cognizance of federal actions ; that the legislature of the union being bound, by oath, to support and administer the constitution, they were, consequently, bound to establish these courts, to carry their laws into operation : as to the difficulties which, gentlemen had contended, would arise from the clashing of the two judicatories, they might be obviated, and a little experience would lead to the most ample provision in that point.

Mr. Sumpter said, he did not dispute the right of congress to exercise this authority : but he doubted the expediency, at the present time.

Mr. Burke rose, to enquire of the gentleman who made the motion, whether he meant by it to knock up the bill altogether ; or to offer a substitute ? for, if he meant to knock the bill entirely away, he would most heartily join him ; as he conceived that the bill was founded in deception. It was calculated to mislead the people ; for, under a shew of justice, it would deprive them of their rights and privileges. He was, therefore, for knocking the whole of it away entirely.

Mr. Livermore said that was his intention.

His motion was, however, negatived by a large majority ;

The committee rose, and the house adjourned.

Thursday, September 3.

THE house went into a committee of the whole, according to the order of the day, to take into consideration a motion of mr. Scott, the substance of which is as follows: Resolved, that a permanent seat, for the government of the united states, ought to be fixed, as near the centre of wealth, population, and extent of territory, as shall be consistent with the convenience of the Atlantic navigation, having also a due regard to the circumstances of the western country.

Mr. Goodhue rose and observed, that the members from the eastern states had contemplated the subject of a permanent seat of the federal government with deliberation. They had turned their eyes to different parts of the country; and had at last, after a mutual and full consultation, come to an agreement, that the banks of the Susquehanna were as far south, and as near the centre of population and extent of territory, as was consistent with other circumstances, important to this country. Had they consulted their own interests and convenience, they would have fixed upon a place more to the north and east. But as they felt disposed to be governed by principles of accommodation, they were of opinion, that the banks of the Susquehanna ought to be chosen for the permanent residence of congress; and that, till the particular place could be fixed on, and the proper buildings erected for their accommodation, the seat of congress should continue to be at the city of New York.

He then read a resolution to that effect, which was laid on this table.

Mr. Madison moved that the word "wealth" should be struck out of mr. Scott's resolution. He observed, that population and extent of territory were the main principles which ought to govern. Government was intended for the equal accommodation of all ranks of citizens. They ought all to be so favoured, that they might easily transmit their grievances, and receive those blessings the government was intended to dispense.

The question, on this motion, was taken, and negatived—Ayes 22—Noes 27.

The question was then taken, on the original resolution of mr. Scott, and carried—Ayes 35—Noes 14.

Friday, September 4.

The house being met, resolved itself into a committee of the whole, for the purpose of fixing a permanent seat of government.

After a long debate on an amendment to mr. Goodhue's motion, proposed by mr. Lee, for fixing the seat of government on the Patowmac, instead of the Susquehanna, the question was taken: and there were twenty in favour of it, and 31 against it: so the amendment was lost.

Mr. Madison then proposed to amend mr. Goodhue's motion, so as to leave it discretionary, to be either on the Patowmac, or Susquehanna, as shall be judged most eligible. On this question, the ayes were 20, noes 31.

A division of mr. Goodhue's motion was called for: the first part, fixing the seat of government on the east bank of the river Susquehanna, was carried, ayes 32, noes 19. The second part, resolving, that until the necessary buildings were erected at the seat of permanent residence, congress should remain in New York, was carried, ayes 30, noes 21.

Mr. Fitzsimons then proposed the following resolutions.

Resolved, as the opinion of this committee, that the president of the united states be authorized to appoint _____ commissioners, to examine and report to him the most eligible situation on the east bank of the Susquehanna, for the permanent seat of the government of the united states.

That the said commissioners be authorized, by and with the advice of the president, to purchase such quantity of land as may be thought necessary; and to erect thereon, within _____ years, suitable buildings for the accommodation of the congress, and of the officers of the united states.

That the secretary of the treasury, together with the commissioners, so to be appointed, be authorized to borrow a sum not exceeding dollars, to be repaid in years, with interest, at the rate of per cent. per ann. payable out of the duties on imports and tonnage; to be applied to the purchase of the land, and the erection of the buildings aforesaid.

And that a bill ought to pass, in the present session, in conformity with the foregoing resolutions. Adjourned.

Saturday, September 5.

In committee of the whole, on the subject of a permanent residence.

Mr. Boudinot in the chair.

The resolutions, submitted by Mr. Fitzsimons yesterday, were read, and taken into consideration. Several objections were made to the idea of purchasing the soil for the federal residence, as it would subject the states to a heavy expense, which might be avoided. The constitution, it was said, contemplated a cession of territory by the states, for the purpose. To this it was replied, that the word "cession," referred to the jurisdiction, and not to the soil: and examples were adduced, to shew that cessions of territory imply no more than a transfer of the jurisdiction; as, after such cessions, the property of individuals is not changed.

The committee could not agree upon filling up the blank before the word "years," respecting the temporary residence: five, four, three, two, and one were negatived—it was at length agreed to pass it over, and to take it up in the house.

The blank before the word "dollars" was filled with "one hundred thousand" to be repaid in "twenty years"; at not more than "five per cent. per ann." These resolutions were then adopted by the committee, and reported to the house.

Mr. Lee again proposed to strike out "east bank of the Susquehannah," and to insert, "north bank of the Patowmac." This produced further debate, which lasted so long as to preclude a decision this day. Adjourned.

Monday, September 7.

In committee of the whole, on the subject of the permanent residence.

Mr. Lee's motion, in favour of the Patowmac, was taken up: and the ayes and nays being called for by that gentleman, the motion was negatived—twenty nine to twenty-one.

Mr. Vining moved to strike out "east bank of the Susquehannah," and insert "the borough of Wilmington, in the state of Delaware." He enforced this motion, by stating the advantages of that borough in point of situation, healthiness of climate, provisions, and immediate accommodations. The last of which he urged with additional energy, as it would supercede the necessity of the great expense attending the Susquehannah. On this question, Mr. Vining called for the ayes and noes, which were, noes 32, ayes 19—so the motion was lost.

Mr. Boudinot brought forward a motion, founded on some resolutions of the late congress, respecting the permanent residence. He went into a general discussion of the principles, which ought to influence congress in all its decisions, more especially on a subject of this magnitude and importance. He stated a variety of objections to the Susquehanna; and moved that it be struck out, in order to insert Patowmac, Susquehannah, or Delaware. If this be agreed to, said he, I shall move for a committee to go to these several places, that a thorough investigation of the whole business may be had, previous to a final decision. The ayes and noes being called, there appeared 23 ayes—28 noes: so the motion was negatived.

Mr. Boudinot then moved to insert, "on either side the banks of the Delaware," not more than eight miles above or below the lower falls. The ayes and noes being called, were, noes 46, ayes 4.

It was then moved to strike out the word "east" before "bank:" this was determined in the affirmative, by a majority of one.

It was then moved by Mr. Lee to insert, "or Maryland," after the words "Susquehannah, in the state of Pennsylvania." This motion was negatived—ayes 25—noes 26.

Mr. Vining moved that "the borough of Wilmington" be inserted, as the temporary residence. This being seconded, the ayes and noes were called on the question, which was lost—ayes 21—noes 30.

Mr. Parker moved to strike out "New York," and insert "Philadelphia," as the temporary residence. The ayes and noes being called, the motion was lost; there being 29 in the negative, and 22 in the affirmative.

A motion for adjournment being put and lost, the house proceeded, and completed the resolutions: the time to be allowed for erecting the buildings is fixed at four years.

Tuesday, September 8.

The house took up the amendments of the senate to the bill for establishing the salaries of the officers of the executive department.

The first amendment was to add five hundred dollars to the salary of the secretary of state; which being agreed to, his salary is three thousand five hundred dollars.

The second was to reduce the salary of the auditor, from one thousand five hundred dollars, to one thousand two hundred and fifty: this was disagreed to.

The third, to strike out one thousand six hundred dollars, the salary of the treasurer, and insert two thousand: disagreed to.

The fourth, to reduce the salary of the governor of the western territory, five hundred dollars.

This amendment was opposed, as involving the diminution of a salary, which was annexed to two very important and expensive offices. The amendment was disagreed to.

The fifth, to strike out one thousand five hundred dollars, the salary of the assistant of the secretary of the treasury, and to insert one thousand seven hundred: disagreed to.

The sixth was to give the principal clerk of the treasury, a salary of six hundred dollars: agreed to.

The seventh was to empower the heads of the departments to appoint their respective clerks: agreed to.

And the last was to raise the salaries of the inferior clerks to five hundred dollars; which was agreed to.

The amendment of the senate to the bill for allowing compensations to the president and vice-president, was next taken up. The senate proposed that the vice-president should receive six thousand dollars per ann. This amendment was disagreed to.

The amendments of the senate, to the bill for allowing compensations to the members of the two houses, and their respective officers, were next read. In the first amendment, the senate adheres to its former resolution, respecting a discrimination.

It was then moved by Mr. Livermore, that the house should recede from their disagreement to this amendment of the senate.

This was seconded by Mr. Benson—who observed, that the legislature was now brought into such a situation, that if the house should refuse to recede from their disagreement, there was the greatest danger of a dissolution of the government. And as the discrimination was not to take place till the end of six years, it might be considered as an appeal to their constituents, who would undoubtedly determine the matter for the legislature in that period.

The vote being taken on the motion to recede, it passed in the negative. It

was then voted that a conference should be requested with the senate upon this business: and messrs. Sherman, Tucker, and Benson were appointed conferees on the part of the house.

Mr. Gerry moved a resolution to the following effect: "That monies shall not be drawn from the treasury, unless by appropriations, made and confirmed by congress, subsequent to the 4th of March last." Laid on the table.

Adjourned.

Wednesday, September 9.

A message was received from the senate, returning several bills, viz. The bill for allowing compensations to the president and vice-president, (the senate insist on their amendment to this bill, and request a conference with the house upon the subject, having appointed managers on their part, mr. King, mr. Izard, and mr. Morris). The bill for allowing compensations to the members and officers of the two houses. (The senate concur in the proposal of the house for a conference on the subject of disagreement respecting this bill; and appointed conferees on their part.)

The bill for establishing the salaries of the officers in the executive departments, (the senate recede from some of their amendments to this bill; and insist upon others.)

The house proceeded to the consideration of the foregoing message.

It was moved, that conferees on the part of the house be appointed, agreeably to the request of the senate: which motion being agreed to, messrs. Baldwin, Livermore, and Goodhue, were appointed.

In the bill for establishing the salaries, the senate insist on their amendment, to raise the salary of the treasurer from one thousand six hundred to two thousand dollars. It was moved, that the house recede from their disagreement. This was carried in the affirmative: so the treasurer's salary is two thousand dollars.

The senate insist on their amendment for striking off five hundred dollars from the salary of the governor of the Western Territory.

The house receded from their disagreement to this also. So the salary of the governor of the Western Territory, to include the superintendency of Indian affairs, is two thousand dollars.

The motion, laid on the table yesterday by mr. Gerry, was taken up, and after a few observations, referred to a select committee, consisting of messrs. Stone, Parker, and Griffin.

The house went into a committee on the bill for establishing the judiciary department. Some further progress was made in the bill, when the committee rose; and asked leave to sit again.

The house then adjourned.

Thursday, September 10.

Mr. Sherman from the committee of conference, to whom were referred the disagreeing votes of both houses, on the subject of the compensations of the members, reported that the committee had come to no agreement with the committee of the senate: but that they had thought proper to recommend, as a conciliatory measure, that the house should concur with the senate, with an amendment limiting the duration of the act.

A motion was then made, "that the house recede from their disagreement to the amendment, and concur, with an amendment." The amendment was "that the act should continue in force seven years only."

This motion brought on a warm debate: The arguments, which had been before used, against a discrimination in the compensation of the two houses, were repeated with vehemence. It was contended, that though the motion was for establishing the discrimination only for one year, yet it was a sufficient recognition of the principle: and if this principle were in itself improper, it was wrong, in

a measure which was intended as an appeal to the people, to establish a precedent to influence the measures of a future congress.

On the other hand, the propriety of a concurrence was inferred from the danger of losing the bill, and from the indelicacy of forcing the senate to receive a compensation, which they did not think adequate to their services.

Mr. Boudinot was for rejecting the amendment of the senate, and bringing in a new bill limited to two years, and then he said the appeal to the people would be made on equal terms.

The question, on concurring, was then put: and the ayes and nays being called, were as follow:

Ayes—Messrs. Ames, Baldwin, Benson, Browne, Cadwallader, Clymer, Fitzsimons, Gale, Gerry, Griffin, Hartley, Huntington, Lawrance, Lee, Livermore, Madison, Moore, Muhlenberg, Scott, Sherman, Smith (S. C.) Trumbull, Vining, Wynkoop.—24.

Nays—Messrs. Bland, Boudinot, Burke, Carroll, Coles, Contee, Floyd, Foster, Gilman, Goodhue, Grout, Hathorn, Heister, Jackson, Matthews, Page, Parker, Partridge, Rensselaer, Schureman, Seney, Silvester, Sinnickson, Smith (M.) Stone, Sumpter, Thatcher, Tucker, White.—29.

By this vote the compensation bill was lost.

The committee on the petition of the public creditors, and other citizens of Philadelphia, reported, that the petition deserved the attentive consideration of congress: but as the present session was to be so short, and it was necessary to dispatch much important business before congress, it became impracticable to give the subject, the present session, the attention which it merited. They therefore submitted a resolution to the following effect: "That it highly concerned the honour and interest of the united states, to make some early and effectual provision in favour of the public creditors of the union: and that the house would, early next session, take the subject into consideration."

This report was laid on the table.

Friday, Sept. 11.

Mr. Burke moved that the house should reconsider the vote of yesterday, not to recede from their disagreement to the amendment, proposed by the senate, to the bill for allowing compensation to the members and officers of both houses.

Mr. Madison, supposing that the bill had been lost by the vote of yesterday, queried whether it were in order to reconsider that vote; or whether such a vote could be said to restore the bill. The affirmative of this enquiry, he conceived, involved many difficulties: it would extend to repealing the laws, as well as to reviving them, without going through those previous formalities required by the constitution.

Mr. Sherman, Mr. Gerry, and Mr. Lawrance, observed, that the bill could not be considered as lost; as the house had directed the clerk to inform the senate of what had taken place; the senate being adjourned, their opinion could not be known. The bill and the vote were still in possession of the house: nor could there be a doubt, that the law, if now completed by a concurrence in the amendment of the senate, would be as valid as any law which had been enacted.

It being doubted, whether the motion were in order, the speaker gave his opinion, that it was strictly so: and appealing to the house, they confirmed his determination.

Mr. Burke's motion, for reconsidering, being put—and the ayes and nays being called, there were—ayes 29—noes 25—majority for reconsidering 4.

On the question for receding from the disagreement to the amendment of the senate, the ayes and noes being called, were—ayes 28—noes 26. This motion being determined in the affirmative, saved the bill.

Saturday, Sept. 12.

A message was received from the senate by mr. Secretary Otis, with the bill for establishing the compensations of the members of the two houses and their respective officers, concurring in the amendment of the house to the amendment of the senate.

Monday, Sept. 14.

The house went into a committee of the whole on the judicial bill.

Mr. Smith (S. C.) proposed the following amendment to the 29th section, which respected juries, viz. That all juries, which shall be summoned to serve in the courts of the united states, shall be formed according to the laws of each state respectively. This amendment was adopted.

Mr. Burke moved to insert the following clause in the same section, viz. "In cases of felony and treason, the offender shall be indicted and tried in the county, town, or district, wherein the offence shall have been committed, as hath been usual in each state, before this law was enacted." This was carried in the affirmative. The committee this day finished the discussion of this bill, which was reported to the house.

Tuesday, Sept. 15.

The bill for establishing the permanent residence was read the second time; and referred to a committee of the whole, to be taken up on Thursday next.

Wednesday, Sept. 16.

The president of the united states laid before the house, by the hands of the secretary at war, a representation from the governor of the western territory, of the reciprocal hostilities between the Wabash Indians, and the white people of the river Ohio.

The house then proceeded in the amendments reported by the committee to the judicial bill, and having gone through the same, ordered it to be engrossed for a third reading to-morrow.

Thursday, Sept. 17.

Mr. Baldwin, from the committee who were appointed to confer with a committee of the senate, on the disagreeing votes of the two houses, respecting the salary of the vice-president, reported, that the committees had come to no agreement.

A motion was then made, that the house should recede from their disagreement to the amendment of the senate; which, after some debate, was negatived: and the house resolved to adhere to their disagreement.

Mr. Sherman, in the conversation on this motion, observed that he had a high esteem for the person of the present vice-president, as a man of abilities, integrity, and patriotism. His eminent services, during the whole course of the late contest, were a sufficient eulogium, and rendered any other unnecessary. He had, he said, in an uncommon degree, one virtue, which was rarely found, a faculty of uniting dignity with economy. He thought, therefore, that it was unnecessary, at present, to allow the vice-president so large a salary as six thousand dollars, especially, considering the present low state of our finances.

The judicial bill, with the amendments made by the house, was read the third time.

Mr. Gerry, mr. Burke, mr. Jackson, and mr. Stone objected, and argued at some length, against the enactment of the bill. They apprehended that it was a system calculated for oppression; and that it would have a mischievous operation.

Mr. Madison, in a few words, defended the bill; and said that though it was not, in all its parts, agreeable to his mind, it was as perfect as it could be made at that time, or until experience had discovered its positive defects. Had it been enacted in the form in which it came from the senate, he said, he should have been bound to vote against it. But the amendments, made by the house, had, he believed, removed the principal objections to it.

The question, on passing the bill, was then put: and the yeas and nays being called, were as follow—yeas 37—nays 16.

The committee, who were appointed to prepare a bill on the subject of the president's message to the house, of the 10th August, reported a bill to recognize the establishment of troops on the western frontier, which was read a first and second time, and ordered to be taken into consideration to-morrow.

The house then, according to the order of the day, went into a committee of the whole on the bill for fixing the permanent seat of government.

Mr. Boudinot in the chair.

Mr. Vining moved, that the first paragraph of the bill be struck out, in order to insert one to the following effect—"That a district of ten miles square, comprehending the borough of Wilmington, in the state of Delaware, to be located as thereafter directed, should be selected as the seat of government of the united states, until a more eligible place should be fixed on, for the permanent seat; and that measures should be taken to accommodate congress within that district, as soon as conveniently might be. Provided that no session should be accepted, till acts should be passed by the states of Delaware and Maryland, to open a water-communication between the bays of Chesapeake and Delaware."

This motion was negatived—ayes 23—noes 28.

Mr. Gale then moved to amend the first clause, by annexing the following proviso—That no district be accepted as aforesaid, until the president of the united states should be satisfied of the practicability of effecting a navigation from the seat of government to the mouth of the said river: and that this law should not be carried into effect, until the state of Pennsylvania and Maryland should pass acts (not including any expense to said states) providing for removing the obstructions in the same.

A division of this motion was called for, at the word "river:" and the question on the first part was negatived—ayes 25—noes 29.

The question on the second part was then put: and the committee was equally divided—ayes 27—noes 27. The chairman gave the casting vote in the affirmative.

The committee then rose and reported: and the house took up the report.

The amendment adopted by the committee, on the motion of mr. Gale, was agreed to—ayes 28—noes 26.

Mr. Gale then moved to insert, in the first clause of the bill, after the words "Susquehanna, in the state of Pennsylvania," the words "or Maryland."

On the question upon this motion, there was an equal division of the house: and the speaker gave the casting vote in the negative.

The further consideration of the bill was postponed. Adjourned.

Friday, Sept. 18.

The house went into a committee of the whole, on the bill for establishing the salaries of the judicial department.

Mr. Boudinot in the chair.

The bill was then read; and on a motion of mr. Goodhue to strike out 4500 dollars, the proposed salary of the chief justice, and to insert 3000, a lengthy debate ensued. The committee finally agreed on the following salaries, viz.

Chief justice, 3500 dollars per annum; judges of the supreme court, each 3000; judge of the district of Maine, 800; New Hampshire, 1000; Massachusetts, 1200; Connecticut, 1000; New York, 1500; New Jersey, 1000; Pennsylvania, 1600; Delaware, 800; Maryland, 1500; Virginia, 1800; Kentucke, 800; South Carolina, 1800; Georgia, 1600; attorney general, 1500. The committee then rose: and the house adjourned till to-morrow.

Saturday, Sept. 19.

The house took up the report of the committee of the whole, on the bill to establish the salaries of the judicial department. The salaries reported were severally confirmed, except the salary of the district judge of Georgia, which was reduced from 1600 to 1500; that of the district judge of Kentucky, increased from 800 to 1000; and that of the attorney general, reduced from 2000 to 1500.

Monday, September 21.

A message was received from the senate, informing that they had concurred in the bill for establishing the salaries of the judicial department, with amendments.

The amendments were, to raise the salary of the chief justice from 3500 to 4000 dollars—the salaries of the associate judges of the supreme court from 3000 to 3500—that of the judge of the district of Maine from 800 to 1000—and that of the attorney-general from 1500 to 2000. The house agreed to these amendments, except the last.

A resolution was received from the senate, that it be recommended to the several states, to pass laws, to make it the duty of the keepers of their several jails, to receive, and keep therein persons committed under the authority of the united states, until they be discharged by due course of law. The united states to pay 50 cent. a month for each person confined, and likewise to support all persons committed thereo, for offences against the united states.

A message was received from the senate, that they had receded from the amendment for raising the salary of the attorney-general.

On motion of Mr. Gerry, the house resolved, that the secretary of the treasury be directed to apply to the supreme executives of the several states, for the state of their public debts, and the funds appropriated for the discharge of the principal and interest of the same; and the amount of the loan-office and other securities in the state treasuries. Adjourned.

Tuesday, September 22.

The engrossed bill for establishing the seat of government for the united states was read the third time; and on the question, shall this bill pass? Mr. Carroll called for the ayes and noes, which were, ayes 31, noes 17.

The bill to recognize and adapt to the constitution of the united states, the establishment of the troops on the frontiers, by the ordinances of the late congress, was taken up in committee of the whole.

Mr. Jackson proposed a clause, to empower the president of the united states to establish posts, to raise troops, and call forth the militia of the states of Georgia and South Carolina, should the Creek Indians refuse to treat with the commissioners, or violate the conditions agreed to at the ensuing negotiation.

This motion, after a lengthy conversation, was agreed to, so far as it respects calling forth the militia, or sending part of the troops on the establishment to the state of Georgia, should the president think proper. Adjourned.

Wednesday, September 23.

The bill to recognize and adapt to the constitution of the united states, the troops raised by resolution of the late congress, was read a third time, and passed the house. Adjourned.

Thursday, September 24.

The house resolved itself into a committee, on the bill to appropriate money for defraying the expenses of government for the present year.

The committee having gone through the same, rose and reported, and the bill was laid on the table.

The house went into a committee on the bill sent from the senate, to regulate the process in the courts of the united states; and having considered the same, rose and reported amendments, which were accepted, and the bill ordered to be engrossed for a third reading. Adjourned.

agreeably to their resolution of the 21st Sept. he had prepared a report, respecting the finances, with a plan for the support of the public credit; and requested to know at what time the house would please to receive the same.

The time and manner of receiving this communication were made a subject of debate. It was contended by some members, that there was the greatest propriety in the secretary's delivering it in person, and giving a verbal explanation of the several parts: as it could not be supposed that the members could fully comprehend a system so various and complex, without its being accompanied with an explanation; that subjects of this kind were in their nature intricate; that the house would want information, and must wish to receive it from the best source.

A resolution to the following effect was at length adopted, viz. "That on Thursday next, this house will receive in writing the report of the secretary of the treasury department, agreeably to the order of the 21st September last."

Monday, January 11.

Messrs. Foster, Goodhue, Sherman, Lawrence, Schureman, Clymer, Seney, White, Smith and Baldwin, were appointed to bring in a bill to provide for the actual enumeration of the inhabitants of the united states.

Tuesday, January 12.

A message from the president of the united states, by the honourable general Knox, secretary at war, was received. This being accompanied by a number of confidential papers, the house ordered the doors of the gallery to be shut.

Wednesday, Jan. 13.

The house read the statement of the situation of the south western frontiers, and of the Indian department, as referred to in the president's message of yesterday. Whereupon, ordered that the same be referred to a committee.

Thursday Jan. 14.

The report of the secretary of the treasury was received and read, and agreed to be referred to a committee of the whole house this day fortnight.

Friday, January 15.

The following resolution was agreed to:

That so much of the speech of the president of the united states, as relates to a provision for the national defence, the promotion of manufactures, particularly for essential military supplies, provision for persons employed in the intercourse of the united states with other nations, the naturalization of foreigners, the establishment of a uniformity in the currency, weights, and measures, the advancement of the commerce, agriculture, and manufactures of the united states, the encouragement of useful inventions, the establishment of the post-offices and post-roads, and the promotion of science and literature, be referred to separate committees; which were then appointed.

A message was received from the senate, requesting the house to appoint a committee to confer with a committee of three, appointed by the senate, respecting the practice to be observed in taking up the unfinished business of the last session, "whether it should be now taken up as if this were only an adjourned meeting of the first session, or as if there were no adjournment." A committee was accordingly appointed.

Tuesday, January 19.

The bill providing for the actual enumeration of the inhabitants of the united states, was read a second time:

Voted, that this bill be taken into consideration on Friday next—and that one hundred copies be struck off for the use of the members.

Mr. Sedgwick, of the committee appointed to bring in a bill for making provision for persons employed in the intercourse between the united states and foreign countries, informed the house, that the committee had their doubts respecting the object of the house, in the resolution of appointing the committee, whether

the idea were to make provision for persons actually employed in the public service—or to extend the provision to appointments of such different grades, as, in the judgment of the president of the united states, might be necessary—the committee requested further instructions from the house.

It was observed that from the spirit of the resolution, upon which the subject was taken up, it was evident that it was understood the matter should come generally before the committee: but as this intricate business involved a great variety of questions, on which the house could not determine with so much precision as they could from the information, which might be received from the secretary of state, respecting the arrangements necessary to be made, previous to making any provision, it was moved that the committee should be discharged.

This motion was objected to, as it was necessary that provision should be made for those persons already employed: the president was vested, by the constitution, with power to make such appointments as he might think necessary—all that the house had to do, was to make such provision as might appear proper: the legislature might at any time check an excess in such appointments, by withholding supplies for their support. It was evident from the tenor of the president's speech, that he expected the legislature should go into a full consideration of the subject—and in the bill, make the necessary arrangements of the several officers which it might be proper to employ, and the provision proper for the several grades. The necessity of the respective appointments, must be determined by the president, with the advice of the senate.

The question for discharging the select committee, was put, and negatived.

It was then moved, that the committee should be instructed to make provision in the bill for the compensation of those persons employed, or who might be employed in the intercourse between the united states and foreign nations.

Mr. Partidge observed, that there was a resolve on the journals of the late congress, providing that no foreign minister, higher than a minister plenipotentiary, should be appointed. Whether that resolution were still in force, he would not pretend to determine; but he supposed that the house was not then prepared to determine upon establishing a diplomatic corps of ambassadors, ministers plenipotentiary, envoys, &c.

Mr. Boudinot advocated the motion for referring the whole business to the committee, as the house, in the discussion of their report, would be able to come to a more exact decision on the subject.

The motion was carried in the affirmative.

Thursday, January 21.

A message was received from the president of the united states, by the secretary at war, accompanied with a plan prepared by the said secretary, for the general arrangement of the militia of the united states, which was read and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Sedgwick, from the committee to whom it was referred to prepare and bring in a bill to make compensation for persons employed in the intercourse between the united states and foreign nations, reported one accordingly, which was read the first time.

Friday, January 22.

The secretary of the treasury, agreeably to notice given in his report on Thursday of last week, laid before the house this day a report respecting the post-office, received from the postmaster-general, which being read, was referred to a select committee.

Mr. Sherman, of the committee of conference on the part of the house, brought in a report, which is in substance as follows: "That the committee of the

house and senate have agreed that the unfinished business of the last session, which passed from one house to the other, shall be considered as if it had not been acted upon." This report was laid on the table.

Monday, January 25.

The house resolved itself into a committee of the whole, on the bill for the actual enumeration of the inhabitants of the united states; and after making some alterations and amendments therein, the committee rose, and the further consideration of the same was postponed till to-morrow.

Mr. Hartley, from the committee appointed for the purpose, presented to the house a bill for an uniform mode of naturalization, throughout the united states, which was read the first time.

A message was received from the senate by their secretary, with a resolution, That the business unfinished between the two houses at the late adjournment, ought to be regarded as if it had not been passed by either; and requesting the concurrence of the house to the same.

A motion was made, that the house do concur with the senate in the said resolution, which was agreed to.

Mr. Smith (S. C.) moved the following resolution:

Resolved, That it be established as a standing rule of the house, that every future adjournment of congress for more than days, shall be considered as a termination of the sessions; and that at the next meeting, the business, depending at the time of such adjournment, shall not be taken up, unless it be commenced de novo.

The consideration of this resolution was postponed.

Tuesday, January 26.

In committee of the whole, on the bill to provide the means of intercourse between the united states and foreign nations. This bill empowers the president to draw out of the treasury of the united states, a sum not exceeding forty thousand dollars, for the support of such persons, as he may find necessary and proper to employ in the intercourse between the united states and foreign nations; with a proviso, that a minister plenipotentiary shall not receive more than nine thousand dollars per annum, as a compensation for all his services and expenses; a resident, five thousand; a charge des affaires, three thousand; a secretary, fourteen hundred.

Mr. Livermore moved that the word "annually," should be inserted after 40,000 dollars, which was agreed to.

Mr. Lee said that in his opinion the president's power to draw this money from the treasury, should be, by and with the advice and consent of the senate; and moved that the clause be amended so as to read agreeably to his idea.

This motion was opposed. It was said, it would interfere with and lessen the responsibility of the president; would tend to excite jealousies and parties in the senate; and might in its consequences counteract the essential interests of the united states. The president was restricted to a certain sum, which he could not exceed—and for the expenditure of which he must account—the appointments must be made by and with the advice and consent of the senate: and he might consult them in the apportionment of the salaries: but it must be left generally discretionary with him, how much it will be necessary to allow in particular cases: for if his judgment were to be controlled in this point, or he were confined and limited, it was evident that embarrassments very probably would ensue—especially as advances of money might be necessary in the recess of the senate.

In support of the motion, it was observed, that as no appointments could be made but by and with the advice of the senate—and no treaties could be formed without their concurrence, it appeared incongruous, that they should have no voice in determining the salaries of persons, whom they might appoint to make treaties,

or to carry on the intercourse between the united states and foreign nations. This would give an undue influence to the president in forming treaties—and supercede the interference of the senate in a business, to which they were equally competent with the president, contrary to the constitution.

Mr. Lee varied his motion, so as to affect the allowances to be made to foreign ministers; that they should be apportioned by the president, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, not to exceed the sum specified in the bill.

The debate was continued, after the variation of the motion: and the arguments, drawn from the concurrent power of the senate in all the appointments, treaties, and connexions respecting foreign nations, it was contended, equally affected the business in every possible shape and modification of it.

On the other hand, it was contended that the intercourse with foreign nations was a trust specially committed to the president of the united states; and after the legislature had made the necessary provision to enable him to discharge that trust, the manner how it should be executed, must rest with him. His responsibility for the execution of it to the best of his judgment, was a sufficient security—nor could the senate be associated with him in the discharge of this trust, with any more propriety than a committee of the house—the amendment as then stated would induce an improper interference, in points which must depend on contingencies, and these enter into the very nature of the trust.

On motion of mr. Livermore, the committee rose; reported progress; and asked leave to sit again.

Thursday, January 28.

Mr. Burke presented to the house a motion, that it be an instruction to the committee appointed to bring in a bill for encouraging manufactures, to add a clause respecting the securing to inventors, the right to their discoveries. This was agreed to.

Friday, January 29.

A message from the senate was received by their secretary, informing the house that the senate had passed a bill for the punishment of certain crimes against the united states—in which they requested the concurrence of the house. He then delivered the bill, and withdrew.

Mr. Sedgwick, after some introductory observations relative to the power of congress to regulate the exports of the united states, proposed the following resolution, viz.

That a committee be appointed to bring in a bill or bills to encourage the exports of the united states, and to guard against frauds in the same. Laid on the table.

Monday, February 1.

A message was received by mr. Lear, from the president of the united states, communicating a letter from his excellency Alexander Martin, governor of North Carolina, which enclosed an act of their legislature, ceding certain lands therein mentioned, on condition of being exempt from the expenses attending the late war, and provided that no act of congress shall be made to emancipate slaves in that state.

Tuesday, February 2.

Mr. Foster, from the committee to whom was recommitted the bill for the actual enumeration of the inhabitants of the united states, brought in said bill with amendments.

The bill, after going through several amendments, was ordered to be engrossed, and read the third time to-morrow.

Wednesday, February 3.

The house went into a committee of the whole on the bill to establish an uniform system of naturalization, and after a considerable debate about the requisite length of residence of an alien before he should be admitted to the privileges of citizen-

ship, the committee rose without coming to any determination, and the house adjourned.

Thursday, February 4.

The bill, for establishing an uniform system of naturalization, was again taken into consideration, by the committee of the whole.

A motion, made yesterday, for striking out from the bill "and shall have resided within the united states for one whole year" was resumed.

Mr Stone was in favour of extending the previous time of residence to four or seven years.

Mr. Jackson suggested the propriety of a term of probation, and a recommendation from the grand jury of the district, before foreigners should be admitted to the rights of citizenship. He wished that such guards might be provided, as would prevent the privilege from being bestowed on unworthy objects: for he hoped the time was nigh at hand, when it would be deemed as honourable to be a citizen of the united states, as it formerly was to be a citizen of Rome, when she was mistress of the world.

Mr. Lawrence observed, that as the united states contained vast tracts of uncultivated territory, it was their interest to have it settled with industrious citizens: and as such citizens were to be obtained by emigration, it became the duty of government to hold out every encouragement; they therefore ought not to make their terms of admission difficult.

Mr. Huntington said that the terms of the bill were indefinite—that it required the emigrant to take an oath, that he intended to reside in the united states, but how long and for what purpose were not ascertained in the law. He might determine to reside here till he accomplished a particular object, and might go into the most obscure part of the union to take his oath. The community would not be benefited by such emigrants, and therefore ought not to admit them to the privileges of citizens.

The mode of naturalization, said he, pointed out by this bill, is much too easy. In the state, to which I belong, no person can be naturalized, but by an act of the legislature: the same is the case in several of the other states, and in England, and I never knew a good inhabitant, who wished to be admitted to the rights of citizenship, that did not find this mode sufficiently easy.

The term that the emigrant should reside, ought to be long enough to give an opportunity to acquire a knowledge of the principles of the government, and of those who are most proper to administer it: otherwise he cannot exercise his privilege to the advantage of himself or the community. He wished therefore that the clause might be amended in such a way, as to leave the naturalization of foreigners to the state legislatures.

Mr. Clymer, after some introductory observations, said, that in his opinion, foreigners should be gradually admitted to the rights of citizens; that a residence, for a certain time, should entitle them to hold property, &c. but the higher rights of citizens, such as electing and being elected to office, should require a longer period. Permitting these rights to be assumed and exercised at a shorter period, would not operate as an inducement to persons to emigrate; as the great object in emigration is generally to procure a more comfortable subsistence, or to better the circumstances of the individuals: and the exercise of particular privileges is but a secondary consideration.

Mr. Page and Mr. Lee were in favour of an easy mode of admitting foreigners; and wished that the period, previous to their enjoying and exercising the rights of citizens, should be short; as this would tend greatly to encouraging emigrations into the united states.

Mr. Seney observed, that the united states have a right to impose the qualifications on the electors of officers for the general government—but have no right to

interfere in those of the electors of officers in the state governments : and while I am in favour, said he, of holding out proper encouragement to foreigners, and would very early admit them to hold property, yet I think it would be of dangerous tendency, to admit strangers suddenly to all the rights of citizens. He was opposed to adopting any mode that should interfere with the laws of the particular states, and in favour of referring the bill to a select committee.

Mr. Jackson was in favour of a recommitment. He said that there were so many propositions before the committee, that he should not know how to vote : he observed, that the ideas of some gentlemen, with respect to naturalization, would subject the united states to the inconveniences and impositions which took place in some of the individual states ; where it had been frequently the case, that in a warmly-contested election, the wharves and shipping had been stripped of sailors, who were carried in bodies to vote.

Mr. Burke spoke largely on the subject, reprobated a system that would produce corruption and a violation of the rights of the citizens in elections, and moved for the recommitment.

Mr. Clymer said he was in favour of the motion ; but thought it would be best to pass to the next clause first, which involved the case of that particular class of persons, denominated refugees.

Mr. Tucker proposed a clause, by which foreigners should be admitted to the rights of citizens, so far as to possess property, immediately after their arrival in the country, by taking an oath of fidelity to the united states, and giving a satisfactory evidence of their intention to reside therein—and that three years residence should be requisite to entitle them to the rights of election.

Mr. Livermore said, that if he could get through the labyrinth of order, he would move that the committee should rise, and that the bill should be recommitment to a select committee—he observed, that in the committee of the whole, the business was involved and perplexed, by motion after motion, in such a manner, that it put him in mind of a certain book which says, that in a certain assembly, one hath a psalm, a second hath a doctrine, and another hath a prophecy, &c. till the whole is in confusion.

He pointed out the difficulties that would result from not making residence a qualification of citizenship : upon the plan of some gentlemen, who would admit foreigners upon taking an oath, it is not the united states who make citizens of foreigners—they make themselves citizens.

Ordered, that the bill be recommitment to a select committee, consisting of a member from every state.

The house resumed the consideration of the bill for the actual enumeration of the inhabitants of the united state. It was moved to recommit the bill.

Mr. Sedgwick, adverting to the present rate of representation of the several states in congress, in which there was, he said, the most palpable inequality—observed, that it was absolutely necessary that such an enumeration, as would be competent to equalize the representation, should be made, previous to the next election. This was expected by the people on the idea of right and justice—and the constitution had wisely provided for it—nor would the people, who were not fully represented, be easy without enjoying that weight and influence in the national legislature to which they were entitled—mr. Sedgwick then read a proposition, which he meant to offer as a clause to be incorporated in the bill, when it should be recommitment.

Mr. Jackson made some animadversions on this proposition, and reprobated its principles generally, more especially as it would not allow sufficient time to complete the enumeration, and particularly as it proposed that the president of the united states should determine the number of inhabitants, from the returns he should receive from the marshals, and the ratio of representation on those returns.

Mr. Smith (S. C.) objected to the proposition, as not allowing sufficient time. He then went over the several periods, which must probably elapse, before the business of enumeration could be completed—from which it appeared that the object of the motion could not be effected so as to make any alteration in the next election proper.

Mr. White made some observations on the proposition, and pointed out the difficulties, which would attend the measure, as some of the states had passed laws regulating the time of elections; and presumed that the legislature would never delegate to any man, or men, the power of determining the ratio of representation.

Mr. Lawrence was in favour of recommitting the bill: he observed, that it appeared to him, that the rule or ratio of representation ought to be determined previous to ascertaining the number of inhabitants—as in all probability, that rule would be agreed to with less prejudice and partiality, while the contingencies which might affect it, were unknown.

Mr. Jackson observed, that this suggestion was an artifice, covered, however, with too thin a veil not to be seen through—it was too unsubstantial to support itself—the constitution had settled the point already. He then recited those clauses which particularly point out the number of representatives which each state was entitled to elect, previous to any actual enumeration—the constitution plainly directed an enumeration, therefore, before the ratio of a future representation should be settled.

Mr. Smith (S. C.) observed, that the ratio of representation was already proposed by congress, in the amendments sent out to the legislatures: he hoped that nothing would be done to impede the progress and ratification of those amendments.

Mr. Sedgwick said, that when he came forward with the proposition, he supposed it founded in such fair and equal principles, that he did not anticipate the smallest objection would have been made by any gentleman whatever.

It was a simple proposition, that justice should be done—that a more equal representation should be attempted, and effected—if inequalities existed—and that they did, was very evident—could any gentlemen object to a remedy?

Some other observations were made, and then the motion for recommitting the bill to a committee of the whole house, was put, and carried in the affirmative.

Friday, February 5.

In committee of the whole on the bill for the remission, or mitigation of fines, forfeitures and penalties, in certain cases. The bill was read and discussed in paragraphs. A motion was made that the following words, viz. “Offering to confess judgment for the same,” previous to relief being granted, should be struck out.

Mr. Ames said he was indifferent whether the words were retained or struck out. He wished, however, that the principles of the bill should be well understood: he conceived that a strict adherence to rule, even though it should sometimes be attended with a degree of rigour, was a less evil than a lax mode of executing the laws; that it might be considered as a great grievance, to have frequent recourse to qualified interpretations of the laws: with regard to the revenue laws, it must strike every person, that a certainty in the rule should be maintained in all possible cases: still fines, penalties, and forfeitures might be incurred in such a way as might entitle to relief. The object of the bill was to grant such relief with the least risque to the revenue, and in such way as that the person might receive it as soon as possible.

Mr. Sedgwick was in favour of the motion. He pointed out the injustice of requiring a confession previous to granting relief, as it would violate the feelings of a person not conscious of guilt, besides subjecting him inevitably to the loss of one half of his property.

Mr. Burke wished the whole clause should be erased; he said it was like making a man confess murder, and then hanging him for his confession.

Mr. Wadsworth stated a case to shew that this law would make the situation of persons designed to be relieved by it, much worse than it was—and would eventually destroy the coasting trade.

Mr. Lawrence stated the process by the law as it now stands, by which persons, absolutely violating the laws unintentionally or through ignorance, are precluded from all relief. He therefore insisted that it was necessary that this confession of judgment should accompany the application for relief, in cases designed to be provided for by the bill: without this confession, the application appears to be absurd: he was therefore opposed to the motion for striking out the words.

Mr. Smith was in favour of striking out the words.

Mr. Sturges observed, that he did not conceive the relief proposed to be administered, ought to be considered in the light of mercy, but of justice. The mode of relief pointed out by this bill, let the circumstances be as they would, left the sufferer in a situation that no person ought to be liable to, who was not guilty of intentional and wilful violation of the laws: for at any rate he was to lose one half of his property. He thought the case, stated by the gentleman from South Carolina very pertinent to the present.

Mr. Fitzsimons said, he hoped if those words were struck out, that the whole clause would be erased, and that there would be a more equitable mode pointed out. He adverted to the practice in England, where the application for relief was made to the commissioners after trial.

Mr. Burke said that the bill, so far from affording the relief proposed, would prove a snare to the citizen; for a confession of guilt would inevitably involve the loss of one half of his property, whether he merited punishment or not.

The motion for striking out the words being put, was carried in the affirmative.

Mr. Fitzsimons then moved that the committee should rise—the committee rose, and the house agreed to the amendment.

Monday, February 8.

Pursuant to the order of the day, the report of the secretary of the treasury was taken up, and a part of it read over by the clerk.

Mr. Fitzsimons read sundry resolutions respecting the public finances, which were laid upon the table.

Tuesday, February 9.

In committee of the whole on the report of the secretary of the treasury.

The first of mr. Fitzsimons's resolutions was agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That adequate provision ought to be made for fulfilling the engagements of the united states, in respect to their foreign debt.

The second resolution was then read, as follows:

Resolved, That permanent funds ought to be appropriated for the payment of interest on, and the gradual discharge of, the domestic debt of the united states.

Mr. Scott moved to amend this resolution, by adding thereto, the words, "as soon as the same shall have been ascertained and liquidated."

This occasioned a long debate, after which the house adjourned, without coming to a decision.

Wednesday, February 10.

Mr. Scott's amendment of yesterday after having been the subject of a considerable debate, was negatived by a large majority.

Thursday, February 11.

A memorial from the annual meeting of friends at Philadelphia, respecting the slave trade, and praying the interposition of congress for the mitigation of the evils, and final abolition of that pernicious traffic, was presented by mr. Fitzsimons. Another memorial, on the same subject, from the meeting of friends in New York, was presented by mr. Lawrence. These were both read, and on motion that they should be read a second time, in order to their being committed—a warm debate

ensued, which ended in withdrawing the motion for a second reading. The order of the day was then taken up, and the house went into a committee of the whole, on the report of the secretary of the treasury.

Mr. Madison rose, and observed, that no person had expressed more strongly than he felt the importance and difficulty of the subject; that although he had endeavoured to view it under all its aspects, and analyze it into all its principles, yet he had kept his mind open for the lights to be expected from the gentlemen who had entered into the discussion; that he would gladly have remained still longer a hearer, not a speaker, upon the subject: but that the turn, which the arguments had taken, made it requisite for him then, if at all, to trouble the committee with his reflexions, and the opinion in which they had terminated.

In order to understand, fully, the debt due to domestic creditors, he thought it proper to look back to the circumstances under which it was contracted. He remarked, that it was the debt, not of the government, but of the nation; that the united states contracted the debts; and that the government was the agent or organ only; that for the purpose of this contract, the united states had then a national capacity; that although, by the revolution just effected, other national capacities had been added, and a material change had taken place in the government—yet that the national identity of the united states, relative to the debts, was not affected; nor was the present government any thing more than the agent or organ of its constituents; that the political, as well as moral obligation, therefore, to discharge the debt, had undergone no variation whatever; that this was the language of the constitution, which expressly declared, that all debts should have the same validity against the united states, under their new, as under their old form of government.

A question had been started, as to the just amount of the debt due from the united states. This, he thought, admitted of a ready answer: the united states owed the value which they had received, which they had acknowledged, and which they had promised. No logic, no magic, could dissolve this obligation.

The true question to be decided was, to whom the payment was really due. He divided those connected with the liquidated debt into four classes:

1. Original creditors who had never alienated their securities.
2. Original creditors who had alienated.
3. Original holders of alienated securities.
4. Intermediate holders, through whose hands securities had circulated.

The only principles, which should govern the decision on their respective pretensions, he stated to be, 1. public justice; 2. public faith; 3. public credit; 4. public opinion.

With respect to the first class, there could be no difficulty. Justice was in their favour; for they had advanced the value which they claimed: public faith was in their favour; for the written promise was in their hands: respect for public credit was in their favour; for if claims so sacred were violated, all confidence must be at an end: public opinion was in their favour; for every honest citizen could not but be their advocate.

With respect to the last class, the intermediate holders, their pretensions, if they had any, would lead into a labyrinth, for which it was impossible to find a clue. This would be the less complained of, because this class were perfectly free, both in becoming and ceasing to be creditors: and because, in general, they must have gained in their speculations.

The only rival pretensions then, said Mr. Madison, are those of the original creditors, who have assigned, and of the present holders of the assignments.

The former may appeal to justice, because the value of the money, the service, or the property, advanced by them, has never been really paid to them.

They may appeal to good faith, because the value stipulated and expected, was

not satisfied by the steps taken by the government. The certificates put in the hands of the creditors, on closing their settlements with the public, were of less real value than was acknowledged to be due; they may be considered as having been forced, in fact, on the receivers. They cannot, therefore, be fairly adjudged an extinguishment of the debt. They may appeal to the motives for establishing public credit, for which justice and public faith form the natural foundation. They may appeal to the precedent furnished by the compensation allowed to the army during the war, for the depreciation of bills which nominally discharged the debts. They may appeal to humanity; for the sufferings of the military part of the creditors can never be forgotten, while sympathy is an American virtue. To say nothing of the singular hardship, so often mentioned, of requiring those who have lost four-fifths, or seven-eighths of their due, to contribute the remainder in favour of those who have gained in the contrary proportion.

On the other hand, the holders by assignment have claims which I by no means wish to depreciate. They will say, that whatever pretensions others may have against the public, these cannot affect the validity of theirs; that, if they gain by the risk taken upon themselves, it is but the just reward of that risk; that, as they hold the public promise, they have an undeniable demand on the public faith; that the best foundation of public credit is, that adherence to literal engagements, on which it has been erected by the most flourishing nations; that if the new government swerve from so essential a principle, it will be regarded by all the world, as inheriting the infirmities of the old. Such being the interfering claims on the public, one of three things must be done: either pay both; reject wholly one or other; or make a composition between them on some principle of equity. To pay both, is perhaps beyond the public faculties: and as it would far exceed the value received by the public, will not be expected by the world, nor even by the creditors themselves. To reject wholly the claims of either, is equally inadmissible. Such a sacrifice of those who possess the written engagements, would be fatal to the proposed establishment of public credit. It would, moreover, punish those who have put their trust in the public promises and resources. To make the other class the sole victims, is an idea at which human nature recoils.

A composition is the only expedient that remains. Let it be a liberal one in favour of the present holders. Let them have the highest price which has prevailed in the market: and let the residue belong to the original sufferers. This will not do perfect justice: but it will do more real justice, and perform more of the public faith, than any other expedient proposed. The present holders, where they have purchased at the lowest price of the securities, will have a profit which cannot be complained of. Where they have purchased at a higher price, the profit will be considerable: and even the few, who have purchased at the highest price, cannot well be losers with a well-funded interest of six per cent. The original sufferers will not be fully indemnified: but they will receive from their country a tribute due to their merits; which, if it do not entirely heal their wounds, will assuage the pain of them.

Mr. Madison then observed he was aware, that many plausible objections would lie against what he suggested: some, which he foresaw, he would take some notice of. It would be said, that the plan was impracticable. Should this be demonstrated, he was ready to renounce it: but it did not appear to him in that light. He acknowledged that such a scale, as had often been a subject of conversation, was impracticable.

The discrimination, proposed by him, required nothing more than a knowledge of the present holders, which would be shewn by the certificates—and of the original holders, which the office documents would shew. It might be objected, that if the government went beyond the literal into the equitable claims against the united states, it ought to go back to every case where injustice had been done. To this

the answer was obvious. The case in question was not only different from others, in point of magnitude and of practicability, but forced itself on the attention of the committee, as necessarily involved in the business before them. It might be objected, that the public credit would suffer, especially abroad. He thought this danger would be effectually obviated by the honesty and disinterestedness of the government displayed in the measure—by a continuance of the punctual discharge of foreign interest—by the full provision to be made for the whole foreign debt, and the equal punctuality he hoped to see in the future payments on the domestic debts. He trusted also, that all future loans would be founded on a previous establishment of adequate funds : and that a situation like the present, would be thereby rendered impossible.

He could not but regard the present case as so extraordinary, in many respects, that the ordinary maxims were not strictly applicable to it. The fluctuations of stock in Europe, so often referred to, bore no comparison to those in the united states. The former never exceeded fifty, sixty, or seventy per cent. Could it be said, that because a government thought this evil insufficient to justify an interference, it would view in the same light a fluctuation amounting to seven or eight hundred per cent. ?

He was of opinion, that were Great Britain, Holland, or any other country, to fund its debts, precisely in the situation of the American debt, some equitable interference of the government would take place. The South Sea scheme, in which a change, amounting to one thousand per cent. happened in the value of stock, was well known to have produced an interference, and without any injury whatever to the subsequent credit of the nation. It was true that, in many respects, the case differed from that of the united states ; but, in other respects, there was a degree of similitude which warranted the conjecture. It might be objected, that such a provision as he proposed, would exceed the public ability. He did not think the public unable to discharge honourably all its engagements, or that it would be unwilling, if the appropriations were satisfactory. He regretted, as much as any member, the unavoidable weight and duration of the burdens to be imposed, having never been a profolyte to the doctrine, that public debts are public benefits. He considered them on the contrary, as evils, which ought to be removed as fast as honour and justice would permit, and should heartily join in the means necessary for that purpose. He concluded with declaring his opinion, that if any case were to happen among individuals, bearing an analogy to that of the public, a court of equity would interpose its redress ; or that if a tribunal existed on earth, by which nations could be compelled to do right, the united states would be compelled to do something not dissimilar in its principles to what he contended for. Adjourned.

Friday, February 12.

A memorial from the Pennsylvania society for the abolition of slavery, signed by Benjamin Franklin, president, was read.

Mr. Hartley moved that the memorials presented yesterday should be read a second time, which was agreed to by a large majority. He then moved that they should be referred to a select committee, which motion brought on a debate, which lasted until nearly three o'clock.

The question being called for, mr. Smith (S. C.) moved that it be determined by ayes and noes ; a sufficient number of members appearing in favour of this motion, it was determined, ayes 43, noes 11.

The memorials were referred to a committee of seven members.

On motion of mr. Lawrence, the petition of George Bowne, of the society for the abolition of slavery in New York, on the same subject, was read, and referred to the same committee.

Adjourned until Monday next.

Monday, Feb. 15.

The amendments proposed to the second resolution of mr. Fitzsimons, by mr. Madison, were the subject of this day's debate.

Mr. Sedgwick said it would be necessary to enquire into that gentleman's premises, and determine whether the consequences flowing from them, would be such as the gentleman had mentioned; for his part, he did not conceive they were well founded. He had a high respect for the opinions of the gentleman; but he could not conceive that his arguments were well founded; he expatiated largely on the nature of public contracts, and the evidences of property held in certificates, which were as liable to and capable of being transferred as any other property. He reprobated the idea of composition, and said there was no proper way of discharging a contract, but by the specific thing mentioned. If there had been a voluntary failure in government, and it had been guilty of a breach of contract, it should make compensation. The old government had done all that was in their power; they had made requisitions for aid from the different states, but had received little.— He then dwelt upon the injustice of withholding any part from the present holders, as it would be taking from one class to put into the pockets of another. An assumption, on such principles as had been laid down in favour of discrimination, would be attended by breach of law, and loosen the credit of government; especially as there was no pretence of inability. The insecurity of government, since the peace, had made a revolution necessary to render transferable property more secure.

The propositions of the gentleman were not only impracticable, but might be attended with pernicious consequences.

Mr. Sedgwick then entered into a narrative of the circumstances which would arise, if an attempt were made to trace the original holders: he said a new host of speculators would be raised, if such a thing should take place, and it would require whole ages to rectify the frauds which would be practised. He concluded by saying, that if the gentleman's reasoning were to be admitted, the destruction of public faith and public credit would follow. He therefore hoped that this government would follow the example of other nations, by establishing their credit, &c.

Mr. Laurence, mr. Smith (S. C.) and mr. Ames, each spoke largely against the amendments, until half past three o'clock; when the committee rose and reported progress, and the house adjourned until eleven o'clock to-morrow.

Tuesday, February 16.

The house went into a committee of the whole, on the report of the secretary of the treasury; mr. Madison's proposition under discussion.—The debate was continued till near three o'clock this day—mr. Jackson, mr. White, and mr. Moore, spoke in favour of the motion—mr. Benson, mr. Hartly, mr. Wadsworth, and mr. Goodhue, in opposition to it. The committee rose without coming to a vote—and the house adjourned.

Wednesday February 17.

The house resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the resolution respecting public credit, and after some time spent thereon, rose, reported progress, and asked leave to sit again.

Thursday, February 18.

The order of the day was called for: mr. Madison's motion for a discrimination being under consideration.

Mr. Page advocated the motion; and mr. Boudinot opposed it, in a speech of two hours. The committee then rose, and the house adjourned.

Friday, February 19.

In committee of the whole on the report of the secretary of the treasury; mr. Madison's motion for a discrimination under consideration—A number of speakers pro and con this day—which terminated without any decision.

Saturday, February 20.

A message from the senate was received by their secretary, with the bill providing for the enumeration of the inhabitants of the united states—returned with sundry amendments.

In committee of the whole on the report of the secretary of the treasury—mr. Madison's motion for discrimination under consideration—mr. Scot and mr. Seney spoke in favour of the proposition—mr. Livermore, mr. Gerry, mr. Bland, and mr. Burke against it—the discussion of the subject was continued till near the moment of adjournment—the committee rose without coming to a vote—

Monday February 22.

The order of the day being called for, the house went into a committee of the whole on the report of the secretary of the treasury.

The question being put upon mr. Madison's amendment to the second resolution, brought in by mr. Fitzsimons, it was negatived by a large majority.

The question on the second resolution was then put; several amendments were proposed, which were negatived, and the resolution carried in the affirmative, without amendment, viz.

“Resolved, that permanent funds ought to be appropriated for the payment of the interest on, and the gradual discharge of the domestic debt of the united states.”

The third resolution was then read, viz.

“Resolved, that the arrears of interest including indents issued in payment thereof, ought to be provided for on the same terms with the principal of the said debt.”

Mr. Gerry said that it appeared to him that the indents, in the several state treasuries, and which, through negligence, have not been paid into the public treasury, agreeably to the requisitions of the late congress, ought not to be included in the provision. He moved an amendment to the resolution to that purport: this occasioned considerable debate; but the motion was finally negatived.

The fourth resolution was then read, viz.

“Resolved, that the debts of the respective states ought, with the consent of the creditors, to be assumed and provided for by the united states.”

It was then moved that the committee rise, &c. which motion was adopted.

Tuesday, February 23.

The resolution for the assumption of the state debts under consideration.

The affirmative of this resolution was supported by messrs. Lawrence, Ames, Sherman, Clymer, Burke, Goodhue, Smith (S. C.) Fitzsimons, and Gerry.

And opposed by messrs. Livermore and Stone.

The discussion was continued until two o'clock, when the committee rose, so that no decision was had on the resolution.

Wednesday, February 24.

In committee of the whole on the report of the secretary of the treasury, the assumption of the state debts under consideration—

Mr. Madison proposed the following addition to the resolution, viz.

And at the same time, that effectual provision be made for the liquidation of, and crediting to the states, the whole of the expenses during the war, as the same have been, or may be stated for the purpose and that the best evidence of the same be taken, that the nature of the case will admit.

This proposition occasioned some conversation, but the committee rose without coming to a decision.

Thursday, February 25.

In committee of the whole, on the report of the secretary of the treasury; mr. Madison's amendment to the resolution for the assumption of the state debts under consideration.

Mr. Huntington said, that he did not object to the tenor of the proposition;

but thought the last clause, "that the best evidence shall be taken that the nature of the case will admit," would afford a dangerous latitude, as it might open the door to innumerable impositions, and would swell the public debt beyond all conception: if there were any peculiar cases, such as loss of vouchers by fire, devastations by war, and other casualties, provision might be made by congress for such cases. He hoped the words would be struck out.

Mr. White, after a speech of considerable length, moved that the following should be added to mr. Madison's proposition, viz. provided such assumption shall not exceed the sum, which any state may have advanced above its just proportion, as the same shall appear upon its liquidation.

This produced a debate, which lasted the remainder of the day—and an adjournment being called for, precluded any determination on the motion.

Friday, Feb. 26.

In committee of the whole, on the report of the secretary of the treasury, the assumption of the state debts under consideration:

Mr. Madison's and mr. White's amendments were read; the debate was resumed and continued by mr. Stone, mr. Burke, mr. Clymer, mr. Ames, mr. Partridge, mr. Fitzsimons, mr. Sherman, and mr. White; and the question being taken on mr. White's motion, it passed in the negative: 32 to 15.

Mr. Madison's motion being again read, after a short introduction, he moved, that the following proviso should be added to it, viz. provided, that in case of a final liquidation and adjustment of the whole of such expenditures, and provision for the payment of the balances due from debtor states to creditor states, shall not be made before the day of the debts assumed shall be liquidated and adjusted, among the states, according to the ratio of representation, and effectual provision shall be henceforth made, for paying the balances to the creditor states, at the expense of the debtor states.

The committee rose and reported progress.

Monday, March 1.

In committee of the whole, on the report of the secretary of the treasury.

The proposition for assuming the state debts and the amendments proposed thereto under consideration.

Mr. Madison withdrew the motion he had made on Friday: he then moved one to the following effect. That the amount of the debts actually paid by any state to its creditors since the day of shall be credited and paid to such state on the same terms, as shall be provided in case of individuals. Laid on the table.

Tuesday March 2.

A report from the secretary of the treasury, relative to the appropriation of money necessary for the present year, was read and referred to the committee appointed to bring in a bill for that purpose.

On motion of mr. White, it was resolved that the secretary of the treasury be requested to furnish his plan of the intended resources to pay the interest of the state debts.

The house went again into a committee on the report of the secretary of the treasury, relative to a provision for the support of the public credit.

Mr. Benson in the chair—A motion was made and carried, to amend mr. Madison's motion, by inserting after the words, "The amount of the debts actually paid,"—the following words, "as well principal as interest." This was agreed to.

The question was then taken on the motion as amended, and negatived—The committee then rose.

Wednesday, March 3.

Mr. Carrol introduced a resolution to the following effect—Resolved, That the committee of the whole house be discharged from the present consideration of that

part of the secretary's report, which relates to the assumption of the state debts; which was negatived by a considerable majority.

Thursday, March 4.

The bill, providing for the remission or mitigation of fines, forfeitures, and penalties, in certain cases, was read the second time, and referred to a committee of the whole house, to be taken up to-morrow.

Friday, March 5.

The house went into a committee on the bill to remit fines and forfeitures in certain cases; and having amended and agreed to the same it was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

The house then went into committee on the bill to promote the progress of the useful arts; and having amended and agreed to the bill, ordered it to be engrossed.

Monday March 8.

The house went into a committee, on the report of the secretary of the treasury, the resolve for assuming the state debts being under consideration.

Mr. White, and Mr. Stone, spoke strenuously against the adoption of the measure at the present time, and Mr. Gerry in favour thereof; but the usual hour of adjournment being arrived, on motion of Mr. Vining, the committee rose.

A resolve of the senate, for giving further instructions to the collectors of the revenue, was read a second time.

This resolution enjoins a compliance with the state inspection laws, previously to clearing out vessels, and was referred to a committee, consisting of Messrs. White, Tucker, and Contee, who are instructed to bring in a bill pursuant thereto.

Mr. Hartly moved that the report of the committee on the memorials of the people called quakers should be taken up for a second reading, which motion being adopted, the report was read.

Mr. Smith (S. C.) moved that the above be referred to a committee of the whole, to be taken up the first Monday in May next.

Mr. Boudinot proposed the first Monday in April.

Considerable debate here ensued.

It was finally voted to take up the report to-morrow week.

Tuesday, March 9.

In committee of the whole, on the report of the secretary of the treasury; the proposition for the assumption of the state debts under consideration.

After some debate on this proposition, it was adopted, 31 to 26, as in the following words:

Resolved, that the debts of the respective states ought, with the consent of the creditors, to be assumed and provided for by the united states; and at the same time, that effectual provision be made for the liquidation of, and crediting to the states, the whole of their expenses during the war, as the same have been, or may be stated for the purpose—and that the best evidence of the same be taken, that the nature of the case will admit.

The next proposition was also agreed to, viz.

Resolved, that it is advisable to endeavour to effect a new modification of the domestic debt, including that of the particular states, with the voluntary consent of the creditors, by a loan, upon terms mutually beneficial to them and to the united states.



A P P E N D I X I V.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Ghent, November 17.

FRIDAY morning, a little before 8 o'clock, about 2000 patriots, who came from the district of Waes, appeared before the Saxon and Bruges gates of the city; and after a short contest made themselves masters of the city, driving away the soldiers, who guarded the gates; and being joined by many of the patriots in Ghent, soon overpowered the main guard, who were either killed or dispersed. During this, the troops in the casernes of St. Peter, having divided into two columns, those on the right marched to Water Port bridge, having the river in front: the other took post at the Kettle gate, having the aforesaid river also in front; so that these columns could not be attacked, except in front, and at a great disadvantage; for they had the command of the ground every way. Notwithstanding their several advantages, the patriots attacked them; and, after an obstinate engagement with cannon and musquetry, for ten hours, the military were driven to their casernes, leaving many dead and wounded, the exact number not known. The same night, a corps of 200 men, with three cannon, marched out of the casernes, into the suburbs, among the burghers; the same on Saturday; and on Sunday, the patriots attacked the troops, and drove them off; but the military returned at night; and began to wreak their vengeance in the most cruel manner, by fire, robbery, and murder. On Monday, at day break, they returned to the same quarter; but were beaten off by the patriots: they returned again at night, with such fury and vengeance, that they did not even spare sucking babes, at the breasts of their mothers.

During these commotions, there was a continual firing from the castle, with red hot and other cannon balls, which destroyed all the houses and buildings in the vicinity; and the garrison continued to sally out every night, to plunder, and drag all they could lay hands on, prisoners into the castle.

As the garrison, in the casernes, continued to kill, to murder, and destroy by fire, the patriots, under the command of the heer Van Roslum, animated with a determination to put an end to these excesses, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, attacked the garrison in the casernes, with such undaunted spirit, that, about four o'clock in the afternoon, they surrendered prisoners of war, consisting of more than 600 men, with their commandant, a major: and they were marched bare-headed through the city, and imprisoned in different cloysters. On Monday night, the garrison of the castle, finding themselves in a distressed situation, abandoned the same; and fled by Dumport to Dendermond; so that at present, we are relieved from a band of desperate barbarians, who may truly be stiled, regimented assassins.

London, Oct. 26. The resolutions of the nobility and clergy of Thoulouse are as follow:

“That the majesty of the sovereign is violated by the attempts of audacious men, who wish to govern the state, and substitute a real aristocracy for one which is only ideal, which they would fain create; that religion and the laws are profaned; the rights and franchises of provinces violated; and that the lawful au-

thority of the monarch, and his liberty, were lost in the cabals of the national assembly."

Nov. 7. The batteries which the Russians had taken near Elgso, were attacked by the Swedes, on the 6th Oct. and carried with fixed bayonets. The assailants amounted only to 160: the batteries were defended by 300 Russians.

London, Nov. 9. The intention of the national assembly to enforce martial law in Paris, will, it is expected, and dreaded, cause no small ferment in the provinces. It is disliked even in the capital: and, should the army hesitate to enforce this bloody government, the consequences must be fatal to the assembly with whom it originated.

Of the Turks' loss in their defeat by prince Cobourg—these are the returns:

Killed, 4,545.—Prisoners, 9,879.

The emperor, by having conquered Belgrade, becomes master of the fine province of Servia, a part of which in 1718 was ceded to the christians: but in 1739 the Turks being victorious, it was given back to them by the treaty of Belgrade. The following is the substance of the martial law lately resolved on in France.

1. "That the municipal officers shall be obliged to declare, that the military force is necessary as soon as it appears to them to be so; responsible, however, for what may happen.

2. "That, on the first appearance of tumult, the officers aforesaid shall demand of the persons assembled, the cause of their assembling, and the abuses, of which they desire redress.

3. "That, after declaring martial law, the red flag shall be hoisted at the hotel de ville, and paraded through the streets.

4. "That all riotous assemblies, formed, notwithstanding the signal of the red flag, shall be dispersed by military force.

5. "That, on the signal of the red flag, the marechaussee, the militia, and military of all descriptions, shall be obliged to exert all their force to protect the public interest.

6. "That the citizens, riotously assembled, shall be twice summoned to disperse.

7. "That force shall be employed against those, who shall refuse obedience to the summonses.

8. "If the people shall disperse quietly, the ringleaders only shall be punished, with three years imprisonment, if unarmed; if armed, with death.

9. "The same penalties on those who offer violence.

10. "Degradation and three years imprisonment to all officers and soldiers, who shall refuse to act; and death, if found guilty of promoting the riot.

11. "The municipal officers shall draw up an account of all that happens on such an occasion.

12. "After peace is established, the abolition of martial law shall be proclaimed: the red flag shall be taken down, and a white flag hoisted in its place, which shall also be paraded through the streets for eight days successively."

The most important matters which claim the public attention in France, are the resolutions of the national assembly, declaring the revenues of the clergy to be the property of the nation, which were carried on Saturday last, after a very long sitting, and a most violent debate; and the report of the committee of the war department, on the new modelling of the army.

Nov. 17. Accounts were received at Vienna, from Jassy, in Moldavia, that the Austrians had again defeated the Turks, near Brailow, taken thirty pieces of cannon from them, and made themselves master of that town.

Vaslow was taken without a shot.

Marshal Loudohn intends, before he puts his army into winter-quarters, to penetrate further into Servia, in three different directions: one by Zworzyck and Usilai, another by Nyssai, and the third by Orsovia.

Widdin is to be bombarded: and eighteen battalions of foot, and all the light horse, have been actually sent on that service.

Extract of a letter from Paris, Nov. 4.

“ The news we receive from Brabant, announces another action near Ternout. Between two and three thousand patriots have perished. Count d’Anhalt Saxe, brother to the empress of Russia, is killed. The troops refused to fire a second time. The prince of Ligne, and the count de la March, both officers in the French service, are gone to join the patriots. M. de Trauttmansdorff, the burner of villages, has placed fifty guards at the dowager of Amberg’s hotel, and as many at that of Malines, and at the capuchins’ convent.”



AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE.

Stockbridge, Dec. 29. The happy effects which the new constitution has already produced, upon the public credit of the united states, must be highly pleasing to every son and daughter of America. Not more than twelve months since, all public promises were reckoned on a par with depreciating paper currency; and the credit of the American congress had become proverbial of national infamy throughout all countries. But now, how changed the scene! Even the subjects of the British nation, who, a short time since, regarded our public faith no more than they would the promises of a worthless villain, are become anxious to vest their property in the American funds.

New-York, Dec. 23. By a letter, received by a gentleman in this city, from his correspondent in London, it appears, “ that the American funds are at 50 per cent. on the exchange, and that there are many buyers.”

Jan. 15. Yesterday, being the day appointed for reading the report of the secretary of the treasury, the galleries were unusually crowded.

After a lengthy, but necessary, introduction, the secretary observes, that whilst the public debt is unfunded, money will be scarce in the united states: he therefore recommends funding it. The decrease in the value of lands towards the northward, and the still greater decrease as we go southerly, are mentioned—and the rapid rise in the price of public securities, since the establishment of the present government. To pay the foreign debt at its original amount, is the idea of those who wish to support the credit of the union: but there is less unanimity in providing for the discharge of the domestic debt: and many are of opinion, that there should be a discrimination between the original holders of certificates, and purchasers. It would be a breach of contract to discriminate; for the purchasers or present holders stand in the place of the original possessors: the buyer, therefore, has a just right to principal and interest; for he took upon him a hazard; neither does it follow, that all original holders sold out through necessity, as the contrary is proved. It would be the height of impolicy to discriminate, so as to injure the buyers. It would have a fatal influence on the credit of the united states, to injure the lenders to government. The money, that will come into America from abroad, for the purchase of certificates, will be laid out in the end for the improvement of land, and the ultimate benefit of the people.

The report, in the next place, states the public debt with interest*, as well foreign as domestic; and then enumerates the amount of what revenue may be collected, from the impost and tonnage, which is about 2,169,000 dollars.

NOTE.

* The foreign debt is about 11,710,000 dollars, domestic debt about 27,383,900; arrears of interest 13,036,168; which, together with the amount of the debts of the different states, if assumed by the united states, will make the total about seventy millions of dollars; the annual interest whereof will be 4,587,000 dollars—to be provided for by the new duties on spirits, wine, tea, coffee, &c.

The next division of the report begins by recommending that the present law of the united states, respecting impost and tonnage, be repealed the first day of May next; from which time, a new law to take place, the form whereof is annexed to the report.

The report next goes on to recommend an inland excise; and states the means of collecting it, with strict provision for securing the citizens from hardship, and every species of damage, that could be expected, to arise from any improper conduct in the officers, who may be appointed to collect the same. This inland excise, valued at 1,700,000 dollars together with the amount of tonnage and impost, before mentioned, complete the sum required "for providing for the support of public credit."

A new loan of twelve millions of dollars is amongst the articles enumerated, for the discharge of which a plan is proposed; together with the interest thereon, about 600,000 dollars.

The revenue arising from the post-office, he recommends to be appropriated in a sinking fund, under the care of commissioners,

To effect a reduction of the interest from five to a lower per cent. per annum, on the foreign debt, after 1790.

To purchase in public securities, when at an under value, may be a part of the business of the commissioners of the sinking fund.

To assume the debts of the different states by the united states, is another subject of consequence.

Philadelphia, Jan. 9. A letter from Charleston, dated Dec. 24, says, "Very large quantities of specie dollars are every day pouring into this place, yet such is the effect of the paper medium now in circulation, that the hard money is nothing but an article of commerce. There never was known so fine a crop of rice both in quantity and quality, as there is this year. Indigo is high, being from two to five shillings per lb. by the quantity."

The weather has been so remarkably mild at New-York, that there has been scarcely any appearance of frost in the earth this winter. Several persons in the suburbs of that city, were, on the 5th instant, employed in ploughing their grounds.

MARRIAGES.

NEW YORK. *In the capital.* Hon. Isaac Coles to miss Catharine Thomson. Mr. Joseph Hardie to mrs. Mary Deane.—*At Albany.* Mr. C. I. Wynkoop, to miss Polly Forsey.

PENNSYLVANIA. *In Philadelphia.* John Todd, esq. to miss Dolly Paine. Dr. Howell to miss Lydia Tucknesh.—*At Magnolio-grove.* John Lardner, esq. to miss Salter.

DELAWARE. Dr. John Brinkle to miss Betsey Gordon.

DEATHS.

CONNECTICUT. *At East Hartford.* William Pitkin, esq.

MASSACHSETTS. *In Boston.* Mr. John Nourse.

NEW YORK. *In the capital.* Mr. John Kenney.

PENNSYLVANIA. *In Philadelphia.* Mrs. Lydia Darragh.—Miss Henderson.—Mrs. Rees. *In Carlisle.* Colonel Robert Magaw.

DELAWARE. *In Kent county.* Colonel John Parke.

MARYLAND. *In Kent county.* Edward Worrell, esq. *In Baltimore.* William Spear, esq.

NORTH CAROLINA. Hon. Richard Caswell, esq.

*** Several pieces, intended for this number, are unavoidably deferred. Acknowledgments to correspondents shall be given in our next.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

London, November 9. Letters from Vienna, dated October 22, inform us, that, at the departure of the post, it was asserted, that Orsova was taken; and that the grand vizir, at the head of 30,000 men, was again defeated, and compelled to pass the Danube.

The imperial forces in Brabant, under general Dalton, have hung up every person they have found in arms. At Louvaine, several of the insurgents have been executed on a temporary gallows.

The emperor has deprived the archbishop of Malines of all his honours, and has ordered him to return all the insignia of his different orders into the hands of the governor of Brussels.

Wherever the patriots of Brabant have been victorious, they have sworn the inhabitants to be faithful to the cause of the revolution.



AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE.

Nassau, (New Providence,) Dec. 23. Accounts from Grenada announce a general alarm among all ranks of people in that island and its dependencies, on account of the king of Spain's proclamation, published in Trinidad, respecting runaway negroes, to whom offers of protection and security are openly made. In consequence of which the legislature have passed an act, compelling the owners of all canoes, boats, or pettiaugers, of fourteen feet keel and upwards, to give security in the secretary's office, and to take out a licence for navigating the same. They have also empowered the governor to fit out two armed vessels, for the purpose of guarding the coasts, and searching all suspicious vessels. The preamble to the act in question, reciting the necessity of the measures adopted, contains a very severe reflexion upon the Spanish monarch.

Mention is also made of a conspiracy among the slaves in Demarara being fortunately discovered upon the eve of its accomplishment, and that several of the wretches concerned in it, were to be executed in a short time.

Portsmouth, (N. H.) January 12. It must give pleasure to the public—it must cheer the hearts of the oppressed, in all places, to be informed, that, as a romish missionary has arrived, and is exercising his office, in Boston, it is the determination of that wise, politic, and prudent town, to conduct towards him as becomes advocates for religious liberty, and friends to the equal and just rights of mankind: and that he is to be protected, in common with all others, by government; and himself and his communion spared, from that twin brother to the inquisition—from that vulgar refuge of bad men, in a bad cause, the deceitful and persecuting tongue.

Jan. 27. The general court of this state, after maturely considering the proposed amendments to the united states' constitution, has acceded to them all, except the second article, which it has rejected in gross.

Boston, January 23. We hear, the committee, appointed to investigate, whether persons holding offices under the government of the united states could retain their seats in the legislature, have reported, that persons, holding offices under the federal government, are not eligible to a seat in the state legislature.

The hon. majors-general Lincoln and Warner have resigned their commissions.

With satisfaction we announce to the public, that great numbers of the members of the general court, appear, the present session, in the manufactures of our own country. The fabric of the cloth is equal to any imported, and for strength of texture, superior—the fashionable colour is bottle-green—the trimmings are plain, and such as become true republicans.

In the house of representatives of this state on the 22d. inst. the following

order was agreed to, That mr. Avery and mr. Breck, with such as the honourable senate may join, be a committee to take into consideration and make inquiry what encroachments the government of New Brunswick has made on the territories of this commonwealth on the eastern boundary, and make report what measures are necessary respecting the same.

Feb. 1. The question, respecting the propriety of federal officers of certain description holding their seats in the legislature, has subsided, by the resignation of mr. Gore being unanimously accepted—and by mr. Hill, from the eastward, having declined to take his seat in that honourable assembly. These circumstances, joined to mr. Peckman, of Newbury Port, having conceded in his letter the actual incompatibility of his continuing his seat, after being appointed an officer in the customs—and mr. Lincoln, of Hingham, having thought proper to plead official engagements, as his reason for not serving any longer in the general court, have brought this question to a point, as far as precedent can operate. The late almost unanimous opinion of the house of representatives, upon this subject, in which gentlemen of all parties have concurred, must evince the utter impropriety, and even indelicacy, in future, of any federal officer ever attempting to sit in the legislature after such a decision. It does seem absurd, not to say indecent, that officers, excluded by the constitution of that government, by which they are appointed, and to which they are amenable, from a seat in its legislature, should yet presume to bring into view a question of this nature, in the government of this commonwealth—when by the “words” of our most excellent constitution, “no attorney-general, no officer of the revenue, no judge of the supreme judicial court, &c. shall have a seat in the legislature.” It is not only, therefore, the “spirit,” but the language of this instrument, by which we are still bound.

A vessel which put into Newport, last Thursday, from Martinico, brought accounts of great disturbances there—the people having risen and taken possession of the capital.

Feb. 4. The amendments to the federal constitution, recommended by the legislature of the united states, were adopted, except the first and second articles, by the senate of this commonwealth on Friday last.

Tuesday, the above amendments were taken into consideration in the house of representatives; and after mature discussion, were adopted, except the first, 2d, and 12th.

The senate afterwards concurred with the house in rejecting the 12th article.

Mr. Thatcher, mr. Austin, mr. Fowler, of the senate—mr. Hill, mr. Goodman, mr. Sewall, and mr. Bacon, of the house, are appointed a joint committee, to take into consideration what further amendments to the federal constitution are necessary to be proposed to congress, and report.

Salem, January 12. A correspondent says, there is an evident preference given by people in general, to such home manufactures, as have any considerable degree of merit. The wear of the Beverly corduroys is already become very common: and the sale of them, in the different parts of the state, has been much more considerable, than could have been expected, in this infant stage of the manufacture, when it cannot be supposed to have attained to that degree of perfection, which it will derive from longer experience. Our country brethren, it is said, are determined to make use of this manufacture in preference to European, from the consideration that the increase of manufactures among us, will increase the demand for, and enhance the value of, the produce of their lands. The same principle of self-interest will undoubtedly induce our mechanics and labourers to do the same; as every branch of manufactures requires the aid of many other branches. It is like the hand raising food to the mouth, from which it afterwards receives strength and vigor.

Providence, January 23. A bill, presented by mr. Bourne, recommending

the appointment of a convention, on Friday passed the lower house of assembly of this state, by a majority of five : the consideration thereof was referred by the upper house to next day.

On Saturday evening, after a lengthy debate, the bill was non-concurred in the upper house, by a majority of one : four members voting for the bill, and five against it.

While this bill was pending in the upper house, they passed, and sent down for concurrence, a bill for ordering town meetings to be called, to instruct the deputies at next session, whether a convention should be recommended or not. This was non-concurred in the lower house, by a majority of 14 : and both houses adjourned to the next morning.

At the meeting of the lower house, a bill was presented by mr. Marchant, a member for Newport, nearly similar to that passed on Friday, with some alterations, as to the time of the meeting of the convention, &c. which passed by a majority of 21 : 32 voting for the bill, and 11 against it.

Just as this business was completed in the lower house, a bill was passed in the upper house, and sent down for concurrence, nearly similar to that sent down on Saturday, with the addition of a preamble, &c. This was negatived in the lower house, by nearly the same majority as that for passing the last bill.

About 12 o'clock, the upper house took the question on a concurrence with the last bill sent from the lower house ; when there appeared four for a concurrence, and four against it—this left it with his excellency the governor to decide ; who, after stating, in a speech of some length, the extreme distress we were reduced to, by being disconnected from the other states, and the probable accumulation of such distress by a further opposition to an adoption of the federal constitution, gave his vote for a concurrence.

Hartford, January 7. Since the first of September 1788, ten thousand two hundred and seventy-eight yards of woollen cloth have been made at the woollen manufactory in this city. It is with pleasure we add, that this manufactory is in a flourishing state—four thousand weight of wool has just come to hand from Spain, which, with what was before on hand, makes a large stock—a number of good workmen are employed : and broad and narrow cloths of various colours, superfine, middling, and low priced, are sold on as reasonable terms, as they can be imported.

New York, Feb. 3. The supreme court of the united states, met yesterday at 1 o'clock, pursuant to adjournment. By the arrival of the hon. John Blair, of Virginia, a sufficient number of the judges appeared to proceed to business. Mr. McKesson, the clerk, then read the commissions of the hon. John Jay, esq. chief justice of the united states ; the hon. William Cushing, James Wilson, and John Blair, esquires, associate justices ; and also the commission of the hon. Edmund Randolph, esq. attorney-general of the united states. After which the court adjourned till this day, one o'clock.

The district court for the district of New York, was opened yesterday by the hon. James Duane, judge of the said court.

The following is a copy of the report made by the committee, to whom was referred the petition of the quakers, on the subject of prohibiting all persons from fitting out vessels in this state for the slave trade.

“ That although they agree in sentiment with the petitioners respecting the slave trade, yet as the right of regulation is vested exclusively in the congress of the united states, they are of opinion that any interference of the legislature will be improper.”

Charleston, (S. C.) Jan. 11. On the 24th of December last, the physicians of this city formed themselves into a society for promoting medical knowledge, by the name of the medical society of South Carolina : and the aftermentioned gen-

tlemen were elected into the following offices, viz. Peter Fayffoux, M. D. president. Alexander Baron, M. D. vice-president. Tucker Harris, M. D. secretary. David Ramsay, M. D. treasurer.

Petersburg, Feb. 4. Indian corn is now as high as 15s. per barrel—and we are told that agents are employed in different parts of the state, to purchase all they can get, that lies convenient to navigation—we may therefore expect that it will still be higher.

In October last, the weather was here remarkably cold, and many of the farmers lost large quantities of tobacco, corn, and fodder, by several severe frosts; since which we have not had a frost or snow to last more than twelve hours—but generally disagreeable wet weather.

Richmond, January 27. By way of Charleston, we learn, that on the 16th ult. the general assembly of Georgia had, by a very great majority, passed into a law, an act, granting between fifteen and sixteen millions of acres of their unlocated western territory, lying along the Mississippi, Yafous, Tomhigbee, and Tennessee rivers, to three companies of gentlemen; the one styling itself the Virginia company, consisting of mr. Watkins, gov. Henry, mr. Rofs, mr. Venebles, and others; another called the Carolina company, consisting of col. Moultrie, major Washington, col. Huger, major Snipes, and others; and the third, called the Tennessee company, consisting of mr. Cox and others. These three grants are said to contain the best lands, and the most lucrative situations for every species of trade, in the western territory of the union.

The new king of Spain was lately proclaimed at Augustine, East Florida, with the usual formalities of that nation. Money was distributed to the populace: the town was brilliantly illuminated: and festivals, balls, and masquerades, crowned their rejoicings for a succession of evenings.

Winchester, (Virginia) January 13. Some travellers from Kentucke report, that as they passed through the wilderness, about the 23d of last month, they counted fourteen human bodies lying dead, at no great distance from each other. Our informants also add, that these unfortunate persons were all scalped, doubtless by the savages, but that such was their hurry, to avoid a similar fate, they did not stop to enter into a very minute examination of them.

Baltimore, Jan. 16. The following authentic information may serve, in some measure, to mark the progress of commerce, manufactures, and population, in certain states of the union:

Upwards of forty vessels sailed from Massachusetts, for the East Indies, in the year 1788.

Within the sphere of Philadelphia market, say in the states of Pennsylvania, Jersey, and Delaware, are sixty-three paper mills, which make one hundred thousand pounds worth of paper annually. There are also three tilt-hammers, for making iron work by water, which manufacture three hundred and fifty tons of steel, one hundred tons of slit iron for nails, tire, &c.

Besides these are manufactured one hundred thousand barrels of malt liquors annually.

Georgetown, (Maryland) January 27. A letter from an American gentleman, in New Orleans, to his friend, in this town, dated the 12th of Dec. 1789, says, “The sparks of liberty, which were discovered some time past, in South America, have now actually broken out into a flame. Yes, my friend, the American fever, which has shaken to their foundations, the thrones of enlightened Europe, has found its way to this land of ignorance: by accounts received over land from Mexico, all bids fair for a revolution. The inhabitants of that rich and fertile country, begin to open their eyes: they have refused to pay the fourth part of the produce of their mines to the king; in consequence of which the viceroy ordered the European troops to take possession of some of the most valuable mines, in the

neighbourhood of the city of Mexico. This happened in October last: and about the 20th of November, upwards of seven thousand of the inhabitants appeared under arms, among whom were the most respectable characters of the country. They marched, and attacked the troops, who had taken possession of their property. They were afterwards joined by a large body of Indians, who make the greater part of the inhabitants, and then proceeded to the city of Mexico, where they took possession of the king's magazines, arsenals, &c. the viceroy, the chief officers, the priests, and the jesuits, the most obnoxious to the natives, fled towards Carthagea: two expresses arrived here over land. Government wishes to conceal it from the people: but time will disclose the whole of this interesting affair."

Feb. 10. A letter from Louisville, (Kentucky) dated Dec. 20, 1789, says, "Our trade with the Spaniards has been very brisk for some time past; and promises fair to be more so in the spring of the year. Permits have been granted, by the Spanish government at New Orleans, to a number of persons, to import flour, wheat, tobacco, and all kinds of provisions. A great number of boats are preparing at this place, to convey the same down the Mississippi, as soon as the weather will admit of it. By the last accounts from New Orleans, flour sells at 7 dollars per barrel—tobacco at five dollars per cwt.—and every other kind of provisions proportionably high. Large magazines of the above articles are laid up by government: the reason, it is said, is the report of a civil war—and the scarcity of grain in South America. Should this be the case, and a free intercourse between us and the Spaniards take place, the exports of this country will be amazingly great. On account of the above intelligence, and the large purchases made by those who have embarked in this speculation, wheat has risen to 5s. corn to 2s. per bushel, flour to 22s. per barrel, and tobacco to 20s. per cwt. our currency."

A letter from Bourdeaux, dated November 24, 1789, says, "The king of Prussia has actually declared war against the emperor and Russians; his reason is, that if he suffer them to drive the Turks out of Europe, (which they are in a fair way of doing) the emperor would possess too great a weight in the political scale of Europe. In the upper and lower parts of Germany, the citizens are all in arms, cutting one another's throats. The patriotic rage has spread throughout that country: the emperor has marched an armed force to quell it. In Brabant, you know, the emperor has long been attempting to curb the clergy, and suppress the convents. However they have profited by the lessons from their neighbours, the French; and embrace the present moment to shake off the yoke—3000 men, calling themselves patriots, are in the field. Three days ago, accounts reached us, of an engagement between them and 2000 regular troops, whom the emperor had sent to disperse them; to burn and destroy every thing before them, and hang every man found in opposition. They met and came to action, between Ghent and Bruges. Violent was the conflict, and great the loss. The patriots defeated totally the imperial army; and took their commander, general Dalton, with most of his field officers, prisoners. It would take too much paper to give you a full detail of affairs in this country: suffice it to say, things are now growing tolerably quiet. The national assembly have the confidence of the people. They now sit in the palais de Louvre; and have lately made two or three fundamental strokes, towards liberty and freedom of conscience: the municipalities of the different provinces are new-modelling. A law has passed, that the convents shall be suspended: and the property of the clergy is declared the property of the nation: liberal and fixed annuities are to be given to the ministers of religion. All the church plate and wealth (except what is absolutely necessary for divine service) has been given up. Committees of correspondence and safety are established throughout the kingdom: and we know no law in Bourdeaux, but what comes from the national assembly, or the ninety electors of the city."

Philadelphia, Jan. 19. The legislature of North Carolina, at their late session, passed an act to prevent the exportation of raw hides of neat cattle, and calf skins, and also of beaver, racoon, and fox furs.

A letter from Bourdeaux, dated November 17, 1789, says, "Matters are now perfectly quiet and peaceable at Paris; and the national assembly daily adopting measures to render this one of the most respectable and flourishing countries in Europe. There is not the shadow of danger of a national bankruptcy: and private property is as secure as in any part of the world."

A letter from Bourdeaux, dated November 19, 1789, says, "No doubt, you have heard before this of the commotions in some parts of this kingdom: but this province has been exempted from the like: and we have every prospect of peace continuing here. We think it necessary to inform you of this circumstance, lest you should apprehend your property not to be safe here."

Jan. 20. Good oak wood was sold this day on the wharves of this city, for 13s. per cord.

January 30. It is with a great degree of satisfaction, that we announce to the public, the entire discharge of the foreign debt of the commonwealth of Massachusetts; the treasurer of that state having been enabled, during the recess of the general court, to pay the same in specie. On eod the demands, thus discharged, we are told, amounted to more than 60,000 dollars.

A letter from a gentleman in Cape Francois says, "Mr. O. Pollock, who is now in New Orleans, has got the contract, to supply that country and the Havana with flour for some years; and the foundation of it was laid by his excellency the count de Galvez, who was viceroy of Mexico; and at the time he commanded at New Orleans, recommended Mr. Pollock to his court, in the strongest terms. So now, my dear friend, I believe the Spanish islands will no longer be supplied in that round-about way. They say that the late count de Galvez's brother has succeeded to his title."

February 11. As little or no hemp will probably be imported after the present year, on account of the duty, which commences on the first of December next, we take the liberty early to remind our agricultural readers, from New Hampshire to Georgia, that flax and hemp are likely to reward their industry, if raised in quantities the ensuing season. The same hint is necessary as to cotton, for the same reason. The duty on flax is now 5 per cent; that on cotton will be three cents per pound; and that on hemp will be sixty cents per hundred weight.

A society, for the purpose of promoting the abolition of slavery, is forming in Richmond, Virginia.

Feb. 16. On Thursday last, the 11th of February, being the birth-day of his excellency George Washington, president of the united states of America, the volunteer company of artillery, commanded by capt. Jeremiah Fisher, joined by two companies of infantry, commanded by capt. W. Sproat, and by lieut. William Healy, fired a feu de joie upon the happy occasion. After some manœuvres were performed by them, the artillery company partook of a genteel repast, prepared for them, and drank the following toasts in the utmost harmony.

1. The united states of America.
2. The illustrious president thereof—may many such days be added to him, crowned with health and peace.
3. The vice-president of the union.
4. The senate and house of representatives.
5. The state of Pennsylvania.
6. His excellency the governor, and the executive council.
7. The convention and assembly now convened—may virtue and wisdom preside over their deliberations.
8. The commerce and manufactories of the united states.

9. The Pennsylvania artillery.

10. The memory of the brave men who fell in the righteous conflict for American independence.

11. May the federal government give protection and encouragement to those virtuous citizens, who arm themselves in defence of their country.

12. The marquis de la Fayette, and the soldiery of France, who served in America.

13. The national assembly of France, and the firm opposers of tyranny.

Febr. 16. On Tuesday last in the house of representatives of the united states, the following resolutions, introduced by mr. Fitzsimons, were taken into consideration in a committee of the whole house.

Resolved, that adequate provision ought to be made for fulfilling the engagements of the united states, in respect to their foreign debt.

Resolved, that permanent funds ought to be appropriated for the payment of interest on, and the gradual discharge of, the domestic debt of the united states.

Resolved, that the arrears of interest, including indents issued in payment thereof, ought to be provided for, on the same terms with the principal of the said debt.

Resolved, that the debts of the respective states ought, with the consent of the creditors, to be assumed and provided for by the united states.

Resolved, that it is adviseable to endeavour to effect a new modification of the domestic debt, including that of the particular states, with the voluntary consent of the creditors, by a loan, upon terms mutually beneficial to them and to the united states.

Resolved, that for the purpose expressed in the last preceding resolution, subscriptions towards a loan ought to be opened, to the amount of the said domestic debt, including that of the respective states, upon the terms following, to wit :

That for every hundred dollars subscribed, payable in the said debt (as well interest as principal) the subscriber be entitled, at his option, either

To have two thirds funded at an annuity, or yearly interest, of six per cent. redeemable at the pleasure of the government, by payment of the principal; and to receive the other third in lands in the western territory, at the rate of twenty cents per acre. Or,

To have the whole sum funded at an annuity, or yearly interest, of four per cent. irredeemable by any payment, exceeding five dollars per annum, on account both of principal and interest; and to receive, as a compensation for the reduction of interest, fifteen dollars and eighty cents, payable in lands, as in the preceding case. Or,

To have sixty-six dollars and two-thirds of a dollar funded immediately, at an annuity, or yearly interest, of six per cent. irredeemable by any payment, exceeding four dollars and two thirds of a dollar per annum, on account both of principal and interest; and to have, at the end of ten years, twenty-six dollars and eighty eight cents, funded at the like interest and rate of redemption. Or,

To have an annuity for the remainder of life, upon the contingency of living to a given age, not less distant than ten years, computing interest at four per cent. Or,

To have an annuity for the remainder of life, upon the contingency of the survivorship of the youngest of two persons, computing interest, in this case also, at four per cent.

Resolved, that immediate provision ought to be made for the present debt of the united states; and that the faith of government ought to be pledged to make provision, at the next session, for so much of the debts of the respective states, as shall have been subscribed upon any of the terms expressed in the last resolution.

Resolved, that the funds, which shall be appropriated according to the second of the foregoing resolutions, be applied, in the first place, to the payment of interest on the sums subscribed towards the proposed loan; and that if any part of

the said domestic debt shall remain unsubscribed, the surplus of the said funds be applied, by a temporary appropriation, to the payment of interest on the unsubscribed part, so as not to exceed, for the present, four per cent. per annum: but this limitation shall not be understood to impair the right of the non-subscribing creditors to the residue of the interest on their respective debts: and in case the aforesaid surplus should prove insufficient to pay the non-subscribing creditors, at the aforesaid rate of four per cent. that the faith of government be pledged to make good such deficiency."

The first resolution was agreed to; but the second occasioned considerable debate.

Mr. Scott proposed an amendment to be added to this resolution, viz. "as soon as it shall be ascertained and liquidated."

This brought on lengthy debates; and the committee rose without determining on Mr. Scott's amendment; reported progress; and asked leave to sit again next day.

On Thursday last, in the house of representatives of the united states, Mr. Madison, after a lengthy speech, respecting the public debt, concluded with laying the following resolution before the house—

"Resolved, that adequate funds ought to be provided for paying the interest and principal of the domestic debt, as the same shall be liquidated; and that in such liquidation, the present holders of public securities, which have been alienated, shall be settled with, according to the highest rate of said securities; and that the balance of the sums due from the public, be paid in such proportion to the original holders of the said securities."

MARRIAGES.

NEW YORK. *In the capital.* Mr. Samuel Deremer to Miss Hester Anthony.

PENNSYLVANIA. *In Lancaster county.* Mr. James Simpson to Miss Clingan.

MARYLAND. *In Baltimore.* Mr. James Dale, to Miss Charlotte Lane. *In Hartford county.* Nathaniel Ramsay, esq. to Miss Charlotte Hall.

VIRGINIA. *In Berkely county.* Mr. James Hammond, to Miss Polly Rankin. *At Alexandria.* Mr. Daniel M'Pherson to Miss Polly Beeson. *In Orange county.* Mr. Benjamin Twentyman, aged 70, to Mrs. Betty Nutty, aged 50!!!

DEATHS.

NEW YORK. *In the capital.* Mr. Barbara Reid.

NEW JERSEY. *At New Brunswick.* Col. Azariah Dunham.

PENNSYLVANIA. *In Philadelphia.* Rev. Dr. George Duffield.—Henry Hale Graham, esq.—Mrs. Lux.—Capt. Alexander M'Clinto.—*At Marple.* Dr. Bernard Vanleer, aged 104.—*At Haverford.* Mrs. Elizabeth Humphreys, aged 87.—*At Warminster.* Mr. Jonathan Walter.—*At Middlesex, near Carlisle.* James R. Reid, esq.

DELAWARE. *In Wilmington.* Mr. Thomas Crow.

MARYLAND. *In Baltimore.* Dr. John Boyd.—Mr. John Morgan Bowene.—Mr. Horatio Hollingsworth.

VIRGINIA. *At Peterburg.* Mr. Walter Buchanan. *At Richmond.* Mr. Arthur Stewart.—Mrs. Lucy Latill.—Mr. Hugh Patton. *At Norfolk.* Mr. Patrick Macauley.

SOUTH CAROLINA. *In Charleston.* Mrs. Hannah Moultrie.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Namur, Nov. 27. The number of dead at the siege of Ghent, was so considerable, that, after the surrendering of the place, 150 of the imperial troops were found in one of the barrack-wells; they were thrown into it by their comrades as they fell under the patriots' arms; nine hundred of the garrison, who could not escape, were taken prisoners. After that expedition the patriot army was divided into three lines; one went towards Brussels, the other towards this town, and the third marched into the duchy of Luxemburg, to oppose the troops the emperor may send into the Netherlands. No less than 10,000 Frenchmen have joined the standard of liberty. The soldiers are well paid; the artillery-men have half a crown a day, and a simple fuzileer a shilling. The army of the patriots is reckoned now at 100,000 men. Prussia and Holland will certainly come to the assistance of the Belgic provinces. A price has been set on D'Alton's head, and on those of some of the anti-patriots.

Brussels, Nov. 25. His majesty, the emperor, has sent a dispatch to the council of Brabant, charging them (as nothing now hinders them from continuing their functions, he having revoked the ordinance of the eighteenth of June last, by one dated the twenty-first instant) to assemble immediately, and continue their sessions and deliberations on the old footing.

His majesty has also addressed one to the deputies of the states of Brabant, dated the twenty third instant, ordering them to proceed in the exercise of their several functions, as soon as possible.

A dispatch, of the same date, has been sent to the provincial commissioners of Brabant, charging them to proceed immediately in the delivery of the archives and registers of the banks of the states, to the said deputies of the states of Brabant, informing that their functions, and those of the commissioners provisionally employed for those banks, now cease entirely.

The emperor has published an ordinance, dated the twenty-first instant, stating, that he has removed, by his declaration of the twentieth instant, all further cause of inquietude from his Belgic people in general, and each individual in particular, relative to their religion, rights of liberty, safety, property, &c. which he never meant to deprive them of: he hopes it will prevent any further bloodshed, and put a stop to the unhappy divisions, which have brought on the fatal crisis, which has threatened the provinces. The reluctance, his majesty says, with which he issued the severe edict against the states and council of Brabant, of the eleventh of June, which the circumstances and the attack upon his dignity, required, was sufficiently shewn in that of the same month: which also proves, that, far from having any thoughts of an attempt upon their proper rights and privileges, he only meant to reform the obscure and dubious articles, which, by admitting many false interpretations, gave opportunities to factious minds, to disturb the public tranquility (the support of which is the chief object of every constitution): and to clear up all doubts on that head, his majesty revokes the edict of the eighteenth of June, and restores things to the same footing they were upon, at the time of his dispatch of the fifteenth of February, this present year; and declares his willingness to examine, agreeably to the desire of the two first orders of the states of Brabant, any articles of the Joyeuse Entrée, susceptible of an interpretation: In consequence of which, his majesty expresses his hopes, that the people will take advantage of the amnesty, and the prolongation of it, granted by the declaration of the twentieth instant, and return to their duty, and thereby restore peace and tranquility. He finishes by mentioning, that he has convened an assembly of the states, to endeavour, in concert with them, to prevent the renewal of such extreme and fatal disorders, as have lately occurred.

Dec. 20. On the 16th, the patriotic army, under general Van der Mersck,

entered this capital. To paint the honest exultation and tumultuous raptures of the people, were, in truth, a theme worthy the eloquence of a Tacitus; if even a Tacitus, in such circumstances, would not have avowed the hopelessness of the attempt.

The burgesſies of Bruſſels exchanged congratulations with the patriotic ſoldiers. The females, whoſe huſbands and ſons made the flower of general Van der Merſch's army, whoſe exhortations and reproaches had ſo powerfully ſtimulated the citizens to revolt, received their heroes with open arms.

But the Waſhington of the Netherlands did not ſuffer Bruſſels to divert his attention, or enervate his troops by ſcenes of feſtivity and joy. He reſigned the capital to the proteſtion of the gallant citizens who had wreſted it from their oppreſſors. He reſolved, without delay, to purſue the daſtardly bravo, who had fled to Luxemburg with the remnant of the Auſtrian troops, which was ſpared by victory and undebauched by deſertion.

Ghent, Dec. 24. All ſeems to be loſt for the emperor in the Netherlands: his authority is gone paſt recovery. The manifeſto, ſigned by Van der Noot, has been publiſhed at Bruſſels and Louvain, and conſequently Joſeph the ſecond is declared to be no longer ſovereign of Brabant. 15000 patriots arrived at Louvain, and were received in triumph: and all the imperialiſts have evacuated that place, except thoſe who choſe to wear the patriotic cockade, of whom there is a great number. Burgher guards were placed to prevent the plundering of ſome houſes belonging to perſons of the emperor's party: but this did not entirely prevent the populace from committing ſome exceſſes. From Louvain the patriots went to the province of Limburgh, and to Namur, which latter place they have taken; from whence, they will march to Luxemburg, the conqueſt of which will complete their triumph.

Paris, Nov. 24. The harbour of Cherburgh is now ſo far completed, as to be able to contain 103 ſail of line of battle ſhips, and to ſcreen them from the ſevereſt gales. There are 200 veſſels conſtantly employed ſinking ſtones and rubbiſh, to ſtrengthen the foundation.

The American trade grows better in every ſenſe. The orders increaſe: and the payments are much more certain than heretofore.

The productions of our country increaſe in value in America daily. The laſt ſhips from Philadelphia and other ports, brought large ſums for our merchants.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

November, 26.

The ſitting, in the morning of this day, was remarkable for the extraordinary progreſs made in the organization of the primary and intermediate aſſemblies.

A deputy from Gaudaloupe propoſed, in the name of the Weſt India deputies, to appoint a committee of planters and merchants, to receive and examine all plans of conſtitution for the colonies; to which, he obſerved, the principles of conſtitution for the continent were not properly applicable. The conſideration of this propoſition was poſtpoſed.

December 19. M. Threilhard read a report from the committee of eccleſiaſtical affairs, conſiſting of ſeventeen articles; the moſt material of which were, that all perſons, who had taken monaſtic vows, ſhall declare within three months, their intention of relinquishing or adhering to the rules of their reſpective orders; that penſions, from ſeven hundred to one thouſand livres, ſhall be aſſigned to thoſe who chooſe to relinquish the rules of their order, in proportion to their ages; that they ſhall be capable of becoming vicars or curates, with a proportional abatement of penſion, but of no inheritance or teſtamentary ſucceſſion; that no monaſtic vows ſhall be taken in future; and that every monaſtery, the members of which ſhall be reduced to leſs than fifteen, ſhall be conſidered as virtually aboliſhed.

The biſhop of Clermont, although a member of the committee, ſaid, he felt

himself bound to protest against several articles of the report; which, however, was ordered to be printed.

The grand business of finance was entered on next; and a memorial from M. Neckar was read, setting forth the objections to the plan of M. de la Borde. A plan was then ready, concerted by M. Neckar, the committee of finance, and the directors of the *caisse d'escompte*. In it, the necessity of supporting the credit of the *caisse d'escompte*, and avoiding a national bankruptcy, was strongly insisted on. For this purpose it proposed to give circulation to the notes of the *caisse* till July next, at which time they should begin to be taken up; and that the *caisse* should, in the mean time, advance the necessary sums to government; that twenty-five thousand new shares should be created, the dividend fixed at six per cent. and the surplus thrown into a sinking fund. To provide for gradually calling in the notes of the *caisse d'escompte*, that four hundred millions of livres should be raised, on the sale of the crown lands, and property of the church, to be regulated by the assemblies of department; and the sums so raised, with the produce of the patriotic contributions, to be carried to a new bank, established for the purpose; by which means it was computed that the whole due, or likely to be due, by the nation to the *caisse d'escompte*, would be discharged in five years.

M. Threilhard proposed, as a means of seconding the plan before the assembly, to put the whole property of the church under the management of the assemblies of administration of department; to farm it out on leases of twelve or eighteen years, each farmer paying one year in advance, to be applied to the urgent necessities of the state; and to carry the annual revenue ever after to a bank established for the purpose, charged with the expense of divine worship, and the maintenance of its ministers: the surplus to be paid into the public treasury, and applied to the liquidation of the national debt.

The consideration of this motion was adjourned till Tuesday.

A letter was read from M. Tronchin, minister of Geneva, addressed to M. Neckar, containing an offer of nine hundred thousand livres raised by a patriotic society, as a testimony of gratitude, for the protection which France had always afforded to that republic. It was observed, that this offer was most probably meant as the price of favours expected, while it professed to be a mark of gratitude for favours received: at any rate, the nation was not in a situation to receive alms, and it was beneath the dignity of the national assembly to accept such an offer. The matter was left undetermined.

Dec. 25. It was proposed, in M. de la Tuque's motion, instead of non-catholics to insert non-catholic christians.

M. Beaumetz observed, that the law, in its wisdom, undertook only to protect the religion by law established; that all other modes of faith, of the importance and truth of which God alone could judge, were indifferent in the eye of the law; and that to make a distinction was to raise altar against altar, and sow dissension and enmity between the votaries of each.

The amendment was rejected: and the assembly decreed, in terms no less general, than honourable to the liberality and wisdom of its members,

"That non-catholics, who, in other respects, shall have fulfilled all the conditions required by the former decrees, to elect and be elected, shall be capable of being elected in all the degrees of administration, without exception.

"That non-catholics shall be capable of all employments, civil and military, as other citizens; the case of the Jews only being reserved for consideration by the national assembly. Furthermore, no grounds of exclusion shall be opposed to the eligibility of any citizens, but such as result from constitutional decrees."

Thus are all the political and civil rights of citizens extended to men of all persuasions, christians, mahomedans, or Hindoos, in France, the Jews only excepted: and, from the complexion of the national assembly, there is every reason to believe that they also will be included.

Liege, Nov. 27. All our differences are arranged; the king of Prussia has done us justice: an express arrived last night with a decree, investing the citizens with full power to choose their own magistrates,—a power which episcopal despotism has withheld from them since 1684; all the conditions of accommodation are accepted here. To-morrow we expect the Prussian troops, and the citizens will go and meet them. The event has caused universal joy.

December 3. A letter from Paris, dated Nov. 18, says, “The marquis de la Fayette, sensible that the return of the king’s body guards to his majesty, would be attended with very disagreeable consequences, said to his majesty, “though it is my own measure, and I could wish to see it executed, yet as I perceive bad effects will follow, from the present complexion of the times, it will be necessary to relinquish it.” The king replied, “I think so.”

“The marquis then addressing the queen, (to whom the expectation of the return of the guards had been very flattering) on the same business, her majesty with great composure and address made answer, “*J’entre dans tous vos sentiments!*”

“A courier arrived here yesterday from the court of Madrid. The news here, respecting Spain, is, that the people of Catalonia are ripe for a revolution; and that the Spanish cabinet is in the utmost consternation on this account.

“The king of Spain is not more chagrined at the imprisoned fate of the most christian king, than the king of Sardinia is: and the latter monarch is considerably reinforcing his army. Some politicians think, that if once there were a favourable opportunity of liberating the king of France, and restoring him to his lost prerogatives, the Sardinian monarch would powerfully assist his royal brother with a considerable body of troops, which would march to his relief through Dauphiny.”

Dec. 15. The Russians are in full possession of the whole country of Wallachia. The conquest of the empress in this part of the world has been astonishingly rapid; and we find the Turks routed in every action. If some European powers do not give a check to the combined armies of the two imperial courts, the balance of power will be lost in the aggrandizement of these two sovereigns.

SIEGE of BRUSSELS.

The official account of the capture of Brussels, published by the patriots, is as under. It is dated the 12th of December.

“At length, notwithstanding the armistice, and every other pretence, 500 brave patriots of Brussels have dared to engage in battle with 6000 Austrians: the action commenced yesterday afternoon, at 4 o’clock. The first attempt was to make prisoners of all the soldiers who guarded the mint, and those who were quartered in the different convents. General d’Alton did his utmost from six o’clock in the morning to negotiate an armistice. About seven o’clock, 800 men of Benden-D’Alost entered the city with two pieces of cannon, which they planted on the grand place. About ten o’clock general d’Alton thought proper to send a large detachment in order to release, by forcible means, the officers and privates made prisoners at the Basseville. This was the signal for a new engagement, which will be ever memorable for its victory. The patriots, no longer able to contain themselves, routed the whole detachment. To the number of 500, at the utmost, they invested the great market, and after a most obstinate conflict, they made themselves masters of the corps de garde, and two pieces of cannon, and took about 400 Austrians prisoners. About the same time the engagement recommenced in all quarters of the city; and in less than two hours, the patriots made themselves masters of the barracks of the military, and of the magazines, in which they found near 2,000 muskets, besides cartridges, ammunition, &c. Towards noon, they attacked the park and the palais royale, where the greatest body of the troops were centred, with twelve pieces of cannon. After a very heavy firing on both sides, D’Alton perceiving that the place was no longer tenable against so much bravery,

capitulated for the immediate retreat of his own garrison; and the request having been acceded to, about one o'clock they departed, with great precipitation, through the porte de Namur. But as the soldiers are not equally inclined to follow him, at the moment this is writing, they are quarrelling among themselves, without the city. Already, we have gotten more than 3,000 prisoners; but few killed, and no houses plundered.

Authenticitatem testor,

(Signed)

G. B. Schellekens,

Greffier."

London, Dec. 2. The king of Spain, whilst he holds out to his people the idea, that their grievances are all to be redressed on the assembling of the cortes, is taking every precaution to prevent encroachments on his prerogative, when that event takes place. Alliances are forming with the Italian courts, the garrisons are reinforcing throughout the kingdom, and as much vigour is used in putting the frontiers in a state of defence, as if he were on the eve of a war.

The number of convicts going to Botany Bay, in the fleet now under sailing orders, amounts to 1000; 500 with the Neptune, captain Gilbert, at Plymouth; 250 with the Scarborough, Captain Marshall; and 250 with the Surprise, capt. Thrale, at Spithead.

The Gorgon is the only king's ship that goes at present on the above voyage: and she is to make the best of her way, without any sort of regard to the transports. The Gorgon carries out the Botany Bay rangers, consisting of about 300 men: and her own compliment of officers and seamen, exceeds 190.

Dec. 5. On Thursday last, was effected the greatest object of internal navigation in this kingdom. The Severn was united to the Thames, by an intermediate canal, ascending by Stroud, through the vale of Chalford, to the height of 343 feet, by 40 locks: then entering a funnel through the hill of Superton, for the length of two miles and three furlongs, and descending by 22 locks, it joins the Thames near Lechlade.

Dec. 30. The principal impediment against the importation of American wheat, is, that HERE it must pay a duty of 6d. per quarter, whilst in France it bears a bounty of 4s.

There was lately laid before the admiralty-board, the model of a ship worked by steam, which is so constructed as to sail against wind and tide. This ingenuity is to be rewarded with a patent.

A junction of the Belgic league being proposed by the states of Flanders, if effected, must raise up a most formidable power in Europe, as it will comprehend the people of the seven united provinces, the Flemings, and those of the Austrian netherlands. To this association will be added, as allies, the king of Prussia, as duke of Cleves, &c. and also Hanover, Brunswick, and Hesse.

The affair of Liege is likely to produce some troubles, though the Prussians have quiet possession of it with 9000 chosen men: but the imperial chamber of Wetzlaer, on the 4th inst. gave notice, that they will not listen to any terms of accommodation: and insist upon the prince being re-established, directly, in all the powers he formerly enjoyed.

In consequence of this the Prussian minister refuses to act until he receive further instructions: but in the mean time the troops keep possession, and their commandant has issued public notice, that peace is fully established, and no person, either foreigner or native, has any thing to fear respecting his property.

When the American congress first declared themselves independent of Great Britain, the majority of that assembly, in favour of the measure, was not very great: but among the states of Flanders, we do not find there was a dissenting voice, against throwing off all subjection to the emperor. This bold and decisive mode must raise them high in the estimation of all Europe, though much blood may be spilled before their independence will be finally confirmed. They

have gone too far now to retract : nor will the most humiliating concession, on the part of their rejected sovereign, be of any avail. That the Flemings would have so soon joined the Netherlanders, was a circumstance little expected.

The patriotic furor of freedom, which so highly dignifies the present period, has at length extended to the British islands of Jersey and Guernsey ; in both of which the standard of liberty is erected. The points resolved upon are—grand juries, trials by juries, and an abolition of appeal and jurisdiction. The friends of government have strenuously endeavoured to oppose those resolutions : but the patriots have carried them by a prodigious majority.

Dec. 31. The French minister, it is said, has made a proposition to the Dutch, to sell them the debt due from the American congress, for their service last war, which, it is said, has been accepted of. The Americans have given their consent to the transfer, by which means a very considerable sum of money will be raised at once for the service of the French king. Our court had the first offer of purchasing the debt, but refused it.

The slave trade is abolished in Bengal. Lord Cornwallis has just issued a proclamation which has been published in the different languages of the country, declaring, that all persons, who may hereafter be found, either directly or indirectly, concerned therein, shall be prosecuted in the supreme court. A reward of one hundred sicca rupées is offered for the conviction of any offender against the proclamation ; and fifty rupees more for every person delivered from slavery, or illegal confinement, by the discovery.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

The court at St. James's, the 2d. Dec. 1789 : present, the king's most excellent majesty, in council.

Whereas, by order in council, of the 25th of June, 1788, the importation of wheat, of the growth of any of the territories belonging to the united states of America, was prohibited until his majesty's pleasure should be further signified : and whereas it has been represented to his majesty, at this board, that it appears—by accounts received from his majesty's consul-general at New York, and by the information of several merchants of the city of London, and others trading to America—that the Hessian fly, by which the wheat of the growth of the territories of the said united states of America, was infected in former years, had this season wholly disappeared : his majesty, taking the same into consideration, is pleased, with the advice of his privy council, to order that the said prohibition, laid by order in council, of the 25th June, 1788, be, and the same is hereby taken off. And the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, are to give the necessary directions herein accordingly.

WILLIAM FAWKENER.



AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE.

Stockbridge, Feb. 16. The committee, appointed by the legislature of this state, to consider and report on the subject of a tax, have reported in favour of one, for raising 95,000l. in specie, or certificates for interest on consolidated notes. The polls are set, in this report, at six shillings and three pence.

Salem, Feb. 16. The government of St. Domingo have continued the permission for importing flour and biscuit from foreign ports to that island, till the first of June next.

PHILADELPHIA.

Feb. 25. Very spirited propositions were lately submitted to the legislature of Jamaica, insisting upon the absurdity, impropriety, and injustice of the late proceedings of the British parliament, in regard to prohibiting the future purchase of

slaves on the African coast. "From these proceedings," says the writer, "the British nation seems to have acquired a new character, that of tenderness, and humanity. Jamaica was settled, and the slave trade established, under the faith of charters, and the most solemn acts of government: how then can one of our most essential rights, without the exercise of which we dwindle into insignificance, be invaded at this time, without dissolving the original compact?—Any force," continues he, "will be deemed oppressive and unjust, which shall attempt to interrupt the Jamaica slave trade: and the king of Jamaica ought to be told so in plain terms, that he may at once relinquish his claims over us, rather than punish us, without offence, and ruin us with his ideas of justice and humanity. The power and influence of Jamaica are capable of protecting her, whenever she is no longer the object of British ambition: and every power, that dares to injure a free and loyal people, ought to be opposed and repelled. The people of Great Britain may, for themselves, renounce the slave trade and welcome: but what right have the inhabitants of Middlesex, Kent, Surry, &c. to punish the people of Jamaica, who have given them no offence?"

Proclamation of the king of France, for granting bounties on the importation of grain.

THE king being informed, that in many of the ports of the kingdom, the merchants would be disposed to import foreign grain, if they could expect to receive the like bounties as were granted until the first of September last: his majesty, being desirous to induce the merchants to pursue measures so conducive to the supplying his people with provisions, has thought proper to grant this encouragement: his majesty has therefore ordained, and does ordain as follows:

Article 1. That there shall be paid to all French and foreign merchants, who, from the 1st December, 1789, to the 1st July 1790, shall import wheat, rye, and barley, and the flour thereof, from the different ports of Europe, or of the united states of America, the following bounties, viz. thirty sous per quintal on wheat—forty sous per quintal on wheat-flour—twenty-four sous per quintal on rye—thirty-two sous per quintal on rye flour—twenty sous per quintal on barley—and twenty-seven sous per quintal on barley flour.

Art. 2. The said bounties shall be paid by the receivers of the farm duties in the ports of the kingdom, where the said grain and flour shall arrive, on the declarations furnished by the captains of the vessels, who shall be bound to annex thereto a legal copy of the bill of lading of their cargo.

All the vessels indiscriminately, which, during the space of time above specified, shall import into the kingdom wheat and flour, coming from the different ports of Europe, and those of the united states of America, shall be exempt from the duty of freight, on account of the said importations. His majesty enjoins the persons employed in the farms to conform to, and carry into execution the present proclamation, which shall be read, published, &c.

Done at Paris, the 5th of Nov. 1789.

(SIGNED]

DE SAINT PRIEST.

Feb. 25. The late lengthy debates in congress were in consequence of a proposed amendment, by mr. Madison, to the following, being the second of mr. Fitzsimons's propositions, viz.

Resolved, that permanent funds ought to be appropriated for the payment of interest on, and the gradual discharge of, the domestic debt of the united states."

The proposed amendment was:

"Resolved, That adequate funds ought to be provided for paying the interest and principal of the domestic debt, as the same shall be liquidated: and that in such liquidation, the present holders of public securities, which have been alienated, shall be settled with, according to the highest rate of said securities; and

that the balance of the sums due from the public, be paid in such proportion, to the original holders of the said securities."

This amendment was negatived on Monday last : and the above-recited resolve was agreed to.

March 3. Friday morning last, the convention, appointed to alter and amend the constitution of this state, adjourned, to meet again on the 9th of August. Previous to the adjournment, it was unanimously resolved, that the thanks of the convention be presented to his excellency the president, for his able and impartial execution of the duties of his station.

March 13. A letter from New York, dated March 10, says, "Yesterday congress determined to assume the state debts : and this day they resolved, in committee to adopt the secretary's report of 6 per cent. or two thirds, and one third to be paid in land, at 20 cents per acre, at the option of the holder."

MARRIAGES.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY. *In Boston.* Edward Dowse, esq. to Miss Sally Phillips.

NEW YORK. *In the capital.* Mr. Frederic Turk to miss Jane Anthony. Mr. Francis Wainwright to Miss Maria Staples.

NEW-JERSEY. *At Monmouth.* Mr. John Carle to miss Lydia Prince.

PENNSYLVANIA. *In Philadelphia.* Robert Patton, esq. to miss Bridges.

MARYLAND. *In Baltimore.* Capt. Jonathan Davenport to miss Polly Drehart. Dr. John Carlisle to miss Betty Lane. *At Chester town.* Mr. Andrew Van Bibber to miss Sally Forman.

VIRGINIA. *At Staunton.* Mr. John Boys to miss Ann St. Clair.

DEATHS.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. *At Exeter.* Mr. Thomas Hayley. *At Lyndborough.* Mr. Ellingwood.

MASSACHUSETTS. *At Charlestown.* Richard Carey, esq. aged 73. *At Wells.* Mr. Sherman. *At Watertown.* Mr. David Bemis. *At Hingham,* Mr. Hezekiah Cushing. *IN BOSTON.* Capt. Thomas Flinn. Mr. John Anderfon. Mrs. Sarah Brazer. Mrs. Jerusha Roberts. Mr. Samuel Healy. Mrs. Eliza Barnard. Capt. Job Prince. *In Worcester.* Mr. Palmer Goulding.

CONNECTICUT. *At Glasfongburg.* Mr. Martha Harris.

NEW YORK. *Near the capital.* Leonard Lisenarde, esq. Mrs. Charlotte Hicks. Col. Anthony Hoffman.

At Albany. Mr. Isaac Jerom.

NEW JERSEY. *In New Brunswic.* Mr. Ogden, aged 85. Mr. James Brown, aged 67. Mr. Talmage, aged 68. David Nevins. *In Middlesex.* Col. Joseph Olden, esq. president of the court of common pleas.

PENNSYLVANIA. *In Philadelphia.* Mrs. Mary Swift. *At Penn's walley.* Major general Potter.

DELAWARE. *Near Newcastle.* Mr. Thomas Moore, aged 67. Captain Morton Morton.

MARYLAND. *In Baltimore.* Mrs. Mary Cox.

GEORGIA. Killed at Savannah, Baron Glaubeck.

Brussels, December 19.

THE states of Flanders, and the high court of justice, have removed to this place from Ghent; and the city is again tolerably quiet. The patriotic leader, Vander Noot, arrived yesterday. He was drawn into the town in triumph preceded by a large body of horse and foot, with drums beating and colours flying. He was seated in an open chariot. The first place he went to, was the cathedral church of St. Gudula, where Te Deum was sung, and after service, he repaired to the English hotel, where he was crowned by the people with laurels. The mob sang some verses, while this was performing.

The magistracy of the city have taken the oath of allegiance to the states of Brabant; and the new government has already begun to exercise its functions.

December 30. An estafette which arrived here yesterday, brings intelligence that fort Lillo, with its garrison, surrendered to a corps of patriots commanded by captain Lyffens. The garrison were conducted as prisoners of war, to Antwerp.

Our readers will recollect, that fort Lillo commands the entire navigation of the Scheldt, and consequently is a place of the first importance to the patriots.

Paris, Dec. 31.

The discovery of a late conspiracy, and the commitment of the marquis de la Faveras, and his lady (who is princess of Anhalt Chambourg,) engross the whole attention of the magistracy. The reports are various, concerning the precise object of this plot, but all agree, that a plan had been laid for removing his majesty out of the kingdom.

To effect this, the M. de la Fayette, and M. Bailli, the mayor, were to have been murdered; and three thousand gentlemen volontiers were to have waited at St. Dennis, to escort his majesty and the queen to Lisle in Flanders. It is said that the guard at the barrier towns had been bribed over to let his majesty pass, and that a loan of three or four millions had been raised to assist this scheme.

The resolutions of the committee of enquiry on this subject, dated the twenty-sixth instant, throw some further light on the conspiracy. The report is in the following words:

“The committee of enquiry being informed, that the enemies of public liberty had formed a conspiracy against the system established by the nation and the king; that, towards the success of this plot, they had laid a plan to introduce some armed men into the city at night, to attack the guard set over his majesty, to carry off the great seal, and with it their majesties, who were to be conducted to Peronne—

“Being likewise informed that they had attempted to bribe over some of the national guards by promises, and by the clandestine circulation of incendiary libels among them;

“That further they have had several conferences with certain bankers and others, to procure a considerable loan of money to extend this conspiracy into different provinces;

“The committee after having heard the marquis de la Faveras and his wife—having read the verbal process made on the twenty-fourth instant, by M. Grondin, and also the letters and papers seized on the marquis de la Faveras, and in his house—are of opinion that the attorney-general of the commons ought to impeach the marquis, his wife, and their accomplices, of the above crimes, &c.

(Signed)

BAILLI, &c.

The strictest search is making after the persons who circulated the hand-bills, attacking the character of monsieur, the king's brother.

Besides the above conspiracy, the inhabitants have been extremely alarmed at a murder, committed yesterday morning, at half past five o'clock, on one of the national guards on duty in the district of Marais. Being in his sentry box, he

was suddenly attacked by a tall, ill-looking, stout man, who plunged a dagger through his neck, and immediately escaped. At the time of relieving the guard, which was soon after, he was found bleeding with the dagger in his throat, on which was tied a paper with a label, and these words—'Go attend on la Fayette.'

Jan. 2. Martial law has been published at Vienne, Valance, and other towns in Dauphiny: but they have not yet ventured to proclaim it at Grenoble.

The national assembly have deputed sixty of their members, to compliment their majesties on the new year, and to assure them of its respect and fidelity.

London, Dec. 17.

Prospects become more and more sanguine, of the recovery of the lost decads of Livy, among the libraries of the emperor of Morocco, and also of several other valuable classics, of which the existence has long been despaired of.

The letters from France, of yesterday, mention some fresh disturbances having broken out in Catalonia in Spain.

Jan. 15. The sultan has sent all his plate to the mint, and the great officers of state have followed his example; by these means, it is said, an immediate supply of thirty-three millions of dollars, has been procured.

The sultan has strictly forbidden all his subjects the use of gold and silver for ornament or luxury; and has issued orders, that all the males in his dominions, from the age of fifteen to sixty, hold themselves in readiness to march, if they be summoned, for the defence of their country and religion.

Should the grand duke of Tuscany shortly succeed to the imperial crown of Germany, a considerable change in the posture of affairs in Europe will be the immediate consequence. Peter Leopold is not of an aspiring turn: he will seek no new acquisition to the territories which will fall to him: but if we may judge by his conduct to his Italian subjects, the Germans will become so happy, under his sovereignty, that the Flemings themselves, whom the most oppressive tyranny has driven to revolt, will pant for his fostering protection.

Jan. 17. The preparations, making by the Turks, for another campaign, are great beyond example. They will go near to ruin the Turkish empire, as well as the imperial courts, who must employ an army to resist them. Three hundred and ten thousand men, are in the present pay of the grand signior.

The Turkish fleet on the black sea is returned into port, very much damaged by tempestuous weather, and with the loss of two thousand sailors; a loss which the Turks will find very difficult to repair.

Bohemia and Hungary are both in a state of insurrection, very little short of the most decided revolt. The peasants and the nobles are equally alienated from the emperor: the first class seek to enlarge their privileges; the second to recover some equivalent for those they have lost in the chasses, corvees, &c. &c.

The history of the revolution in Flanders will stain the annals of a civilized age by the barbarities it must record.

The diet are sitting at Warsaw most assiduously, and with more unanimity than was expected. On the fourteenth of December they had an extraordinary council. The leading consideration is in substance as follows—a reformed constitution, according to the report of the committee—of which the king of Prussia has declared himself the protector and guarantee.

The emperor's dissolution was daily expected when the last accounts left Vienna.

The intent of pursuing a fur trade from our settlements in India to Kamtschatka, is laid aside. Two ships, fitted out from the Ganges, about three years ago, were disappointed in their voyage, though the gentlemen who navigated them possessed very great professional abilities.

The idea on which the subscribers to these voyages proceeded, was flattering. The fur-trade was then thought of as the most probable. It was believed tha

Winchester, March 3.

This week, several persons have passed through this town from Kentucke; by them we learn, that four men were killed in the wilderness, about the 14th of last month, by a party of Indian—that the barbarians had left their war clubs on the spot, where they committed the horrid massacre—that one of the unfortunate sufferers was on his way home from New Orleans, where he had been trading, and had near two hundred guineas with him, which fell into the hands of the bloody miscreants—that the savages in the neighbourhood of Kentucke, are continually committing depredations on the property of the white inhabitants, particularly in stealing horses—that many persons have been murdered by them in that quarter (thirty three within the last four months) to the certain knowledge of the informants—that the ensuing summer is expected to be a very bloody one, as undoubted intelligence has been received in Kentucke, of the determined resolution of the Shawanese to wage war; who, it is feared, will be joined by other hostile tribes—and that a prisoner had arrived at the falls, who lately made his escape from the Shawanese, and informed, that fifty warriors of that nation are now on their march, to watch the trace of the wilderness.

Wilmington, March 6.

We learn that some people in the neighbourhood of Maurice river (in New Jersey) having discovered that rattlesnakes winter about springs' heads; in order to destroy those venomous reptiles, a day was fixed this winter for digging out their burrows, when a number of inhabitants met and destroyed upwards of two hundred of them. A great many other snakes, from the mildness of the season, and their situation lying in spring water, with their heads only out, were not so torpid as they would have been, had the weather been colder. This circumstance made it rather a dangerous undertaking, for the snakes were very active; some were found with eighteen rattles. This information is communicated for the benefit of people, living in countries infested with reptiles.

*Boston, March 20.**British encroachments, circumstantially related by a correspondent.*

There are three rivers that empty themselves into the bay of Passamaquady, the easternmost always called by the native Indians and French St. Croix, and the middle one Schooduck. Before the commencement of the late war, gov. Bernard sent mr. Mitchell, a surveyor, and several others, to explore the bay of Passamaquady, to examine the natives, and to find out which was the true river St. Croix. They did accordingly, and reporting it to be the easternmost river, returned plans of their survey as such. At the forming the treaty of peace, the commissioners had Mitchell's maps, and in fixing the boundary between that part of Nova Scotia, now called New Brunswic, and this commonwealth, they considered it to be the river laid down by him. After the peace, the subjects of the British king took possession of all the lands, between St. Croix and Schooduck rivers (which tract is nearly as large as the state of New Hampshire) and now hold possession of the same, under pretence that the Schooduck is the true river St. Croix: they also claim all the islands in the bay of Passamaquady, although many of them lie several miles to the westward of the river, which they call the boundary; and have in a number of instances, exercised, by force, jurisdiction over the subjects of this commonwealth, living on those islands. The British sheriff, from St. Andrew's, with an armed force, took a mr. Tuttle (formerly a lieutenant in the American army) from a house on Moor island, and conveyed him to St. Andrew's goal, where he was confined a considerable time: their court have repeatedly fined the inhabitants of those islands for refusing to obey, when summoned as jurymen: and they have taken several of their vessels lying close under those islands, and carried them to St. John's, where they detained them a considerable time before the owners could obtain their release. In the late instance, capt. Dunn, their high-

sheriff, for Charlotte county, with David Owen, esq. one of their principal magistrates, and four men armed with muskets, pistols, &c. in a hostile and violent manner, went on Frederick island (above five miles west of what they call the river St. Croix) and attempted to break open mr. Delesdernier's house, to search for property which they said belonged to a British subject. Mr. Delesdernier opposing them, armed with an axe, prevented their succeeding on the house; but they finding a cow on the island, forcibly carried her off with them. Mr. Delesdernier, not having any assistance, could not prevent it. Mr. Delesdernier is the collector of the customs for the united states, and keeps his office in the house they endeavoured to break open. It is presumed, that lord Dorchester, governor-general of the British colonies in America, would not countenance such proceedings; but it is to be wished that measures may be speedily taken to prevent such insults in future.

March 23. It is said, that the flour, grain, &c. exported from the united states to foreign ports, in 1789, at the average price thereof, in Europe and the West Indies, amount to fifteen million dollars.

The report of the committee, on the further amendments to the federal constitution, was read in the senate, and voted by a large majority to be considered: but other business intervening, and it being late in the session, it was not acted upon, but stands referred to the next session of the general court.

A letter from Shenectady, dated March 16, says, "From fresh accounts, we learn, that the English are constantly employed in adding to the strength of the forts and posts on our north western frontier; that they keep a very watchful eye over all visitants, and seem extremely jealous least any of the united states' people should be observant of their proceedings. One would conclude from all this, that their nation still has some designs on this country—several of the old American refugees, who are mostly very poor, and depend wholly upon the royal rations, are said to be resident in those posts.

On the 12th of February, at seven in the evening, a tremendous fire broke out at Point Petre, in Guadaloupe, and was not extinguished till midnight. There were 25 capital buildings consumed, besides a number of smaller ones: the loss is estimated at six millions of livres. We are happy to add, that a number of vessels, belonging to the united states, were lying in the harbour, the masters and crews of which exerted themselves in the most signal manner, on this distressing occasion: and the assistance they lent, was esteemed so important, as to entitle them to receive the thanks of the public, by a committee from the citizens of the town.

A letter from Charleston, dated March 11, says: "Although the theatre is prohibited, we are not without other amusements, much better adapted to the general taste. Dancing on the wire and slack rope goes on gloriously: and it seems hardly worth a man's while, to place such dependence upon his head, while the world so liberally encourages the performances of the heels. There is a gentleman here who has himself sewed up in a bag almost every night, and in that situation walks, dances, and plays tricks upon a wire on full swing. He is in a fair way of making his fortune, if he do not speedily break his neck by some accident."

March 23. By authentic information we learn that, about the first of February a small party of Indians, belonging to the banditti Cherokees, who have been driven from their own tribes, and reside north-west of the Ohio, surprised, near the Sciota, a boat going down the Ohio, killed four persons, and took the rest prisoners.

This information was given to the commanding officer at Fort Harmar, by some friendly Wiandots, who met the said banditti Cherokees, in the woods, with two prisoners. The Wiandots further informed, that the remnant of the Shawanese and the said Cherokees seem determined on mischief the ensuing season.

March 27. A late Connecticut paper mentions, that the additional duties of

three livres eight sous tournois, on every quintal of cod fish and pickled fish imported into the French leeward islands, are taken off.

Philadelphia, March 20.

The late passengers from France, we are informed, were furnished with passports to depart the kingdom upon application to government, in consequence of the declaration by the national assembly, that the changing of residence at pleasure is one of the natural rights of man.

The proprietors of salt licks, in the interior and western parts of the united states, will take measures, it is hoped, this summer, to establish manufactories of salt. The exigencies of government will require the foreign salt-duty, to be raised, probably to 12 cents, which will be a bounty upon the produce of those licks.

A letter from Pittsburg, dated Feb. 18, says: "Every inducement is held forth by the Louisiana Spaniards, to prevail upon our western settlers to cross the Mississippi, and become subjects of their government. To accomplish this desirable purpose, even the severity of religion yields to state policy, and a protestant at Marietta may speak his sentiments in religious matters, without fear of inquisitors, or ecclesiastical censures. This evidently shews that the court of Spain wishes to discourage the settlement of our western country, as much as possible, as she dreads nothing more than an enterprising, active nation in the vicinity of her Mexican settlements."

March 26. Notwithstanding the immense exportation of grain and flour from this state, we are happy in being able to inform our readers, from good authority, that no more than a fourth part of all the grain, of last year's growth, has been brought to market from the most plentiful wheat counties of this state. This circumstance shews, in an eminent degree, the importance of Pennsylvania to the union, as well as to foreign countries.

March 27. We are authorized to assure the public, that dispatches have been received from Paris, of the sixteenth of January, from which it appears, that the king of France was then in his capital, and the national assembly pursuing their deliberations.

A letter from St. Eustatia, dated Feb. 9, says: "This minute, a part of the hill of this place gave way, and buried a number of the inhabitants of the lower town in the ruins. The number, who fell victims in this unhappy catastrophe, is not yet ascertained."

March 28. Last Wednesday night, about eleven o'clock, a fire was discovered in the counting house of the cotton manufactory, at the upper end of Market street, in this city, which suddenly spread through the whole of the building, and entirely consumed the same, together with the raw materials there, about twenty pieces of unfinished goods, and a principal part of the machinery. Owing to the vigilance of the citizens, the dwelling house adjoining was preserved, with part of the machinery and the account books. Fortunately, a large quantity of finished and unfinished had been removed from the factory a few days previous to the disaster. The loss is computed at about one thousand pounds, exclusive of the buildings.

Nineteen sail of square rigged vessels (that is, ships and brigs) were launched in this port, in 1789, of which the whole were southern live-oak, and southern cedar frames, equal to any in the world. The number of new vessels already engaged for the present year, is nearly as great as the whole of those built last year.

On Monday the 15th inst. an examination of candidates for the degree of bachelor in medicine, was held in the hall of the university, in presence of his excellency the president of the commonwealth, the council and assembly, and the trustees of the institution, together with a numerous and respectable concourse of lite-

rary characters—when the following gentlemen appeared as candidates (having been previously examined in private, and approved of) viz.

JOHN BALDWIN, of the city of Philadelphia,

GEORGE CABELL, of Virginia.

THEOPHILUS ELMER, of Cumberland county, West New Jersey.

W. B. DUFFIELD, of Philadelphia.

PLUNKET F. GLENTWORTH, of Philadelphia.

MATTHEW HENDERSON, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania.

JONATHAN KEARSLEY, of Cumberland ditto, ditto.

JOHN LAWS, of Suffex county, Delaware.

JOHN WALLACE, of Dauphin county, Pennsylvania.

April 7. In consequence of an advertisement in the public papers, a large number of respectable citizens assembled at the state house on Saturday last, to take into consideration the plan for organizing the militia of the united states, as reported by the secretary of war; and having elected a chairman and secretary, after some discussion, and expressing the strongest disapprobation of the plan, they proceeded to choose a committee of seven gentlemen, who were requested, in case congress should take up the report, and be likely to carry the plan into execution, to prepare a memorial, stating the objections to be laid before a meeting of the citizens, which on such event they were directed to convene.

A letter from Liverpool, dated February 12, says: "Wheat and flour have both declined in price since our last. Sixty sail of vessels have arrived here within twelve days laden with these articles.

"We do not conceive that there was any real scarcity of grain even in this kingdom or France. Wheat eight shillings per seventy pounds. Superfine flour nineteen shillings per one hundred and twelve pounds."

On the nineteenth of January, was held in Liverpool, a full and respectable meeting of dissenters of all denominations, and other friends of civil and religious liberty. The occasion of this meeting was to take into consideration the religious test act, and if possible, to fall upon some method to procure its repeal. Seventeen resolutions were unanimously agreed to, the substance of which is as follows: that the exercise of private judgment in religious matters is not only a right but a duty—that all laws that infringe such rights and duties, are at variance with good government, and ought to be repealed. That the test law comes under this description, and ought therefore to be repealed, as well as because it prostitutes one of the most solemn of all religious rites to a secular and political purpose; a profanation unknown among other nations; and moreover presents no barrier to profligacy and atheism, but excludes from civil offices the pious and conscientious only, the very men who are most worthy of trust. That such a law as the test is not necessary to support the present church establishment, as appears from the practice of other nations where no such laws exist, and yet their establishment seems perfectly secure: and lastly, that they will unite with the friends of civil and religious liberty throughout the kingdom in bringing their claim before the legislature, and using every peaceable means of supporting it.

April 8. On Monday evening there was a numerous and respectable meeting, at the state house, of the Hibernian society for the relief of emigrants from Ireland, at which meeting the constitution was finally ratified, and the officers of the society elected, viz.

PRESIDENT.—The hon. Thomas M'Kean, esq. L. L. D.

VICE-PRESIDENT.—General Walter Stewart.

SECRETARY.—Mr. Mathew Carey.

TREASURER.—Mr. John Taylor.

PHYSICIANS.—Dr. Cunningham and Dr. Carson.

COUNSELLORS.—Charles Heatly and Jasper Moylan, esqrs.

ACTING COMMITTEE.—Messrs. John Shea, Paul Coxe, John Leamy, Patrick Moore, Thomas Lea, Alexander Nesbit, Thomas Procter, Robert Rainey, Charles Rife, John Brown, John Strawbridge, and Richard Adams.

COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE. Blair M'Clenachan, esq. John Maxwell Nesbit, esq. and Mr. Hugh Boyle.

April 9. Tuesday, the honourable the general assembly of this commonwealth, adjourned, to meet on the fourth Tuesday, in August next, at three o'clock, P. M. in this city.

In the debates, which took place in the house of representatives of the united states, on the memorial of the people called Quakers, respecting slavery, Mr. Scott, Mr. Vining, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Boudinot, and other members, advocated the cause of the memorialists, and vindicated their characters, with great ability, eloquence, and liberality—in opposition to Mr. Jackson, Mr. Burke, Mr. Smith, (S. C.) &c. who not only opposed the object of the memorialists, but treated them, as a society, with a degree of acrimony and invective, which ill become American legislators, in particular, and must inevitably lessen that respect which the ingenuity of their arguments might otherwise have inspired.

MARRIAGES.

MASSACHUSETTS. *In Boston.* Mr. William Little to Miss Frances Boyd.

NEW YORK. *In the capital.* Hon. John Page, esq. to Miss Lowther. Thomas White, esq. to Miss Marston. Robert M'Dernelt esq. to Miss Susan Arden. Mr. Robert Roe to Miss Mary Rankin.

DELAWARE. *At Camden.* Mr. Zadok Truett to Miss Rebecca Pennell. *In Brandywine hundred.* Mr. John Welsh to Miss Peggy Elliot.

MARYLAND. *In Baltimore.* Capt Benjamin Bradhurst to Miss Dailah Young. *In Baltimore county.* Robert Turnbull, esq. to Miss Sarah Buchanan. *At Fairhill.* Mr. William Dorsey to Miss Nancy Brooks.

SOUTH CAROLINA. *In Charleston.* Mr. John Markland to Miss Eliza Childs.

GEORGIA. *At Savannah.* Mr. Peter Henry Morrell to Miss Nancy Valteau.

DEATHS.

MASSACHUSETTS.—*At Boston.* Mrs. L. Kilcup, aged 92. Miss Abigail Otis. Mr. R. W. Stimpson, aged 62. Miss Sally Appleton.—*At Little Cambridge.* Peter Faneuil, esq.—*At Cambridge.* Mrs. Mary Holyoke, aged 91.—*At Great Barrington.* Mrs. Chapman, aged 101.—*At Stockbridge.* Mrs. Hannah Rieve.

CONNECTICUT.—*At Bethlehem.* Rev. Joseph Bellamy, D. D. aged 71.

NEW YORK.—*In the capital.* Col. Anthony Hoffman. Mr. Isaac Norton. Miss Mary French, aged 71.

PENNSYLVANIA.—*In Philadelphia.* Dr. Abraham Chovet. Mrs. Hannah Hiltzheimer. Mrs. Sewall.—*In Cumberland township.* Mr. Samuel Getty.—*At Whitmarsh.* Mr. Matthias Bush.—*At Marsh creek.* Col David M'Clellan.

DELAWARE.—*Near Dover.* Mr. James Caldwell.

MARYLAND.—*At Upper Marlborough, Prince George's county.* Frank Leeke, esq.—*In Talbot co.* Rev. John Gordon, aged 77. *At Baltimore.* Mr. John Crockett. Mrs. Sarah Spelman.—*At Annapolis.* Mrs. Mary Duvall. *In Hartford co.* Benjamin Bradford Norris, esq.—*At Elkton.* Hon. Joseph Gilpin. Mrs. Sarah Williams, and in fourteen days afterwards, her husband Baruch Williams, esq.

VIRGINIA.—*At Dumfries.* William Grayson, esq.—*In Caroline co.* Dr. George Tod.—*In Stafford co.* Mrs. Eliza Fitzhugh.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—*At Charleston.* Mr. Chambers Ruffel.

KENTUCKE. *In Nelson county.* Mr. John Purviance.

Vienna, January 11.

FIELD Marshal Laudohn was never in better health. It is generally reported that, should circumstances require it, this gallant and fortunate veteran will take upon him the command of the army in Silesia, which, at this moment, consists of 75,000 men: for not a single company has been drafted from it to reinforce the other army, which began to form on the 4th instant, towards the frontiers of Galicia.

So much does our cabinet expect that Poland will take part against us, that Choczim, lately taken from the Turks, has been put in such a state of defence, as will enable it to withstand the Poles, who, it is expected, will commence hostilities by laying siege to that place.

Feb. 24. The emperor's body lay in state till yesterday morning, in the royal chapel; and was buried in the evening in one of the vaults appropriated to the Austrian family.

Leopold II. succeeds the emperor Joseph, and is expected in this capital to-morrow.

Paris, Jan. 18. The following are the precise words of the national decree in favour of the Jews.

“The national assembly decrees, that the Jews known in France under the name of Portuguese, Spanish, or Avignon Jews, shall continue to enjoy all the rights of actual citizens, as soon as they shall have qualified themselves, in the manner prescribed by the decrees of the assembly already passed.”

This resolution met with great opposition; but was carried by a majority of 360 votes against 225.

February 12. The national assembly has lately adopted the following memorable decree:

“The national assembly decrees, as a constitutional article, that the law shall not authorise monastic vows from persons of either sex: declares, in consequence, that all religious orders, which exact such vows, are and shall forever continue suppressed in France, to the exclusion of any similar establishments in future.

“All the religious of either sex may, on making a declaration to their municipality, quit the cloyster: and proper pensions shall be without delay provided for their support, as well as houses of retreat for those who do not desire to avail themselves of the liberty granted.

“The assembly excepts houses charged with education or charity, until it shall finally decide concerning these objects. The nuns may remain in their own convents—the national assembly expressly excepting them from the operation of that decree which enjoins the union of several houses into one.”

Feb. 13. On Tuesday evening, the committee of reports presented an account of the outrages committed in the neighbourhood of Quercy, Perigord, and Limosin, where several noblemen's houses have been burned, and six or seven lives lost. These excesses have originated in the hatred of the lower class of people to the ancient feudal system. Inflamed by a zeal, which they believe to be lawful, troops of them associate, and conceive that they are forwarding the great work of the new constitution, by burning the castles and the charters of their late feudal task-masters.

The assembly decreed, “That the king shall be requested to give immediate orders for putting in execution the decree of the 10th of August, for the preservation of public tranquillity.

“That the president shall write to the municipalities where the disturbances exist, signifying, how much the assembly laments the continuance of disorders, which must call for the utmost rigour of the executive power.

“That all persons, taken into custody, shall be forthwith brought to trial, and the guilty punished in the most exemplary manner.

“ That all seditious assemblies, whether in town or country—even those formed on pretence of the chace—shall be instantly dispersed by the troops on the simple requisition of the municipalities.

“ That in every city, town, and district, a list shall be made out, of such persons as have no trade, profession, or fixed place of residence, who shall be immediately disarmed, and the national troops directed to keep a watchful eye on their conduct.”

Feb. 16. The property of the French protestants who took refuge in the different countries of Europe, and particularly in England, after the revocation in 1685, of the famous edict of Nantz, promulgated by Henry IV. in 1598, has ever since that epoch remained in the possession of the crown: and will be shortly offered to such of the descendants of the refugees, as shall choose to reside in France.

March 12. On the 20th of February, at six in the morning, his imperial majesty, Joseph 2d, emperor of Germany, departed this life. He died with the greatest firmness and composure, perfectly retaining his senses to the last moment. Previously to his death, he made the necessary arrangements with regard to his successor, whose arrival at Vienna was hourly expected at the time of the emperor's death.

London, Jan. 21. An attempt has been made to excite the people of French Flanders, Cambray, and Hainault, to desert France, and connect themselves with the Austrian provinces: but it has utterly failed. This may be considered as the last expiring effort of the clergy and noblesse: and now in no part of France does there exist even the appearance of an opposition to the new system, so happily established in that great empire.

February 9. A letter from Constantinople, dated January 2, says, “ The divan has met daily, for three weeks past, on affairs of the utmost importance. Our British minister and the French have frequent audiences of the new sultan, at his palace in the Haghkalth; and are almost the only foreign ambassadors, except the Spanish, who are frequently with the signior. There is no talk of peace here: on the contrary, every thing bears the appearance of war. Upwards of 2000 men, many of them Europeans, are employed in the two arsenals, making preparations. The sultan goes out with the prophetic standard in March. This is positive.”

Feb. 15. The progress towards the reduction of the national debt is so rapid, that the accumulating fund, provided by Mr. Pitt, will, in 1813, amount to the annual sum of four millions. This calculation is founded on the supposition of a permanent peace; and is contained in a scheme which is distributed to the members of both houses of parliament.

Letters from Muscovy mention, that the spirit of liberty has actually animated the noblesse of Russia, who have demanded a redress of grievances: and that many of the boors, irritated by the oppressive levies of the war, have joined them, and thus rendered their body too formidable to be slighted.

A treaty is permanently arranged, between the king of Prussia and the grand signior, by which Prussia is engaged to espouse the cause of the Turks, till an honourable and equitable peace can be obtained.

The king of Prussia, at this moment, has a large body of troops on their march to join the Ottoman forces, and check the further progress of the Austrian arms.

Feb. 19. The citadel of Antwerp capitulated on the evening of Friday the 5th—The garrison amounted to 1200 men. Famine is the obvious cause of its fall. Thus has the last residue of the Austrian power in Brabant yielded. The terms of capitulation permit the garrison a free retreat, with all the honours of war, to Luxemburg.

Feb. 20. The extension of war depends on the part which the powers of Europe take in making a peace between the belligerent powers.

If it should extend, marshal Laudohn commands in Bohemia, and the head quarters are to be at Cœniggratz.



AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE.

Philadelphia, April 14.

The circuit court for the district of Pennsylvania was opened on Monday last by the hon. James Wilson and Francis Hopkinson, esquires, judges of the said court. His honour judge Wilson gave a most excellent charge to the grand jury.

A letter from New York, dated April 10, says: "This day, the proposition for the assumption of the state debts was rejected in a committee of the whole house—31 against 29. The messrs. Muhlenbergs, mr. Scott, and gen. Heister, of your state, were in the majority. Under certain conditions and limitations, an assumption might be acceptable. For instance, let the states discharge their requisitions—let the accounts be settled—and then assume the balances: but under the late doctrine of burning the books, assumption would have been political madness."

April 24. Wednesday afternoon, at four o'clock, were interred the remains of the illustrious and venerable BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, L. L. D. with every mark of respectful sorrow, which an affectionate family, devoted to him—friends truly sensible of his worth—or an intelligent and grateful city could shew.

The ships in the harbour, even those of Great Britain, hung their flags half-mast high.

The following was the order of the procession observed on the above occasion.

All the clergy of the city, including the ministers of the Hebrew congregation, before the corpse.

The corpse, carried by citizens. The pall supported by the president of the state, the chief justice, the president of the bank, Samuel Powell, William Bingham, and David Rittenhouse, esqrs.

Mourners, consisting of the family of the deceased, with a number of particular friends.

The secretary and the members of the supreme executive council.

The speaker and members of the general assembly.

Judges of the supreme court and other officers of government.

The gentlemen of the bar.

The mayor and corporation of the city of Philadelphia.

The printers of the city, with their journeymen and apprentices.

The philosophical society—the college of physicians—the Cincinnati—

The college of Philadelphia.

And sundry other societies, together with a numerous and respectable body of citizens.

The concourse of spectators was greater than ever was known on the like occasion. It is computed that not less than twenty thousand persons attended and witnessed the funeral. The order and silence which prevailed, during the procession, deeply evinced the heartfelt sense, entertained by all classes of citizens, of the unparalleled virtues, talents, and services of the deceased.

Thursday the supreme executive council of this state, and also the house of representatives of the united states, agreed to wear mourning for one month, in memory of their great and good fellow-citizen, dr. Franklin.

April 27. Letters, we understand, have been received by the late arrivals from England, which mention that the court of London had issued orders for the immediate equipment of twenty-four ships of the line, and for the recall of all their

officers on half pay—the posture of political affairs in Europe having rendered the measure absolutely necessary.

The philosophical society have unanimously voted a funeral oration, to be delivered by one of their members, in honour of their late illustrious president, Dr. Franklin.

The following committees are appointed to carry into execution the plan for improving the condition of free blacks, agreed upon by the Pennsylvania society for promoting the abolition of slavery:

Committee of inspection. N. Collin, J. Evans, T. Harrison, N. Boys, J. M'Crea, A. Gregg. *Committee of guardians.* T. Armat, J. Cruikshank, W. M'Ilhenny, J. P. Norris, A. Liddon, B. Say. *Committee of education.* J. Pemberton, J. Todd, S. P. Griffiths, C. Lownes, R. Wells, W. Rogers. *Committee of employ.* R. Jones, T. Rogers, S. Coates, J. Blakeley, M. Hale, W. Lippincott.

In the debates, which lately took place in the house of representatives of the united states, on the memorials of the people called quakers, respecting slavery, Mr. Scott, Mr. Vining, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Boudinot, and other members, advocated the cause of the memorialists, and vindicated their characters, with great ability, eloquence and liberality—in opposition to Mr. Jackson, Mr. Burke, Mr. Smith (S. C.) &c. who not only opposed the object of the memorialists, but treated them, as a society, with a degree of acrimony and invective, which ill become American legislators, in particular, and must inevitably lessen that respect which the ingenuity of their arguments might otherwise have inspired.

MARRIAGES.

NEW YORK. *In the capital.* Honourable Lewis Wm. Otto to Miss Fanny de Creveceur. Mr. Anthony Rutgers to Miss Cornelia Gaine. Mr. Robert Cornell to Miss Ann Lyons.

MARYLAND. *In Baltimore.* Mr. Patrick M' Sherry to Miss Betsy Clements. Zebulon Hollingsworth, esq. to Miss Betsy Ireland. Captain James Read to Miss Nelly Taylor. *At Indian Spring.* Mr. Jesse Tyson to Miss Peggy Hopkins.

NORTH CAROLINA. *In Newbern.* Mr. William Attmore to Miss Sally Sitgreaves.

SOUTH CAROLINA. *In Charleston.* William Hort, esq. to Miss Simons.

DEATHS.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. *At Kenfington.* Benjamin Row, esq. aged 70.

MASSACHUSETTS. *In Boston.* Mrs. Deborah Cushing. Mr. Nicholas Bowes. Col. Joseph Jackson. Mrs. Matilda Williams. Major Joseph Eayres. Mrs. Grace Williams, aged 71.

At Foxborough. Mr. Joseph Warren, son of the late major-general Warren. *At Southborough.* Mrs. Newtown, aged 106. *At Stockbridge.* Mr. Matthew Wyman. *At Cambridge.* Mrs. Mary Holyoke, aged 92. *At Dorchester.* Mrs. Sarah Davis, aged 87.

CONNECTICUT. *At Newhaven.* Mr. Z. Denison. Mr. Joseph Stacy. *At Hampden.* Mrs. Mary Deforest Bristol. *At Lisbon.* Mrs. Abigail Knight, aged 91. *At Canterbury.* Mr. Adolphus Fuller, aged 98.

NEW YORK. *In the capital.* Mrs. Elizabeth Lynch, aged 104.

NEW JERSEY. *At New Brunswic.* Mrs. Van Emburgh aged 80. *At Middlebusb.* Mr. Garret Voorhees.

PENNSYLVANIA. *In Philadelphia.* April 17, Benjamin Franklin, esq. L. L. D. aged 84 years and 3 months—Mrs. Grace Cox.—Mr. Robert Lewis, aged seventy-six.

DELAWARE. *In Lewes.* Rev. Matthew Wilson, D. D.

MARYLAND. *In Charles county.* Robert Hanson Harrison, esq. *At Port Tobacco.* Mr. Thomas Howe Ridgate. *At Fell's Point.* Dr. Joseph Harrison.

London, March 16.

The peace of Europe now depends upon the person elected emperor; should the amiable archduke of Tuscany, now king of Hungary and Bohemia, succeed his brother in the imperial dignity, such is the benevolence of his disposition, that a general peace would ensue.

The duke of Tuscany is now in his forty third year: he married an infanta of Spain, by whom he has had issue eight sons, and four daughters.

The emperor of Germany does not enjoy, as emperor, a greater revenue than fifteen thousand pounds a year: so that if his own hereditary dominions be not great, the imperial dignity can be only an incumbrance to him.

A grant to the right honourable Charles Stanhope, for his new invented method of conducting vessels without sails, against wind, waves, current, and tide, has passed the great seal.

The late application of the American merchants, to Mr. Pitt, was not concerning the debts contracted by the subjects of the united states, since the year 1776, but before that period: a list of which debts, not liquidated on the 31st of December last, they then presented to the minister. The merchants of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Whitehaven, and Glasgow, on a former application to Mr. Pitt on this subject, were enjoined by him to take the step of collecting the amount of their debts, previously to any thing which could be done to obtain the payment of them. It is supposed the matter will be brought before parliament in the course of the present session.

March 17. We learn by letters from Prague, that recruits arrive very fast in Bohemia, and that every other preparation is making to resist an enemy, as an invasion was expected on the part of the Prussians.

Accounts from Berlin prove the necessity of the above measures: the warlike preparations were continued with great alacrity, and the march of several regiments was directed towards the frontiers of Silesia.

Letters from Berlin, dated the 2d of this month, advise, that in virtue of a convention concluded with Poland, the city of Dantzic, with the district on this side of the Wharta, will make part of the dominions of the king of Prussia on the first of July next!

The following articles are said to have been signed at Berlin on the 9th of January last, by the ministers of the king of Great Britain, the king of Prussia, and their high mightinesses, the states general of the united (Dutch) provinces.

Whereas the troubles in the Netherlands are of a nature to interest the high contracting parties, and which may possibly call for their interference, the following general articles have been provisionally agreed to, which they severally bind themselves to carry into execution.

Article I. They will not take any part in those troubles, unless invited or compelled so to do by circumstances.

II. Having an interest in the preservation of the privileges of the Netherlands, the high contracting parties shall invite his imperial majesty to secure them, and see that the Prussian and Dutch frontiers be not hereafter disturbed or alarmed.

III. Should the Netherlands become free and independent, then the high contracting parties will take into consideration the nature of the constitution, and deliberate whether they will recognize their independence.

IV. No foreign power shall be suffered to accede and become a party in this treaty, without the consent of the present high contracting parties.

V. Whatever may be the consequences, which this treaty may produce, the high contracting parties will stand by each other, and make a common cause of it.

March 23. There are apprehensions at Turin of a revolution similar to that of France or Brabant. Several of the provinces have begun to murmur on ac-

count of the juposts. The valley of Aofte has made some energetic remonstrances, which are likely to be enforced by 6,000 men in arms.

Conditions of peace offered by prince Potemkin, on the part of the empress of Russia, to the commissioners of the grand signior, who were sent to Jassy to negotiate with him.

These commissioners had scarcely left Jassy, after having broken up the negotiation entered into by them and prince Potemkin, on account of the grand concessions insisted on by the latter, when they returned thither again on the 28th of January, accompanied by two new commissioners. It is yet unknown whether they have since received further instructions to comply with these demands, but it is probable they have. In the mean time the following is an abstract of the proposals, which prince Potemkin insisted on, as the ultimatum of his sovereign.

1st. The porte shall cede to Russia, forever, the Crimea, the Cuban, Oczakow, and that part of Tartary which bears that name.

2d. It shall, in like manner, cede Akiermann and Katschieba, so that the Dnieper shall in future become the frontier of the two empires.

3d. On the other hand, Russia shall restore Bender and Besserabia.

FRENCH COMMERCE.

The committee of agriculture and commerce in France have proposed to the national assembly, the following decree relative to the privileges of the East India company, which was ordered to be printed.

The national assembly, considering that the licence of the sea is the universal tie of nations—that shackles on commerce tend to check genius, and throw a damp upon industry—that the system of monopoly, while it gives strength to a small part of the body politic, leaves the greatest part torpid and inert, decree as follows—

I. The exclusive privileges of commerce to India and China, granted to a company, by the arrets of council of the 14th of April 1785, and the 27th of September 1786, are hereby revoked.

II. From henceforth every citizen of France shall have free liberty to trade to India, China, and all other places, contained in the exclusive privileges of the company, without the necessity of any passport or permission, provided always the ordinances and edicts of the admiralty be attended to.

III. All vessels, employed in trading to India, China, and other countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, shall, by a pass, certify their return at Port L'Orient.

IV. All commodities, of the growth of India and China, shall be liable to a tax of five per cent. ad valorem; and those of the growth of the isles of France and Bourbon, to a tax of four per cent.

V. The India company shall be exempted from such tax on all commodities and merchandises, lying in the company's ware-house at L'Orient; and also on those merchandises imported from India on account of the company.

The following is translated from a late Paris Daily Gazette.

“It is highly proper and laudable for the united states of North America to make agriculture and commerce the foundation of their power: and it is possible we may charge them unjustly, when we say we have reason to suspect, that they have no objection to depopulating France, provided they could thereby advance their own population—a measure which would not be permitted, even by nations actually in a state of hostility with each other. Is it then possible to suppose, that the American states mean to make so ungrateful a return to France, for the succour she has afforded them?

“An association, however, known by the name of the Sciota company, actually exists in Paris, who have opened an office in New-street (Rue Neuve) No. 362. This company have already printed and published advertisements, the sole

design of which is to persuade the French to emigrate to North America. The offers they hold out are very tempting—a passage free of expense—a short and easy service after their arrival—and lands given them in return for such service. They have even the assurance to say, “That this is conferring a benefit upon France, considering her present situation, in disburdening her of her superfluous population, at once distressing and dangerous.” It is not probable that the French government will consent to such emigrations. France has new lands to cultivate as well as the united states of America, and labour enough to employ all her citizens. How comes it, then, that such an office, as that of the Sciota association, should be allowed in Paris, and the publication of their pamphlets permitted?

New York, June 1. By the arrival of captain Carey, we have received the authentic information, that the convention of Rhode Island did, on Saturday last, adopt the constitution of the united states, by a majority of two: The yeas were thirty-four—the nays thirty-two.

It is expected the governor of Rhode-Island will immediately convene the legislature of that state, in order that they may proceed to the choice of two senators to the congress of the united states.

Philadelphia, May 4. Bills of exchange on England now sell in New York, at 12, and $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. below par.

May 17. The late extraordinary demand for the produce of our country has given an extraordinary spring to the exertions of the cultivators of the soil—in some parts of the united states, one half the produce of the last year, has been sown the present; so that under the smiles of providence, there is a prospect of the united states becoming the granary of the world.

May 21. By the last letters from New York, we have the most pleasing information of the president's being not only much better, but out of all danger.

May 24. We have authority to assure the public, that governor St. Clair and major Sargent were well on the 17th of March last; letters having been received from the governor dated on that day.

May 31. A citizen of Burlington has undertaken and contracted to manufacture and deliver in Philadelphia and Burlington, fifty-thousand pounds weight of home-made sugar, at a price not higher than that imported from the American islands, that is to say, about seven pence per pound. This quantity, it is true, is small, but nevertheless, will be a saving of upwards of 1600l. to the country; and would others exert themselves in like manner, not a single hoghead need be imported from abroad: indeed the sugar-maple tree so abounds in many of the uncultivated parts of these states, it is said, as to supply a sufficiency for twice the actual number of inhabitants. The small winter grape ought also to be attended to; which affords a most excellent wine; and was, before the war, made in such perfection in Pennsylvania, that the London wine-merchants offered 40l. sterling per ton for any quantity that might be sent them.

Pittsburg, April 17. On Friday the 9th instant, six persons crossed the Ohio river, about five miles on this side of Holliday's cove, to the Indian side, as it is commonly called, where they were attacked by a party of Indians, and five of them made prisoners: the other got as far as the river, and attempted to cross, but was pursued by the Indians, who fired at him several times, and as it is supposed killed him, as he has not since been heard of. This account may be relied on as authentic, as we have it from a gentleman immediately from the spot.

We are sorry to remark, says a correspondent, that the accounts from Kentucke, and the danger in going down the river, are very alarming. It appears evident, that the Indians are determined on hostilities: and although they are not seen in large bodies, yet the great number of small parties which keep continually watching the river bank, and cutting off the frontier inhabitants, bears an aspect

which is by no means favourable, but seems rather to threaten the people of Kentucke with a troublesome summer.

Richmond, May 13. On Thursday last, the convention of the clergy and lay deputies of the protestant episcopal church met, at the capitol, in this city, when a very pathetic discourse, suitable to the occasion, was delivered by the rev. mr. Walker. During their sitting, they nominated and voted in the rev. James Madison, D. D. president of William and Mary, as a bishop for this state, who it is expected, will shortly be consecrated.

Fredericetown, May 15. A gentleman from the western country, on whose veracity we may depend, informs, that on the 7th of last month, three boats, having on board three families, from Pennsylvania, consisting of thirty-two white, and twelve black people, were captured by the Indians. Their names we have not been able to learn.

Boston, May 22. A gentleman from Halifax informs us that the four regiments of British troops, lately stationed at that place, have embarked for Quebec—to be stationed in the western posts.

The debt of this state is fifty hundred thousand dollars—the annual interest is three hundred thousand dollars—and all contracted in the late glorious revolution. Can our southern brethren wish to see us groaning under this heavy, heavy burthen—and, while almost free themselves, not lend the helping hand to ease us? Enlarged, open policy exclaims, No, they cannot: and when reflexion shall illumine their minds, they will see, that justice and humanity call loudly for the assumption.

May 26. A letter from Paris, dated Feb. 20, says, “The national assembly yesterday determined on the salaries which would be allowed to the monks on quitting their cloisters, when it was resolved:

“That a salary of 700 livres, to be paid quarterly, and in advance, should be paid to every mendicant friar under the age of fifty—of 800 livres, from the age of 50 to 70—and 1200 livres, if above that age.

“That the jesuits resident in France, not possessing any benefices or pensions, from the state, should enjoy similar privileges with the other religious orders of the same class.”

MARRIAGES.

NEW YORK. *In the capital.* Mr. John Van Reed to miss Rebecca Hardinbrook. Samuel Sterett, esq. to miss Rebecca Sears.

MARYLAND. *In Baltimore.* Dr. Andrew Wiesenthal to miss Sally Vandyke.

PENNSYLVANIA. *In Philadelphia.* Mr. Joseph Bend to miss Mary Hetfield. Captain Florence Donovan to miss Eleanor Cooke.

DEATHS.

MASSACHUSETTS. *In Boston.* Rev. Thomas Gair. Mr. John Scottow, aged 89. Mr. John Peck, aged 64. Miss Mary Pomeroy, aged 67. *At Charlestown.* Mr. John Austin, aged 84. *At Malden.* Captain John Dexter, aged 85. *At Dorchester.* Mrs. Elizabeth Wiswell, 87.

NEW YORK. *In the capital.* The honourable Theodoric Bland, esq.—John Foxcroft, esq.—Miss Cornelia Remsen.—Mr. Stephen Crossfield.—Mr. Edward Bryce Smith.—*On Long Island.* Miss Clow, of Philadelphia.

NEW JERSEY. *At Princeton.* Colonel George Henry.

PENNSYLVANIA. *In Philadelphia.* Capt. Joseph Rice.

MARYLAND. *In Baltimore.* John White, esq.—Mr. John M^cHenry. *At Easton,* Matthew Tilghman, esq.

VIRGINIA. *At Williamsburg.* Mr. John Carter, aged 90. *Lanewille.* Richard Corbin, esq. aged 77. *Dinwiddie county.* Mrs. Ann Williams aged 87.

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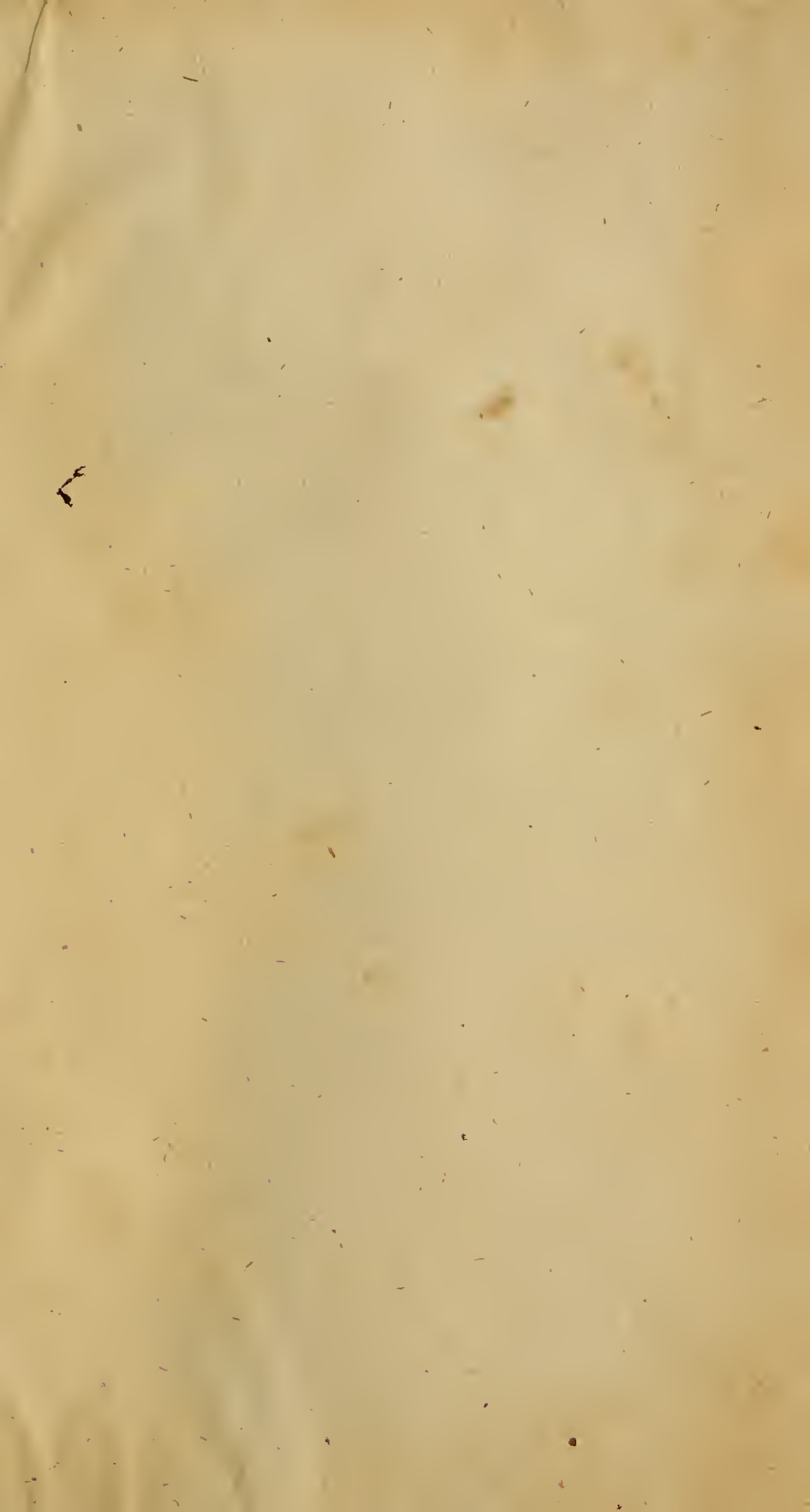
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Wagon - horse - and - rider - in - the - distance

1857

